# Chapter 1

### ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

#### TENTH SESSION

Calcutta, December 30, 1917-January 1, 191

The Tenth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League opened on December 30, 1917, in a beautiful pandal. The proceedings commenced with Quranic recitation after which Mr. Abdul Latif Ahmad, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address.

#### WELCOME ADDRESS OF MR. ABDUL LATIF AHMAD

I do not use the language of conventional formality when I say that I feel extremely flattered by the compliment that has been paid to me by the Reception Committee of this Session of the All-India Muslim League in electing me the Chairman of the Committee. I need hardly say that I feel proud to be accorded the high privilege of welcoming on behalf of Bengal, and Calcutta in particular, such distinguished and brilliant representatives of the leaders of political thought in Muslim India. Next to being called upon to occupy the presidential chair, I look upon the honour which has been bestowed upon me as one of the highest in the gift of the community, and I am all the more grateful to my friends that they have been kind enough to make me the fortunate recipient of such a reward at so early a stage of my political career. I feel overpowered by a sense of diffidence at my own incapacity for the great task which has been entrusted to me, but I hope that the same kindness and indulgent consideration to which I owe this exalted honour will also animate my brethren whom I am addressing, in overlooking my faults and short-comings in the discharge of the onerous and responsible duties entrusted to me to-day.

Brethren of the Muslim League, on behalf of the Musalmans of the Bengal Presidency in general, and of the city of Calcutta in particular, I beg to offer you a hearty and sincere welcome to this city. On their behalf as Chairman of the Reception Committee, I also offer my heartiest thanks to all who have taken the trouble to come here to take part in the deliberations of the All-India Muslim League, and I particularly offer my thanks to all who have travelled long distances at great personal sacrifice. discomfort and inconvenience. It is because there are men in our community who will not hesitate to make such sacrifices that we see gathered here to-day the best, the noblest and the highest representatives of the intellect of Muslim India of the present day. It is a matter of the utmost gratification to every Musalman who has the good of his community at heart that such a representative gathering of Musalmans from different parts of India is possible even under adverse circumstances, for these gatherings are the surest indications of the success of those activities for which the All-India Muslim League has become conspicuous amongst the representative institutions of this vast continent as the staunchest champion of the rights and privileges of the Musalman community in India. There can be no doubt that these gatherings are amongst the surest indications that the labours of the League have not been in vain, and that, through the blessing of Almighty Providence, the work which the League has undertaken will be productive of the utmost benefit to the community.

Brethren of the League, in welcoming you to our beloved city, I cannot boast that it has any attractions to offer to lovers of antiquity or the student of historical research. Calcutta is after all a modern city, and has grown up with the growth of British rule in this country. It is essentially the handy work of a few generations of Englishmen who have laboured to build up a centre of trade and industry which, in the rapidity of its growth and its marvellous development, bears eloquent testimony to the unrivalled constructive genius of the British race. But I think I may well maintain that Calcutta has also got its own claims to your attention, more varied, though less sentimental, in character than the older cities in other parts of India. I think that its very modernity must be a welcome change to

gentlemen coming from older cities, for I feel that, while amidst the surroundings and ruins of vanished glory, you can only derive inspiration by recollections of the past, in a modern city like Calcutta vou are stimulated to exertion and activity by a hopeful outlook into the future. For those to whom a contemplation of the past glories of Islam brings mournful recollections, the stress and turmoil a modern Calcutta brings home the lesson of the supreme necessity of honest work and earnest endeavour as essential requisites in any programme of work for the regeneration of our community. Viewed in this light, a visit to Calcutta can hardly be looked upon as having been in vain of without its object lessons. The bustling activity on all sides of modern life brings home to the mind the stern reality of the doctrine of the survival of the fittest, which Indian Musalmans are so apt to forget, but which is the one lesson of all which they ought to lay deep to heart.

My heart almost breaks when I am reminded of the fact that in welcoming you to Calcutta. I cannot claim that we are welcoming you to the metropolis of British India. Our city has fallen from the high position which it occupied on that score. but it still continues as before to be an epitome of all India in consequence of the diversity of races living here. I do not think I will be far wrong when I say that members of the League from different parts of India will find numbers of their own countrymen amongst the heterogeneous populations of this vast city. I sincerely hope that our brethren of the League will find themselves at home, at least in coming across their own people from their own respective provinces. It is true that Calcutta is sometimes called the 'City of Palaces', but Mohammedan Calcutta after all has a much humbler prospect from the point of view of wealth and affluence. We cannot boast of any merchant princes like those in Bombay, or the magnates of Lucknow, and hence there can be no wonder that our hospitality is also poor; but I can assure our brethren that the will to offer our services for their comfort and convenience has not been wanting, and true to Islamic traditions, we have placed our little all before them and have tried our best to make their stay amongst us pleasant and comfortable. If we have failed in every degree in our efforts, we confidently look up to all our brethren to overlook our shortcomines.

## Internment of President Elect

My joy at your presence here is tempered with unspeakable sorrow on account of the sad and depressing circumstances under which we meet to-day. The vacant presidential chair expresses our feelings far more eloquently than I can do. I believe that for the first time in the history of all representative gatherings, the present audience has been compelled by force of circumstances to hold deliberations with a vacant presidential chair. The history of Muslim India during the past few years has been full of many surprises, but I assure you that this has been the most cruel, the most poignant and the most heartrending of all. I grieve for the absence of Mr. Mohammad Ali. not merely because he was our president elect, but also because he has all along been one of the sturdiest champions of the Muslim cause in India. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, for I feel that his absence from the presidential chair to-day is the result of an act of despotism and unreasoning autocracy on the part of our rulers, which has cast a slur upon the fair fame of British rule in India. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, because at a moment when the most vital questions of constitutional reform are being discussed from all points of view, his absence from our midst has been the greatest possible disaster to Muslim interests. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, because he was one of the most trusted and most intrepid of our leaders, and we can ill afford to be deprived of his sage counsel and sober guidance at this crisis in the history of our community and our country. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, because I firmly believe that he has fallen a victim to misrepresentations and mischievious reports of the Criminal Intelligence Department, for no other reason than being a true Musalman and a fearless exponent of the progressive ideals of Islam. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, because his absence from our midst to-day is a studied insult to the feelings and sentiments of the loyal Musalmans of India. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, because the refusal of the Government to release him in spite of our repeated prayers and entreaties is an act of unparalleled highhandedness on the part of our rulers, which is sure to rouse discontent amongst the peaceful members of our community in India. I grieve for Mr. Mohammad Ali, for I feel that he is at

the present moment suffering an unjustifiable and unmerited incarceration, whereas the crown of glory should have adorned his head as a reward for his unselfish labours on behalf of his community and his country.

But, gentlemen, while I grieve so much for Mr. Mohammad Ali, and feel the keenness of our loss on account of his enforced absence from our midst, I grieve still more for the blundering self-sufficiency of those officials who seem to be bent upon pursuing a policy which stands condemned by the unanimous opinion of all the leaders of political thought in India. We are all human and liable to make mistakes, but we can hardly lay claim to any sense or reason if we continue acting in defiance of the unanimous and unmistakeable opinion of the public in general. or persist in adhering to a course of conduct about the error of which there is a perfect unanimity of all shades of opinion. Whatever may be the differences of opinion about other matters of public interest amongst the various sections of the Indian people. I think I am right in saving that there is a perfect unanimity of opinion on this, that the internment of Mr. Mohammad Ali is wholly unjustified. Within the last few months there have been public meetings all over the country denouncing the internment of Mr. Mohammad Ali, and all other leaders, in the strongest terms; and still Government persist in defying all this volume of opinion in a spirit of autocratic high-handedness of which even the Russian Czar would possibly have been ashamed. I wonder how these officials, who seem to be so utterly impervious to public opinion and public criticism, can lay claim to any of those qualities of which the British people are often so proud. For the fair name of the British people themselves I am sorry, for these Englishmen whose blind career of autocracy in India has brought discredit on the British Government and branded the British nation in the eyes of the whole of India. The interned Muslim leaders will survive the injustice that has been done to them; but I doubt very much if the prestige of the British administration will survive the shock it has received by these ill-conceived and narrow-minded acts of officials who ought to have known better, and whom experience, if nothing else, should have taught the inestimable lessons of prudence, caution and statesmanship.

## Internment of Other Muslim Leaders

And this leads me to the subject of the internment of Muslim leaders in general. Azad, Mahmudul-Hasan, Hasarat Mohan and many others of the trusted leaders of our community have been taken away from us by the machinery of what I consider to be one of the most cruel and unjust enactments that have ever been in force in this country. I maintain that these internments are wholly illegal and unjustifiable, as being based on orders which have been passed under an arbitrary and unjust law. The War has been responsible for many anomalies, not the least remarkable of which is the Defence of India Act. The Executive in this country were long on the look out for powers by which they could readily pounce upon their victims without the risk of their actions being challenged in a Court of Law. The War gave them their long looked-for opportunity. A Bill, intended primarily for the defence of the country against the enemies of the King, was rushed through the legislature, but no sooner did the Bill become law than this supposed measure of defence was utilized as one of the most terrible means of offence. The Executive took full advantage of the authority given to them under the Act by ruthlessly depriving unoffending citizens of their liberty. No formal charges were brought against them, no definite accusations made, the accused were not even given a chance of clearing their conduct, while mere suspicions based on the report of an irresponsible C.I.D., were enough to wrest a man from his friends and his family.

As in the case of the operation of the Press Act, the Musal-mans were again singled out for the special mark of Executive favour. Within three years of the passing of the Act, almost every one of our honoured and trusted leaders has been taken away from us. I do not wish to dwell on the case of all the interned leaders, but I will certainly make a passing reference to a few of them. The cause of our President elect Mr. Mohammad Ali, comes naturally uppermost in my mind. The story of his internment has been told from so many hundreds of platforms that it will only be a waste of time to repeat the same melancholy story over again. I will therefore only refer to the reasons given by the Government for detaining him in custody. An interpellation in the Viceroy's Legislative Council by the

Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah elicited the astounding assertion that the order of internment was justified on the ground of Mr. Mohammad Ali's sympathy with the King's enemies. Although the Government did not care to specify who these enemies of the Government are, we have no difficulty in finding out that by these enemies Government means the Turks. Now, gentlemen. the attitude taken up by the Government with regard to the internment of Mr. Mohammad Ali directly raises the issue of whether an expression of sympathy, or even the promotion of that sympathy with our co-religionists in trouble, is such a serious offence as to merit internment under the Defence of India Act. Musalmans all over India have considered this question. and whether the answer is palatable to Government or not, there is now no ignoring the fact that every sincere Musalman adheres to the opinion that such sympathy is not in itself any sufficient ground for an interference with our liberties under the Act. Musalmans have answered the question, and have declared from hundreds of platforms and in hundreds of thousands of voices that every genuine and sincere Musalman does feel sympathy for the Turks in their present troubles. Of course, if any one were to translate this sympathy into action, and be guilty of any act of sedition or disloyalty, the case would of course be quite different; but so long as the Musalmans keep within the bounds of loyalty and due allegiance to the Crown, I do not think the Government has a right to quarrel with their opinion in this matter, any more than it can take exception to their religious tenets of faith. It is time for Government to take note of this considered opinion of the Muslim community and to cease persecuting people for the sake of their personal opinion.

I next pass on to the case of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for whom Bengal, not to speak of the rest of India, has been mourning for nearly two years. The family of the Maulana has been domiciled in Bengal for nearly half a century, and its members always made it the mission of their life to impart religious instruction to the people. Like his father of revered memory, the Maulana also had devoted himself solely to the life of a teacher and preacher of Islam. For politics he never cared, and so far as I am aware, he never allowed himself to be dragged into it. His activities were mainly confined to the compilation

of works on religion; and imparting religious instruction to his disciples. But the all-knowing C.I.D. suddenly discovered that his presence here in Calcutta was dangerous, and an order immediately went out demanding that he should remove himself bag and and baggage from Bengal. People were horrified at this order, but there was no help for it, and the Maulana had to obey. A memorial signed by over 70,000 Musalmans of Bengal was sent to the Government for the cancellation of the order. To the credit of the Government of Lord Carmichael be it said that His Excellency was disposed to accede to our prayer and permit the Maulana to come back to his peaceful avocation. But, unfortunately, before this order of cancellation could take effect, the Bihar Government intervened and passed orders for the internment of the Maulana on the alleged ground of treasonable correspondence with the King's enemies. The voice of criticism had to be hushed for the moment in the face of the enormity of the alleged offence; but the Maulana immediately repudiated the charge and challenged Government to prove the accusation in a court of law. This challenge has not yet been taken up by Government. Insults were heaped upon him by offering him a pittance by way of allowance and putting restrictions on his movements which interfered with his attending the mosque to offer his isha and maghrib prayers. We all know how the Maulana met the situation. He declined to accept the allowance, and he has been attending the mosque regularly to say his prayers in defiance of the orders passed by Government.

The case of Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan stands on a par with that of Maulana Azad. Throughout his life he has been a recluse, and his activity, either religious or political, had never been at all pronounced. We have not the means of knowing what secret intrigue he was carrying on, or what seditious doctrines he was preaching to his disciples, for we are not in the confidence of the C.I.D., but what we do know is that by nature and temperament he is not a man who could have got himself entangled in any revolutionary movement against the established government of the country. While on his way home from Mecca, it was suddenly discovered by the C.I.D. that he was dangerous to the safety of India, and he was accordingly arrested and removed to the Prisoners of War Camp of Malta, where he has been rotting in internment ever since. In his case

also, neither any definite accusation nor any attempt to justify the action taken by Government has been made. It is rumoured that in deference to public demand, the Government are going to restore the respected gentlemen to liberty. If so, it is a matter of sincere gratification. Let us hope that in this case at least, the wrong done will at last be rectified.

I cannot pass on in silence over the case of Mr. Hasrat Mohani who has given signal proof of courage, of a devotion to duty and honesty of purpose of which every Musalman ought to be proud. He is another of those brilliant leaders of our community who by sheer merit, strength of character and steadfast devotion to the cause of the country and the community, have covered themselves with undving glory and renown. At a time when the whole of Muslim India was filled with bitter feelings of hostility towards the Hindus, it was he who dreamt the dream of a Hindu-Muslim unity and persisted in teaching the doctrine of co-operation with the advancing communities of India for the common good of our motherland. Like many other leaders, it was not long before he was interned. Restrictions were placed on his movements; but he refused to admit the legality of these restrictions on the ground that they were passed under an Act which he did not admit to be either just or proper. He purposely disobeyed the orders passed against him; and he was prosecuted and placed on trial. When brought before the court, he freely admitted having broken the conditions imposed upon him under the Defence of India Act. and instead of defending himself, he expressed his willingness to go to jail rather than recant his conduct. He was sent to jail at Faizabad; and then comes one of the most touching episodes in his life. His health broke down in the Faizabad jail, and his wife sent a petitien to Government praying that he might be transferred to the Aligarh jail, where the climate suited him better. His wife also submitted that she was too poor to pay for the railway fare from Aligarh to Faizabad, and that if Mr. Hasrat were kept at Aligarh, she would be in a position to see him frequently and render him whatever services were permissible under the jail regulations. She never for a moment prayed that her husband might be released. Gentlemen, you will be horrified to learn that the prayer of this unfortunate lady was summarily rejected by the benign Government of the United Provinces. At the

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present moment, it is a familiar sight in that part of the country to see Mrs. Hasrat in almost the tattered robes of a beggar woman covered by a burqa, leading her little daughter by the hand and wending her weary way from Aligarh to Faizabad to see her husband in jail. Gentlemen, if you have tears of blood, this is the time to shed them. To the eternal credit of Hasrat and his wife be it said that they are as firm and unyielding as ever. All honour to this brave and courageous lady who had set an example of wifely devotion, courage and fortitude of which the womankind of India may well be proud.

I could go on recounting other instances and adding to the tales of the sufferings of our leaders in exile and in jail, but I hardly think it necessary to do so. These are melancholy chapters in the history of our community, and I doubt very much if they redound to the credit of British rule in India. But apart from the illegal and highly arbitrary character of this policy of internments. I wonder that our rulers do not recognize the fact that an unrestricted career of repression is hardly consistent with the gratifying message of hope of August 20, 1917, which the pronouncement of the Imperial Government seeks to convey to the Indian people. The words of that announcement are still ringing in our ears and only serve to add to the keenness of our disappointment at the failure of our efforts to release the interned leaders of our community. Let us hope that our rulers will yet learn and remember that it is never too late to mend, and that by an early cancellation of these orders of internment, they will make amends for the injustice and wrong done to the Musalman community. The release of these leaders will come as a balm and a solace to the afflicted hearts of the millions of loyal Musalmans. It is the only effective means of bringing about that calm political atmosphere which the Viceroy desires should prevail in India.

# The Pledge of Political Emancipation

Gentlemen, we cannot begin our deliberations at this session of the All-India Muslim League without being reminded of the fact that the year which is just coming to a close is destined to mark an epoch in the history of India. The pronouncement of the Imperial Government dated August 20, to which I have

already referred, is one of the most weighty and solemn declarations of policy which the Imperial Government has made from time to time relating to the constitution of the government in this country. Ever since the memorable day when Lord Macaulay, speaking from his place in Parliament, on the occasion of the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, uttered those memorable words about the growth and development of political consciousness in India, all the communities in this country have been anxiously looking forward to the redemption of those solemn promises which our rulers have repeatedly made for the political emancipation of the Indian people. "It may be", said Lord Macaulay, "that the public mind of India may so expand under our system as to outgrow that system; that our subjects, being brought up under good government, may develop a capacity for better government; that being instructed in European knowledge they may crave for European institutions. I know not whether such a day will ever come; but when it does come. it will be the proudest day in the annals of England". To the credit of our British rulers in India it must be said that in spite of occasional blunders, and even grievous mistakes, they have steadily pursued a policy of generous sympathy and helpful guidance in directing our activities into well-ordered channels of a steady and progressive political development. Following on the declaration of policy in 1833, our rulers in India flung wide open the gates of the temple of knowledge, and Indians began to drink deep and with avidity of the fountains of Western learning and culture. Through more than half a century, Indians were nurtured on the vivifying food of English constitutional freedom; and through the pages of history, our countrymen were brought face to face with the struggles and triumphs of the English people in their progress towards the attainment of constitutional liberty. Macaulay foresaw the day in his almost prophetic vision; but the day came much sooner than either he or his contemporaries ever contemplated. And no wonder that it was so. English constitutional history is replete with inspiring examples of courage, devotion and sacrifice—courage tempered by caution, devotion leavened by sobriety, even partisanship softened by large-hearted charity, and all subordinate to the one predominating ideal of a readiness to sacrifice self in the solemn cause of the country.

We would have been unworthy of ourselves and of our precentors, we would indeed have been something less than human if, with our souls stirred to their inmost depths and our warm Oriental sensibilities roused to an unwanted pitch of enthusiasm by the contemplation of these great ideals of public duty, we did not seek to transplant into our own country the spirit of those institutions which have made English great amongst the liberty-loving nations of the world. And we, the Musalmans of India, would also have been unworthy of ourselves and unworthy of our past traditions if the rousing call of England to liberty and emancipation had failed to receive a responsive echo in our hearts. For a time indeed, Musalmans were apathetic to Western education and maintained an attitude of sullen indifference to passing events. But the heart of democratic Islam could not long remain unresponsive to a call which it had been her own privilege to raise in Europe when the Western nations themselves were mute and dumb, and when it was the Musalmans alone who were trusted repositories of the treasures of knowledge and culture. From the platform of the Indian National Congress, India first raised her voice for constitutional freedom, much like an infant crying for the light. The cry grew in volume and intensity as years rolled on, till at last the greatest political organization of the Musalmans in India, our own, our cherished Muslim League lent its voice to swell the national cry. No earthly power could resist such a cry, coming deep from the inmost recesses of millions of hearts. The resolutions of the Congress and the League were hardly more than a few months old, when the Imperial Government made the epoch-making pronouncement of August 20, which we all hope is a pledge for the final political emancipation of the Indian people.

## Constitutional Reforms

And this gentlemen, brings me to the important question of constitutional reforms, about which so much has been said, and whose discussions have brought down so much unmerited obloquy on the devoted heads of the members of the All-India Muslim League. It was in November, 1916 that, by a joint consultation of the representatives of the All-India Congress Committee and of the All-India Muslim League, the scheme of

reforms was formulated which is now known as the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms. The Scheme was presented to the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow just a year ago, and was considered and accepted by both these political organizations. It was then published and distributed, broadcast all over India; and not a single voice was raised in dissent, either as regards the principles or the details of the proposals underlying the Scheme.

After the pronouncement of August 20, and the announcement that the Secretary of State would visit India, a number of mushroom political organizations grew up all over India, and they arrogated to themselves the high privilege of suggesting schemes of reforms for the future Government of India. It is quite certain that but for the declaration of the Imperial Government about self-government in India, and the announcement of the Secretary of State's visit to this country, all these political prophets would have remained in the seclusion of their homes, and these precious proposals and schemes would never have seen the light of day. The temptation of getting an opportunity of shaking hands with the Secretary of State was too much for most of these leaders to resist, and they set about devising ways and means to accomplish their cherished end. They well knew that no interview would be granted to any except those who claimed to represent one or other of the various schools of political thought in this country, and they accordingly set about formulating schemes to be put forward before the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to serve as passports for their cherished interview with these representatives of our Sovereign. A wholesale copy of the Congress-League Scheme would not, however, have served their purpose; for in that case they would have been told to come through the gates of the League, gates which alas, they knew would open to only one magic "Open Sesame", namely, acceptance of the creed of self-government for India; but these were words they could not utter. Devoid of any power of making any suggestions of their own, they had to fall back on the Congress-League Scheme as a basis of operations, but variations in that Scheme were necessary in order to give their proposals an air of originality. This is the reason why our critics, while dissociating themselves from the Congress-League Scheme, have invariably taken our Scheme as their guide

and model, and in most cases have copied wholesale passages from it verbatim. This will be evident from a comparison of our Scheme with every other that has been presented on the question of constitutional reforms. Imitation, gentlemen, has always been regarded as the sincerest form of flattery; and we think that in freely copying from our Scheme, our critics have really paid us a compliment of which we should all be justly proud. Far from bearing any animus towards our critics, I think we should offer our hearty thanks to all our opponents who have borne unconscious testimony to the value of our suggestions and have unwittingly subscribed to the dominant principles underlying our Scheme of constitutional reforms.

And this leads me to a consideration of the Scheme of Reforms itself. It has been said that in voting for constitutional reforms, we have imperilled the interests of our community in India, and have betrayed the trust which had been implicitly laid in us by our community. It has been argued that the best policy for the Musalmans would have been to pursue a policy of political inaction, and some have even gone the length of suggesting that it was the bounden duty of the Musalmans of India to oppose constitutional changes which might have the effect of undermining the power and influence of the bureaucracy in India. This specious Kalema of political notation has been sought to be preached by so many false prophets that I would crave you indulgent leave to examine it a little closely.

### Sir Syed on the Political Responsibility of Muslims

The world has grown older and wiser by more than half a century since our leaders, headed by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, advocated for the Musalmans of India a policy of total abstention from politics. I am not going to sit in judgement over our great leaders of the past, but I will centainly venture to say that a policy like the one advocated by Sir Syed Ahmed and his colleagues more than half a century ago, can hardly be held applicable for all time and to all circumstances. Even the great Sir Syed himself had to modify his own views in his own life time. At a meeting held on the May 10, 1866, at Aligarh, Sir Syed in a deliberate speech, said:

"It is with great regret that we wiew the indifference and

want of knowledge evinced by the people of India with regard to the British Parliament. Can you expect that body to take a deep interest in your affairs if you do not lay your affairs before it? There are many men now composing it, liberal in their views. just and virtuous in their dealings, who take a deep interest in all that affects the welfare of the human race..... To excite this interest, however, it is necessary that the requirements and wishes of that portion of mankind on whose behalf they are to exert themselves be made clearly known to them. Their interest and philanthropy once excited, you may feel assured, gentlemen, that the wants of the Jew, the Hindu, the Christian or the Mohammedan, of the black man or of the white will be attentively studied and duly cared for. India with that slowness so characteristic of Eastern races has hitherto looked on Parliament with the dreamy apathetic eye, content to have her affairs, in the shape of her Budget, brought before it in an annual, and generally inaudible, speech by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. Is this state of things to continue, or has the time now come when the interests of this great dependency are to be properly represented in the governing body of the British nation? It has come, gentlemen, and I entreat you to interest yourselves for your country. The European section of the community in India, now grown so large, have set on foot an association in London with branch associations in India, in order to have Indian affairs, and the wants and desires of all classes of her inhabitants, brought prominently to the notice of Parliament; but unless the entire native community out here co-operate with them, place funds at their disposal, and take such measures as may conduce to place the scheme on a permanent basis, the opportunity will be lost, the natives of India will be unrepresented, and you will only have yourself to reproach when in afteryears you see the European section of the community enjoying their well-earned concessions, whilst your wants remain still unmet.

"I am afraid that a feeling of fear that the Government or the district authorities would esteem you factious and discontended were you to inaugurate a measure like this, deters you from coming forward for your country's good. Are the Europeans thought factious and discontended? Believe me, this moral cowardice is wrong, this apprehension unfounded; there is not

an Englishman of a liberal turn of mind in India who would regard with feelings other than those of pleasure and hope such a healthy sign of increased civilization on the part of its inhabitants. If you will only show yourselves possessed of zeal and self-reliance, you are far more likely to gain the esteem of an independent race like the English than if you remain, as you now are, apathetic and dependent. The actions and laws of every government, even the wisest that ever existed, although done or enacted from the most upright and patriotic motives. have at times proved inconsistent with the requirements of the people or opposed to real justice. The natives have at present little or no voice in the management of the affairs of their country, and should any measure of Government prove obnoxious to them they brood over it, appearing outwardly satisfied and happy whilst discontent is rankling in their minds. I hope you. my native hearers, will not be angry with me for speaking the truth. You know that you are in the habit of inveighing against various acts of Government in your own homes and amongst your own families, and that you, in the course of your visits to European gentlemen, represent yourselves as quite satisfied with the justice and wisdom of these very acts. Such a state of affairs is inimical to the well-being of the country. Far better would it be for India were her people to speak out, openly and honestly, their opinions as to the justice or otherwise of the acts of Government".

Sir Syed then quotes the following passage from John Stuart Mill: "The rights and interests of every or of any person are only secure from being disregarded when the person interested is himself able and habitually disposed to stand up for them. The principle is that the general prosperity attains a greater height and is more widely diffused in proportion to the personal energies enlisted in promoting it."

Our respected leader then proceeds:

"These principles, my friends, are as applicable to the people of India as they are to those of any other nation, and it is in your power, it now rests with you alone, to put them into practice. If you will not help yourselves, you may be quite certain no one else will. Why should you be afraid? Here am I, a servant of Government, speaking out plainly to you in this public meeting. My attachment to Government was proved, as many

of you know, in the eventful year of the Mutiny. It is my firm conviction, one which I have invariably expressed, both in public and in private, that the greater the confidence of the people of India in the Government, the more solid the foundation upon which the present Government rests, and the more mutual friendship is cultivated between your rulers and yourselves, the greater will be the future benefit to your country. Be loyal in your hearts, place every reliance upon your rulers, speak out openly, honestly, and respectfully all your grievances, hopes and fears, and you may be quite sure that such a course of conduct will place you in the enjoyment of all your legitimate rights, and that this is compatible, nay, synonymous with true loyalty to the State, will be upheld by all whose opinion is worth hearing".

#### The Importance of Organized Political Agitation

Gentlemen. I do not think a more eloquent testimony to the efficiency of political agitation could be forthcoming than is contained in the words of our great leader, and I am sure I would be guilty of reprehensible impudence were I to add anything more on this point. It is recognised on all hands that organized political agitation on constitutional lines is the only effective means for a just consideration of our rights, and that a policy of political inaction would be utterly suicidal to the interests of our community. We must move with the time, or else we are doomed. But apart from all these considerations, I would ask you to consider whether it would have been wise or politic on our part to maintain an attitude of stolid indifference to passing events, or to political activities of various communities in this country, which have naturally been moulding the policy of our rulers in matters affecting the Government of this great dependency. Even if we had remained silent, or worse still, even if we had taken up an attitude of active hostility towards the communities which have been agitating for reforms, I do not doubt that reforms would have come sooner or later, in spite of the attitude taken up by the Mohammedan community. It is a great mistake to suppose that the British people have any idea of governing India in the interests of any class or community, or that they will consent to sacrificing the interests of the

Empire at large by showing any special predelictions in favour of any one class as against another.

It is only natural that any policy they adopt in this country must be guided by considerations which have in view the interests of the Empire at large, and it is these considerations which alone must always guide them in granting or withholding privileges. If, for instance, our rulers have at any time shown any desire to ignore agitations for political concessions, it is because, in their judgment, concessions would not be justified by reasons of Imperial concern, and not because any particular community or communities may have been opposed to such concessions. Of course, any opposition from any section of the Indian people must carry the weight which it deserves; but such opposition can never be the sole guiding factor in inducing our rulers to come to a decision. Similarly, if our rulers think that certain concessions ought to be granted, we may be sure that these concessions will be forthcoming, irrespective of any opposition to the grant of such concessions that may exist is this country. I could illustrate my remarks by quoting numerous instances, but I would content myself with only a few recent cases. We all know that for long Mohammedans kept themselves aloof from all political movements; and it was an accepted political doctrine in India that the Musalmans, as a community, were opposed to the demands of the Hindus. Yet in spite of our indifference, and even opposition, the Government of Lord Ripon made a big concession to the demands of the Hindus by introducing those beneficent measures of reform which have inaugurated the beginning of self-government in this country, and for which we all now cherish the memory of Lord Ripon in loving regard and veneration. Then, when the Indian National Congress was started, the Musalmans thought it wise to keep themselves away from it and they were known as opponents of this institution, which in its earlier days was considered a purely Hindu organisation; but it is the demand of the Indian National Congress which induced the Government of Lord Landsdown to make a beginning towards the expansion of our Legislative Councils, and the introduction of an elective element in these Councils. Be it remembered that in deciding upon this reform, Government had to ignore or, at any rate, had not the support or endorsement of the expressed opinion of the leaders of the Iusalman community. Hardly a decade had passed when we nd a further expansion of the Legislative Councils, in deference the demands of the Congress, and again unsupported by the ndorsement of the Musalman community. Then came, again within less than a decade, the Minto-Morley reforms which rought about the present expansion of the Legislative Councils and a real and effective recognition of the demands of the longress for a non-official majority in the Legislative Councils, a also various other rights and privileges for which the Congess had been fighting for nearly a quarter of a century. These xamples emphatically prove that political concessions have een granted to the Indian people, quite irrespective of the attitude taken up by the Musalman community.

I do not for a moment imply that these concessions have been nade by our rulers regardless of the interests of any of various ommunities in this country, but the point I wish to emphasize elates to the outstanding fact that the question whether any oncessions are to be granted or not, quite apart from the maner in which these concessions are to be applied to the fabric of he Indian administration, has always been decided, and very ightly decided, by our rulers in accordance with reasons of tate and according to the particular policy which required that particular concession should be granted or withheld. A glarng instance of what I mean was afforded by the reversal of the Partition of Bengal. Our brethren in Eastern Bengal were told hat the Partition was a settled fact, and they were indeed, and even encouraged to carry on an agitation for the maintenance of the Partition. Successive Viceroys and Secretaries of State. ncluding even Lord Morley, declared that the Partition of Bengal would be upheld at all-risk, even as much as British would be prepared to uphold the British Empire in India. "The Musalmans of Eastern Bengal", says Lovat Fraser, "were told again and again by Ministers, by Viceroys, by Lieutenant-Governors, by all the officers of the new Province, that they would never more be placed under the dominion of Calcutta Bengalis. Under the greatest provocation they remained perfectly quiet for seven years, relying and implying upon British pledges." Speaking in the House of Lords in February 1912, Lord Minto gave his testimony on this point with his accustomed directness: "We told the Musalmans that the Partition was a settled fact, and we over and over again asserted that it must continued to be so. We assured the Musalman population of Eastern Bengal of our appreciation of their loyalty and our determination to safeguard their interests. I should think there could have been scarcely a civil servant in India who had not declared that it would be impossible for the British Government to reverse the decision it had come to as regards the maintenance of the Partition of Bengal."

Hardly any political leader in India thought, after all the weighty declarations of our rulers that the reversal of the Partition of Bengal was within the bounds of human possibility. But what is the actual fact? As soon as it suited Government to annul the Partition. our rulers did not hesitate a moment to disown the declarations of the Government both of India and at home. The pledge that had been solemnly given to our brethren of Eastern Bengal and repeated over and again for six years was ruthlessly sacrificed in furtherance of what is called the Delhi Scheme. All the sturdy loyalty and the devoted allegiance of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal were quickly forgotten; and our rulers did not hesitate to sacrifice them, like so many valueless pawns on the political chess-board, to suit the requirements of Imperial expediency. I maintain, therefore, that it is of very little moment or consequence whether Musalmans take part in politics or not. The problems that arise in connection with the constitutional changes in this country must be answered; and if the Musalmans do not furnish an answer or a solution themselves, so far at least as such changes affect their interests, the answer or the solution will be furnished by others. The Muslim League is a living protest against the policy of political inaction; and the members of the League have decided, after having learnt many a bitter lesson in the school of experience, that questions affecting the well-being of the community had best be decided by Musalmans and Musalmans, and Musalmans themselves. (sic)

I hope I have made my point that a policy of political indifference could hardly have been justified in the light of the happenings in recent years. But apart from the question of advisibility or justification, I think it would have been extremely foolish on the part of the Musalmans of India to range themselves in opposition to the forces of progress. Had we done so, we would only have covered ourselves with ridicule, without having advanced the interests of the community by one jot. We would only have found ourselves in much the same position as our Musalman brethren of Eastern Bengal are after the reversal of the Partition. We had therefore to take it as a settled fact that the reforms were due and forthcoming, and the only question we had to answer related to the manner in which it was necessary to safeguard the interests of our community in any scheme of constitutional changes.

#### The Congress-League Scheme of Reforms

For this purpose, the All-India Muslim League issued notices all over India for Musalmans to come and take part in the deliberations; and at the Bombay Session of the League, a strong committee, consisting of representatives from every province of India, was appointed to draw up a scheme of constitutional reforms. This committee met a representative committee of the Indian National Congress in November 1916, and after deliberations lasting for four days, a scheme of constitutional reforms was drawn up on the basis of a mutual understanding between the various communities in India. This is the much vilified Congress-League Scheme which has been repudiated by many, but which has been followed, copied, endorsed and practically accepted by all.

I do not wish to enter upon an elaborate discussion of this Scheme, nor do I propose to defend the scheme or answer the adverse remarks of our critics. I firmly believe that as time goes on and people begin to take a saner and lustre view of things, and to look at the Scheme in its true perspective, all the objections to the Scheme will disappear, and the voice of opposition will grow faint and small, and will be ultimately and finally hushed. But there is one point about the Scheme on which much has been said in Bengal, and I therefore think it necessary to say a few words in order to throw some light on the subject. It has been said that in providing for the representation of Musalmans in the various Legislative Councils, our scheme puts the Musalmans in a position of numerical inferiority; and the apprehension has been expressed that if our scheme is accepted, Musalmans will only be at the mercy of a dominant Hindu

majority. Now, a slight reflection will show that this criticism is unjust, inasmuch as the apprehensions expressed are wholly unfounded. It will be observed that according to our Scheme, the Musalmans in the Punjab will be an absolute majority, and in all provinces except Bengal, the representation provided for Mohammedans is very much more than their numerical strength in the population. In Bengal alone have we accepted a representation less than our numerical strength in population, but we did so after careful thought and anxious deliberations.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the leaders of all the non-Muslim communities in India have always been strenuously opposing the principle of communal representation. We have only to recall the persistent manner in which resolution after resolution has been passed at sessions of the Congress and at all public meetings in this country. All the distinguished leaders of the Hindu community, not to speak of others, had hitherto expressed themselves most strongly in opposition to the principle of communal representations, with the single exception of perhaps the late Mr. Gokhale, who ultimately consented to tolerate this principle of communal representation as a necessary evil under the present political condition of India. The late Mr. R.C. Dutt, from his place as a member of the Decentralization Commission, put on record a note of emphatic protest against separate representation of Mohammedans on local self-governing bodies, as being contrary to the acknowledged policy of absolute neutrality, as between class and class, to which the British have pledged themselves in the government of India. It is true that in the Minto-Morley Scheme, the separate representation of Musalmans forms an important feature of the changes introduced by the expansion of the Legislative Councils; and it is also true that Lord Morley defended this principle from his place in Parliament as being not only justifiable but also fair. But the fact cannot be ignored that the representation of Mohammedans hitherto recognized by Government is so hopelessly inadequate as to be practically ineffective, and further, that there has as yet been no guarantee that this principle would be adhered to for any length of time.

Having regard to the persistent agitation against communal representation and the weight of opinion opposed to it, we thought it was quiet within the bounds of possibility that the

separate representation of Mohammedans on public bodies might one day suddenly be taken away. Our leaders, therefore, felt that it was of the highest importance that a compromise should be arrived at on the basis of a mutual understanding of the rights and duties of the various communities in India, so that a matter of such vital importance to our community might not be left entirely at the mercy of the caprices or the whime of British politicians. The All-India Muslim League therefore gave an ultimatum to all other communities through the medium of the Indian National Congress that any demand on the part of a united Indian people must proceed on the basis of a common understanding and a common agreement between all. and that, in any case, the principle of the communal representation of Musalmans in any scheme of self-government in India must be definitely and clearly recognized and amply provided for. After mature deliberations on the part of the leaders of non-Muslim communities, the conditions laid down by League were accepted by the Congress, and it was on this basis that the Committee of the League and the Congress set about working out a joint scheme of reforms.

We might have worked out a scheme of our own without reference to the rights and privileges of other communities, and I admit that in such a scheme we might have asked for the lion's share of the prizes on behalf of our community. But in that case the scheme would not have been binding on the other communities, and the controversy as regards the separate representation of our community would have remained wholly unsettled. In such circumstances, it would have been open to the Government to recognise the principle or not, and even in case of recognition, to have reduced our representation to an insignificant minority. Experience has shown that Mohammedan interests have seldom received adequate representation when left solely and entirely in the hands of the authorities. I have already referred to the inadequate representation of Musalmans in the present Legislative Councils. In the Calcutta University Senate, where the Government exercises the power of nomination to the unusually large proportion of 80 per cent of the members, the representation of Musalmans on the Senate does not exceed even 6 per cent. In the proposed amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act, the representation which

it is proposed to give to the Musalman interests continued to be grievously neglected, until recently when our leaders adopted the modern and the more effective method of public agitation for securing recognition of our legitimate rights and claims. Our leaders in the Muslim League therefore very properly thought that to leave the question of our communal representation within the pale of controversy would be extremely risky, and they accordingly thought it prudent to clinch the matter and come to a definite understanding between ourselves and the other communities in this country. If the Muslims and non-Muslims had disagreed on the question of communal representation, either as to the principle involved or the details, the matter would necessarily have gone into arbitration by a third party, namely, the Government. Having learnt by past experience that the result of such arbitration has generally been disastrous to Muslim interests, we thought that it was better and wiser to leave no chance for arbitration at all. This is the principal merit of the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms, and our leaders thought that to secure the end of view, we might even make some sacrifices.

But have we really made anything in the nature of a sacrifice? In the Punjab we have provided for an absolute majority, and in all the other provinces the proposed representation is very much in excess of proportion in population. It is said that even with this excessive representation, Mohammedans are in a minority in all these provinces; but our critics forget that there is a world of difference between a minority whose votes can effectively turn the scale on an important question, and a minority which is so insignificant as to be capable of being ignored and left out of calculations altogether. It is in Bengal that the acceptance of a representation of 40 per cent has been most strongly criticized and the Congress-League Scheme denounced in the strongest terms. Let us examine the position briefly. It is provided that the Musalmans will have a representation of 40 per cent of the total number of Indian members, and when we remember that the remaining 60 per cent would consist not merely of Hindus, but various other communities as well as the representatives of special interests such as municipalities, district boards, universities, landholders, trade and commerce, I doubt very much whether the Hindus themselves will have a representation of more than 40 per cent. Besides, there will be the Anglo-Indians and the whole body of officials in order to keep the balance even between contending communities. If perchance the expanded Councils become the scene of petty strife and party factions, rather than trusted repositories of our national interests. I cannot conceive of Mohammedan interests ever being imperilled, except on the supposition of a combination of all the other elements in the Councils against them. This, gentlemen, is a contingency which can hardly arise; and if it ever did arise. I should be disposed to think that the Musalmans were in error on that particular question, and a defeat under such circumstances can hardly be a matter of much concern. We claim that under the Congress-League Scheme, even the apparent slightly inadequate representation of Mohammedans in Bengal can never be of real risk to the interests of the community, and a little reflection will show that all apprehensions on this score are wholly unfounded.

Gentlemen, I hope I have been able to show that we are in a position of advantage in the Congress-League Scheme of Reforms so far as the representation of our community is concerned, and that even in Bengal there is no risk under the slightly inadequate representation to which we have subscribed. At the same time, with all these advantages to ourselves, we have wrung from the important non-Muslim communities of India a formal acceptance of the principle of adequate representation of the Musalmans in any scheme of reforms in the future Government of India. Far from the Congress having captured the League, the members of the Muslim League might as well claim that the League has captured the Congress. We claim that it is a great triumph for such a young organization as the Muslim League, and it is a matter of very great regret that the community has not yet acknowledged or fully appreciated the achievements of the Muslim League in this direction.

#### The Ideal of Political Enfranchisement and the Opposition to it

Gentlemen, I have dwelt at some length on the question of constitutional reforms, because I think that opinion of all shades and grades is now unanimous that, for a patriotic Indian there can be no higher, no loftier, no nobler duty than working for

the ideal of the political enfranchisement of India. To attain this end ought to be the highest aim and ambition of every Indian, and no sacrifices ought to be too great to enable us to reach this cherished goal. When we remember the various and obvious defects in the present system of Indian administration: when we remember the untold oppression that is being daily committed on simple and inoffensive people by the Police, under a system which has been condemned by judges of all shades of opinion; when we remember the appalling poverty of the Indian masses which renders them an easy prey to devastating famines: when we remember the ceaseless economic drain which is sucking the life-blood of the Indian people and rendering them an easy prey to visitations like plague, pestilence and famine, I cannot but feel that a system of government which is mainly responsible for such a deplorable state of things, and against which such severe indictments could be levelled, stands in need of urgent and speedy reform. I repeat that in my opinion no sacrifices can be considered too great to attain the goal of our ambitions. I therefore regret that some of our educated fellowcountrymen have actually set themselves in opposition to the agitation for self-government in India, and are doing their very best to render reforms distant, if not actually impossible. I have no doubt that our rulers will be in a position to discriminate between the false traitor and the true patriot, and that our countrymen will also not be slow to recognize the essential difference between a genuine patriot and one whose sole business in life is to trade in politics.

Unfortunately, however, our efforts towards attaining any substantial measure of constitutional reforms are not free from difficulties. There is opposition on all sides, not merely the veiled and secret opposition of the bureaucracy whose vested interests are threatened and imperilled, but also from a few sections of the population in this country. The case of those Indians who are playing the part of traitors to their country for the sake of base lucre, or for other selfish motives, deserves only to be treated with the most unutterable contempt. Their motives will soon be exposed, and the country will know how to mete out condign punishment for such mean and base treachery. But there are others whose opposition has got to be reckoned with, and whom it is necessary to reconcile, in view of the influence

which they are likely to exercise in the councils of our rulers. I refer to the opposition of the Anglo-Indian community. They claim that they are protesting against all impending reforms not so much in their own interests as on behalf of the voiceless millions of India, for whom they seem to have constituted themselves trustees and guardians. It almost moves one to laughter to hear Anglo-Indian merchants like Sir Archy Birkmyre and Sir Hugh Bray talking of Indian peasants being in the position of their wards, for such a relation can only exist in much the same manner as the tender kid was privileged to enjoy the caresses of the generous lion in the story. Do our Anglo-Indian friends really want us to believe that they care a farthing for those unfortunate people out of whom they wring their millions of pounds every year, and who are starved to death in order to enrich European traders and manufacturers? The manner in which the Anglo-Indian merchants have driven the jute cultivators practically to the starvation point, and the oppression committed on Indians in the tea gardens of Assam, are a sufficient refutation of these pre-posterous claims of the Anglo-Indian community. I do not, however, deny that Anglo-Indians as a community have got their special interests, which cannot be ignored in any scheme of reforms for the future government of this country, and the matter would become quite intelligible if our Anglo-Indian friends discussed the question from this practical point of view. Considered in this light, I would assure the Anglo-Indian community that we are not unmindful of their special interests, nor are we disposed to forget their contributions to the advancement of our mother country. We would ask them, however, to come forward and join us in our efforts for constitutional reform, and co-operate with us in working out a scheme beneficial to all the parties concerned and worthy of the great British Government under which we all live.

To them, I will take the liberty to repeat the appeal which was once made to secure their help and co-operation by our esteemed leader Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea: "In our efforts for the improvement of our political status, we fell that we may appeal with confidence to the sympathies of the Anglo-Indian community. They are Englishmen. By instinct and by tradition they are the friends of freedom. In regard to many, their interests in the country are permanent. In regard to many more, in

view of the falling exchange, they are looking forward to making India their permanent home. Burke's well known aphorism. of the Anglo-Indians of his day being 'birds of prey and passage' is well-nigh an extinct tradition. Our interests and their interests are identical. Their political status is not a whit removed from ours. If they have more influence in the Government. it is due to sufferance. They cannot claim it as a matter of right. Any extention of our political privileges would benefit them as well as ourselves. Difference there will always be between the different sections of the same community. as there is in this country between zamindars and ryots; as there is in European countries between capitalists and labourers. But we are essentially members of the same community, in the sense that we have common rights and common grievances, and that it is our duty to stand shoulder to shoulder to remedy our grievances and to promote our rights. We are all interested in the development of our manufactures, and we all know what pressure is brought to bear upon the Government here, sometimes masked under the guise of philanthropy, sometimes less thinly veiled, to interfere with the growth of our manufacturing industries. Here, as in other matters, united we stand, divided we fall.

#### The Arrah Riots

I cannot leave this subject of the impediments in our way without making a reference to one of the most regretable incidents which have disturbed the peace and harmony between the great communities of India. I refer to the Arrah riots and the unspeakable oppression and outrages committed on the Musalmans in Arrah and various other parts of Bihar by a band of ruffians calling themselves Indians and claiming to belong to a community which has hitherto done so much for the dissemination of nationalist ideas in India. No true son of Islam can refer to these outrages except in terms of strongest condemnation; but in my opinion these Arrah incidents are far more deplorable from the nationalist point of view. These Arrah riots have done the greatest possible disservice to the nationalist cause, and have supplied a plausible argument to our enemies for opposing the cause of constitutional reform. Fortunately the Musalmans as a community have kept their heads cool and met the situation with the utmost sanity, moderation and sobriety, but there are unfortunately men in the community who are not disposed to look very beyond the present, not to speak of far into the future. It is no exaggeration to say that these Arrah riots have tended to scare Musalmans away from sympathizing with the agitation for constitutional reforms, and have had a marked effect in weaning away a large number of enthusiasts from active participation in the cause of reforms. The most regretable part of the whole affair has been the attitude of the Hindu leaders in adopting a policy of laissez faire in this matter, and practically refraining from denouncing the authors of these horrible crimes. In the name of humanity itself, if nothing else, every civilized Indian ought to denounce such unprovoked oppression on defenceless men, women and children: but a higher duty rested on our Hindu fellow-countrymen: to mark their disapproval of a course of conduct on the part of their co-religionists so utterly subversive of all the cannons of peace and good will between the two communities.

I cannot leave this painful reference to the Arrah riots without putting on record the strongest condemnation of all the dastardly deeds of which the rioters have been guilty. I cannot
conceive of anything more fatal to our aims and aspirations
than these occasional outbursts of misguided religious frenzy
and bigotry. In the name of an indignant Muslim League, whose
aims and aspirations they have compromised, in the name of
an awakened Indian nationalism, whose dearest interests they
have imperilled, in the name of the Hindu community, whose
fair fame they have sullied, I emphatically denounce the awful
crimes of which Hindu rioters have been guilty at Arrah and
other places.

It is sad to think that while the task before us is so onerous and difficult, obstacles should be thrown in our way, knowingly, or unknowingly, by our countrymen, as the goal gradually comes into view. Difficulties and obstacles are bound to increase and it requires all the courage, all the forbearance and all the statesmanship of which our leaders are capable, to win their way to ultimate success. The League has already introduced a new spirit into the community and infused a new enthusiasm into our people; but it has yet to bring together the scattered elements of a vast and diversified population, to weld them into

a compact and homogeneous whole so that it may vibrate with the new-born sentiments of an awakend nationality. Our leaders have to place lofty ideals of public duty before their country and their community and must slowly mould the national character. They will have to contend with oppositions from within. Above all, our leaders of the Muslim League have got to remember that they are the trusted custodians of the interests of 70 millions of their co-religionists in various stages of political development, and that every step they take must be guided by caution and deep political foresight. I have no doubt that the members of the Muslim League will, one and all, realize the full responsibilities of their positions, and learn to work in selfless devotion to the interest of their community and their country and in a spirit of healthy co-operation with the other great communities of India, so as to secure, for their common mother country, the speedy realization of that responsible form of government, under the aegis of the British Crown, which has now been authoritatively declared to be the final goal of British rule in India.

# Hopes and Disappointments of Mr. Montagu's Visit

I have already referred to this year as an epoch-making one in the history of British India, epoch-making in the high hopes it had raised in the minds of the people, but I am afraid that it also seems destined to be somewhat epoch-making in our disappointment. The announcement of Mr. E.S. Montagu's visit, in connection with the question of constitutional reforms, following close upon the pronouncement of August 20, sent a thrill of exultant jubilation throughout the country. Mr. Montagu has come and is now very nearly at the end of his visit; and although the future of the question of constitutional reforms is yet open to speculation, the circumstances surrounding his official progress through the country have raised gloomy apprehensions in the public mind. The Indian Civil Service found an excuse to secure the presence of the Viceroy at the discussions that took place between Mr. Montagu and the various deputations on questions of constitutional reform, and it is no wonder that these discussions were an almost official aspect. Free ventilation of real grievances was greatly hampered, and I doubt if

very many of those who were honoured with the so-called private interviews really spoke out their mind. This is hardly a hopeful omen; but there are other reasons for real apprehension. It is now an open secret that Mr. Montagu was prevailed upon, if not actually compelled, to stay away nearly 1,000 miles from Calcutta during the national week, lest his liberal instincts might lead him to enter the portals of the pandals of the Congress or of the League. Half our battle would have been won if Mr. Montagu could have had a personal contact with these national gatherings, and our enemies arranged matters to avert such a 'catastrophe'. Let us hope that these effects of the reactionary atmosphere in India will pass away as soon as Mr. Montagu sets foot on English soil and once more breathes the free atmosphere of England.

Mr. Montagu may come and go, but the fate of India's grievances goes on for ever. Our long list of appointments in consequence of promises unfulfilled and pledges unredeemed seems destined never to come to an end. The repeal of the Arms Act: the repeal of the Press Act; the separation of judicial and executive functions; the question of police reform; the repeal of the enactments that enable the Executive to deprive law abiding subjects of His Majesty of their liberty, such as the Defence of India Act; these are amongst the most prominent of those matters of national concern about which the Congress and the League have been crying themselves hoarse year after year. We raise our voice once more, conjunction with that of the Indian National Congress, for the early redress of these grievance. At the present day the heart of Bengal is sore on account of the operations of the Defence of India Act in consequence of which more than 1,700 Hindu youths are now interned in different parts of the country. It is true that the operations of this Act in Bengal have been confined mostly to the youths of the Hindu community, but Bengali Musalmans can never be happy so long as their Hindu brethren are suffering from an afflicted heart. I hope Government will pronounce an early amnesty for all these youths and thereby allay the wounded feelings of millions of His Majesty's loval subjects in Bengal.

#### A Bereavement

Brethren of the League, I cannot resume my seat without making a reference to two matters of a particularly painful character, both of which have cast a gloom over our hearts. I refer in the first place to the sudden demise of the late Mr. A. Rasul, whose untimely death, under the most pathetic circumstances, has been an irreparable loss to the Muslim cause in India. All the communities in this country, as well as the highest officials, including His Excellency the Governor of the Presidency, have paid the highest tributes to his memory; and I do not think I can usefully add to anything that they have said. Mr. Rasul was one of those towering personalities who by sheer force of character seem born to command the respectful regard of everyone they come in contact with. In the words of the poet:

His memory long will live alone, In all our hearts, like mournful light That broods above the fallen sun, And dwells in heaven half the night.

### The Future of Muslim Holy Places

The next reference I make is regarding the safety of our holy places. Only the other day, the fall of Jerusalem coming on top of the happenings regarding Baghdad and other holy places in Mesopotamia, sent a chill through Muslim hearts, and spread a feeling of alarm throughout the Islamic World regarding the future of our holy places. We, however, hope that our benign Government will rigidly adhere to the promises held out to us regarding the safety and sanctity of our holy places, and that, whatever may be the result of military operations in Mesopotamia, it will allow all such places to remain in Muslim hands. We hope the Indian Musalmans have fully justified their claims to a consideration of this character.

# Renewed Appeal for Mr. Mohammad Ali's Release

Gentlemen, I offer my heartiest welcome to that august lady, the mother of our President elect, Mr. Mohammad Ali, who in spite of the infirmities of age and failing health, has undertaken a long and perilous journey in order to deliver her

appeal to the community. Our heart breaks to think that our rulers could be so stone-deaf to the prayers and entreaties of our community, and even to disregard the pitious appeals of an aged mother on behalf of her children. Only the other day. telegraphic messages, more than 30,000 in number, had been despatched to Government for the release of our leaders, but all these appeals have hitherto been in vain. Even the prayer of Mr. Mohammad Ali for an interview with the Secretary of State has been refused. If our own hearts be full of overwhelming grief and sorrow, is it difficult to conceive the agonizing feelings of a distracted mother, for whom hitherto there has been no comfort or consolation of any kind? Let us hope that the courage and fortitude, the intrepidity and energy she has shown will animate the hearts of the Musalmans of India to make one more effort for the release of our interned leaders. so that the cause of justice and righteousness may be vindicated in the liberation of these victims of bureaucratic highhandedness and unjustifiable tyranny.

#### Unity and Self-Sacrifice to Meet Crisis

Gentlemen, I am afraid I have already detained you much longer than I had intended, or should have done; but I sincerely hope you will all pardon me. There are moments when one has to speak in spite of oneself, and when language, however imperfect and inadequate, affords the only means of relieving the fulness of an afflicted heart. In more respects than one, we meet today under exceptional circumstances. Apart from all our melancholy association in connection with the fate of our President-elect and other leaders, we are being persistently reminded of the fact that we are now at the threshold of a great crisis in our fate. A prospect like this is enough to make the boldes heart quail, but we have the additional melancholy foreboding that our community as a whole does not realize the perilousness of the situation. In place of that divinely inspired unity, that singleness of purpose, courage, devotion, self-sacrifice and a hundred other qualities for which Islam alone has been a living example for all the world, we have in our people to-day, a perfect negation of all these qualities in the most superlative form. A house divided against itself; dissension and discord amongst our prominent men; moral cowardice, mean and petty jeolousies and a burning desire to put self before every other consideration seems to dominate the minds of many of us at the present day. It is a melancholy and sickening picture, but I am afraid it falls far short of the actual reality.

Added to this, there are the innumerable difficulties and dangers in our way due to the peculiar political position of the Musalmans of India. The participation, against England, of Turkey in the war put the final seal on our difficulties, and creatted for us an embarrassing situation, the seriousness of which is increasing day by day. The world has seen how the Indian Musalmans answered the call to their loyalty and devotion, and the world will also judge how their loyalty and devotion have been honoured and appreciated. We are about a fifth of the whole Indian population, but our contribution to the fighting forces of the Empire amounts to very much more than a third, only slightly less than an actual half. Of the nine Indian recipients of the Victoria Cross, an many as four were Musalmans. And yet the stain of suspicion and distrust with which our enemies have been branding us continues to be a dark spot on the fair fame of our community, although we have not hesitated to wash it with our blood. If it is the Press Act which has to be put into operation, it is the Musalman journalists who are singled out as prominent victims; if it is the Defence of India Act, it is our prominent leaders who fall an easy prey to its stringent and arbitrary provisions. We are indeed fallen on evil times, with dangers and difficulties compassed around. If ever there was a supreme necessity for unity, co-operation and self-sacrifice there could not have been a greater opportunity than the present in the entire history of Muslim India. Let us hope that we will be wise in time, and it is for the Muslim League to bring home, to the entire community, the necessity of sacrificing ourselves at the solemn altar of our duty to our community. Then and then only will the Muslim League have fulfilled its mission, accomplished its high destiny amongst the political organisations in India, and covered itself with imperishable renown and everlasting glory. May the Almighty God bless our efforts and crown our activities on behalf of our community and our country with unqualified success.

Once more, brethren of the League, I welcome you.

#### The Address of the Raja of Mahmudabad

As soon as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, after delivering his remarkable speech, resumed his seat, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad got up among defeaning cheers, which resounded in the *pandal* and lasted for many minutes, to address the gathering in an Urdu speech beginning with the couplet:

Baat karni hame mushkil kabhi aisi to na thi Jaisi ab hai teri mehfil kabhi aisi to na thi

The address which he wrote out in English for the occasion was distributed among the audience. In his Urdu Speech, the Raja Sahib referred to the internment of Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali, defending their loyalty. He regretted the painful circumstances under which, for the first time, the presidential chair remained vacant. He spoke feelingly about the unjust and unjustifiable conduct of the Government, placing reliance on a common C.I.D. agent, as against a man of exalted position, was a member of the Imperial Council and belonged to a great noble family. He also spoke of the Indian demands and aspirations, and appealed to the Musalmans to stand by their fellow-subjects to obtain responsible government for India.

The following is the full text of the English address of the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad:

Gentlemen, you assembled to conduct your deliberations under the guidance of one who was chosen by universal acclaim to preside over your deliberations this year, who is regarded as one of your true leaders, who has dedicated his life to the service of his country and his community, who has suffered much and is still suffering for his service, but who also is prevented from fulfilling the obligation you had laid upon him, an obligation which it would have been his dearest wish to fulfil. From every corner of the land and from every community, the respectful prayer—latterly taking the shape of an insistent demand—had gone forth that Mohammad Ali, the President elect of this momentous session of our League, should be released from internment. But the Government has heeded not. I do not know whether those responsible for his continued detention fully realize the intensity of the feeling which exists among the

Mohammedans on this matter. Mohammad Ali's enforced absence from the public life of the country has been a deprivation. the magnitude of which the Musalmans of India have felt with bigger poignancy, which has not been lessened by the fact that Mohammad Ali and his brother were interned and remain interned to-day without any definite charge having been formulated against them. Mohammad Ali, it seems to me, was the one man whose service in these unprecedentedly abnormal times it should have been the endeavour of the Government to utilize in every possible way. A publicist of high repute, and an able and fearless exponent of the sentiments, the grievances and the aspirations of the Musalmans of India, who better could, I ask, have acted as the mouthpiece and the interpreter of those sentiments than he. He mirrored and expressed in the columns of his ably conducted journals, as no one else could do or had the courage to do, with an equal degree of faithfulness and candour, what was passing in the minds of the Muslims of India. He did not hide or attempt to minimize what we Musalmans felt, nor did he think it a service to the State or to his fellow-Muslims to lull the Government into the belief that the mind of the community was running along the lines laid down by the bureaucracy. But though he was essentially a people's man, he never forgot his responsibilities as a patriotic citizen of the British Empire, or his allegiance to his Majesty and King Emperor. Who, indeed, can forget his exhortation, unequivocal and courageous, to his co-religionists in India when they were about to be overwhelmed by the misfortune of the acknowledged Khalifa and spiritual head of their largest section ranging himself on the side of the King's enemies, not to deviate a hair's breadth from the path of true loyalty? His electrifying pledge on behalf of the Indian Musalmans is still ringing in our ears: "Whatever happens, our anchor holds".

Three fateful years have passed since those words instinct with the true fervour of a patriot were uttered; every syllable of that pledge has been redeemed by the phenomenal way in which Muslim loyalty in India has stood an almost superhuman test. Would it not have been an act of grace, let alone justice, had the Government repaid the loyalty which has been given in such full and free measure, under such distracting circumstances, by acceding to the passionate appeal of the Mohammedan

community, supported as it has been by the voice of the whole of India, and releasing the Mohammedan leader who freely and fearlessly gave that pledge three years ago on behalf of the community?

## The Evil of the Internment Policy

We know that anarchical designs have been hatched and unhappily anarchical outrages perpetrated by certain enemies of law and order in British India. The commission of crimes of violence as a means to a political end is a recent development in this country. But it cannot be said that anarchism stalks the land. The overwhelming mass of the people are not only passively but actively loyal, yet when the Executive Government sought to arm itself with the weapon of the Defence of India Act-by which it invested itself with the power, as a war measure for the safety of the realm, of interning people without any trial, without any definite charge, and without any opportunity being given to them of defending themselves and proving their innocence—the support of the representatives of the people in the Council was accorded to it, though not without grave misgiving that it might be misused. How well founded were these misgivings has been made plain to the most casual observer of events by the manner in which the provisions of this Act have been applied and made use of the Executive. Persons who could by no stretch of imagination be suspected of any offence in connection with the war, and the whole tenor of whose lives revealed only constitutional and open efforts for the public weal, have been deprived of their liberty of person, of movement and of expression. The guillotine of the Defence Act has descended with paralyzing swiftness and ruthlessness on many members of our community, not a few of whom are recognized and cherished as our trusted leaders, champions and spokesmen.

Gentlemen, do Government fully realize what these internments have done to our country? They have not only taken away from us men whom we respected, trusted and loved. That by itself would have been a grave enough loss. The stimulation of their presence is denied to us. At this juncture in the affairs of our country and of our community, we are poorer, inestimably poorer, by being deprived of the valuable contribution

which they, and most of all our President that was to be, would have made by their wise counsel, deep thought and patriotic action to our deliberations. Imagine what would have happened if the illustrious lady who is presiding at the sister political organization had remained a victim to the arbitrary exercise of the executive authority of the Government of Madras. It is to be supposed that the people of India would have responded to the appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy for a calm and tranquil atmosphere at the time of the visit of Secretary of State for his great and momentous mission? Such a thing was impossible. They could not have comforted themselves so even if they tried. for their minds would have been disturbed by the feeling of a great wrong remaining unredressed, a great worker in the public cause, an illustrious leader of public opinion being excluded from the discussions for which primarily the Secretary of State undertook the journey to India. The Government realized the incongruity the injustice of the situation, and braving the taunts of the Anglo-Indian Press, forthwith released Mrs. A. Besant.

Exactly such a situation, if anything perhaps graver and exciting deeper feelings, as the wrong was of longer duration, exists with regard to Mohammad Ati. I have said that Mohammad Ali is pre-eminently the most faithful interpreter of the views of the progressive section of the Musalmans of India. On the question of the impending changes in the constitution of the government of the country, in the enjoyment of full liberty as a British subject, he would have been our most able adviser, and he should have been invited by the Government to offer his full and frank opinion. This aspect of the question has been fully and publicly put before the Government by the Musalmans. The All-India Muslim League has repeatedly placed on record the demand of the Musalmans on this point. As recently as last November 15, the Muslim League, in a general meeting of its members held at Lucknow, declared: "That this meeting deplores the fact that in spite of the expression of the overwhelming sentiment of the community as indicated in the unanimous election of Mr. Mohammad Ali to the presidentship of the next session of the All-India Muslim League to be held in Calcutta in December next, both he and his brother, Mr. Shaukat Ali, have remained unreleased. The All-India Muslim League cannot too strongly urge upon the attention of the Government that the course

followed by them is having profoundly depressing and disquieting effect upon the community at large."

For almost three years the Government preserved a sphinxlike silence as to the reasons why Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali were interned. At last to the question of the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah, the ex-President of our League, they vouchsafed the reply that they were interned because they expressed and promoted sympathy with the King's enemies. This reply has for the first time brought within the cognizance of the public reasons, unsupported by any fact, which have induced Government to restrict the liberties of the two brothers. I say deliberately and emphatically that the Musalmans of India refuse to accept this condemnation of our two friends. We refuse to believe it, and we demand that, if Government have any evidence to justify that statement, let it be produced and scrutinized and submitted publicly to those tests without which no evidence is worth the name. We know our friends. Their lives have been an open book. They have worked constitutionally and above-board in the cause of their community and of India; and this grave charge, unsubstantiated by any facts, unproved by evidence impartially sifted, has failed to shake the confidence of the public in their innocence.

Is an expression of sympathy with Islam and Musalmans in their tribulations, in India and outside it, to be treated as an act of disloyalty to the State? On this point, the League, in the resolution I have quoted above, says: "The League further puts on record its unswerving conviction that the views expressed by Mohammad Ali in his draft undertaking faithfully reflect the attitude of the Mohammedan community of India, his offence, if it is an offence, being that speaking the unvarnished truth, he has rendered a public service alike to the Government and his own people: further that in the considered opinion of the League the view expressed by Mr. Mohammad Ali and also the passive sympathies of the Musalmans in general with their coreligionists, all over the world, based on purely religious grounds is not in the least degree inconsistent with the fullest measure of sincere and reasoned loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor. Lastly, the League desires to convey to the Government the profound disbelief in the charges and allegations which have been officially made against Mr. Mohammad Ali without any attempt

at substantiation, and so long as the public is not fully put in possession of the sources and the character of the information upon which the Government based their policy, it will continue to regard such action as devoid of any justification; further that the League do resolve in response to the universal wishes of the Musalmans of India to initiate a campaign of constitutional agitation to ventilate this matter, both in this country and in Great Britain, with a view to securing the release of the two brothers".

In spite of these emphatic declarations, which show that the sentiments expressed by Mr. Mohammad Ali and his brother are sentiments shared with them by the whole of Muslim India. though they are in no way inconsistent with deed and reasoned loyalty to the King Emperor-a loyalty which is being daily put to the proof on the battle fields on every front where Indian Mohammedans are sacrificing their lives for King and country as freely and as willingly as any other section of His Majesty's subjects-in spite, I say, of these declarations and these proofs, the Government has continued its policy of repression, of distrust and of suspicion. There need be little wonder, then, that a feeling of disquietude, depression and resentment prevails in the minds of Muslims. And in this condition of mind, we are asked to discuss, in an atmosphere of serenity and calmness, the prospective reforms in the constitution of the government. We are to preserve an attitude of peace and calm in the face of the greatest and the most persistent aggravation of our most deeprooted grievance. The coping stone to this attitude of Government was laid when, in a spirit of unreasonableness hard to parallel, the Home Department of the Government of India refused to allow an All-India Deputation of Musalmans to wait on Mr. Montagu, unless the prayer for the release of Mohammad Ali and other internees was deleted.

I can hardly say that the section of the more impulsive amongst us is to be blamed when it refuses to be comforted by what is being dangled before it and exclaims with Khaiyam:

Oh take the cash, and let the credit go,

Nor heed the rumbling of a distant drum!

But as much I sympathise with this attitude, I appeal to my eager and bitterly tried friends not to give way to feelings of despondency and despair. Even those brave men who have lost their liberties for us would not wish that this spirit should get

the better of us. They would wish us, I know, to continue the struggle, and work for the cause with that singleness of purpose which characterized them. The cause of the country is too great. too sacred to be forsaken through any misfortune. It is in the spirit of an unshakable devotion to our faith and our country that we have assembled here. In the clash of arms and the din of conflict, many of the old-world ideals have crumbled and vanished, but the apotheosis of patriotism, of love of country and of race has once again become an abiding and a consuming faith to millions of men, who, hitherto, unmoved by any consideration except that of material gain, have made the supreme sacrifice on the altar of his faith. Gentlemen, to you this seemingly new phase of man's mentality does not come in the nature either of a new discovery or even as a truth restored to its pristine purity. Your fidelity to your faith is a wonder to the world, and Hubbul-Watan (love of country) you regard as part of your faith.

I will not waste your time on the trite question of whether we are Musalmans first and Indians afterwards, or Indians first and Musalmans next; for we are both, and it does not matter in the least whether you put the one attribute first and the other afterwards or the way about. I maintain that we are both at one and the same time, and the record of the organization to which we all are proud to belong, I mean the All-India Muslim League, is a splendid exemplification of the Indian Musalman.

To the All-India Muslim League belongs the glory of burning the great truth into the hearts of Indian Musalmans, that they must devote an equal portion of their lives for the service of the motherland as for their faith.

# Muslims and the Self-Government Movement

The rapprochement between the two great communities of India in matters political, of which the first fruits are seen in the Joint Scheme of Reforms which has received such gratifying support from all sections of the community, is the work of your League. How this change was brought about in the attitude of the thinking portion of the Musalmans of India is a matter of recent history and within the knowledge of most of you. The Mohammedan of the last quarter of the last century had fought shy of politics. That was not an accident. He did so under the

press of circumstances and in response to the imperative promptings of self-interest. A laggard, up to that time, in the educational race, in addition to being a member of a community which was a minority in this country, he realized that his position in the body politic of the country would be that of helpless subservience if everything was decided on the basis of votes. The vision of a government of the people, for the people, by the people, which was naturally entrancing to the educated Indians who had drunk deep at the fountain of Western knowledge, and who were moreover in the happy position of belonging to the predominent community, could hardly, at the first blush, make the same appeal to him. He was obsessed with a minority's natural anxiety for self-preservation. While drifting in this manner, matters were made worse by the larger community's refusal to recognize the claim of the Musalmans for representation on a communal basis, and were tending to an inevitable deadlock, to which the bureaucracy, apprehensive of the loss of their power, lent powerful support. At that stage, sudden changes in the Government of England brought to power one of the most liberal of Cabinets that had up to that time ruled from Whitehall. The affairs of India were entrusted to the hands of the philosopher-statesmen, Lord (then Mr.) Morley, who in conjunction with Lord Minto, decided, in keeping with the instincts, traditions and history of his freedom-loving race. to associate Indians, in a larger degree, in the Government of the country. To safeguard their interests and to put forward their claims in the new settlement, the Mohammedans in 1906 waited in deputation on his Excellency Lord Minto, and secured the definite concession of the right of separate representation in the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and Imperial, to the Musalmans of India.

It was thus that the Indian Mohammedan was drawn into the vortex of politics, and under these circumstances, the Muslim League came into being. But the League was mainly a defensive body, which primarily, though not exclusively, concerned itself with advancing the interests of the community it represented. A band of young men now began to assert themselves in communal affairs. Though their devotion to the faith was intense, their outlook was broader and their patriotism higher. Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Wazir Hasan were among these

workers, and it was Sved Wazir Hasan who in 1913 introduced in the draft of the Constitution of the League and now famous ideal of 'self-government suitable to India under the aegis of the British Crown'. The League now admittedly stood on a higher plane of patriotism than it occupied before, and the energy and the zeal that were infused into it succeeded in awakening, among Musalmans, a new life of aim and endeavour. Thenceforth the League's career was one of independent and fearless advocacy of Mohammedan and national causes. The manner in which your organization represented feelings during the period of Tripolitan and the Balkan wars, at the time of sacrilege of the shrine at Mashhed, the honourable part it played in the crises created by Cawnpore (Kanpur) mosque affair, coupled more recently with its truly statesmanlike action in taking the initiative in acquainting the Government with the current of Mohammedan feelings with regard to the question of the Caliphate, brought into inopportune prominence by the dastardly attacks made upon it by certain English and Anglo-Indian papers at the time of the revolt of the Shareef of Mecca, are chapters in its history of which the All-India Muslim League may well be proud. The crown of the efforts of the League is admittedly the Scheme of Reforms which, in conjunction with the Indian National Congress, it has presented to the country and the Government. The immediate conferment of this constitution after the war will be regarded by the country as a first step towards that complete responsible government which it is the declared aim of the British Government that India should attain. In the bog of addresses and interviews with which the Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu, and Lord Chelmsford are at present surrounded, one fact emerges sharp and distinct: it is the practical unanimity of this demand, from all classes and conditions of men, for the reform, without any delay, of the government of the country on the lines indicated in the Joint Scheme.

## The Congress-League Scheme

It was under your mandate in 1915 that the Scheme was prepared. The best talent of your community was engaged on this work; careful thought and vigilant efforts were brought to bear on it to make the Scheme not only comprehensive but—

and here your representatives were confronted with the most difficult and delicate task—to get those safeguards accepted, by the Committee of the Indian National Congress, which were considered essential in the interests of the Musalmans of India. The principle of separate and adequate representation of the Musalmans was, for the first time in the history of the Indian National Congress, acknowledged and incorporated; and there is a further safeguard—the far reaching effects of which cannot be exaggerated—in the Scheme. It provides "that no Bill nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council. Imperial or Provincial, oppose the Bill, or any clauses thereof. or the resolution".

Gentlemen, in your behalf, I affirm here our complete adherence to that Scheme, which is the irreducible minimum of our demands. Here I may say that the bed-rock of our demands in relation to our communal interests is as firm to-day as it was in 1906. And therefore in any scheme of constitutional reforms in the government of this country, this cardinal fact should not, in our opinion, be lost sight of.

The separate representation of the Indian Musalman in the Legislative Council, has admittedly been conducive to better relations between the two communities of India. It has contributed to the contentment of Mohammedans inasmuch as it has softened, if not altogether eliminated, the galling sense of unmerited importance in influencing Indian policy from the minds of the community, which by reason of its number, its position and its importance, felt that it could not justifiably resign itself to the inevitable lot of a hopeless and therefore dejected minority.

Communal representation is not an innovation introduced in the constitution of India only. Representation on a territorial basis is, we recognize, the general rule; but in the British Empire, embracing as it does, world-wide, divergent and not always easily reconcilable interests and elements, the experiment of communal representation has been tried with success, as for instance, in Cyprus, long before it was introduced in the Constitions

of this country. The recognition of this principle by the predominant community in India is an index of their desire for the equitable handling of inter-communal problems, and has made it possible for a joint scheme to be presented with the support of both the communities.

The steady advance of the government of the country on democratic lines, its increased deference to the will of the people as expressed through their chosen representatives, under whose control the government should ultimately be, is the basis on which this constitution is framed. The British nation is expending its blood and treasure with such profusion and generosity in order that the world may be 'made safe for democracy'. Shall then the mockery continue that, while India—with the other component parts of the Empire, which, by the way, are all democratic and self-governing—is fighting for this ideal, the form of government under which she is ruled remains despotic, however benevolent? It is a slur on the fair name of freedom-loving England, and I believe, repugnant to the instincts of the great nation with which the destinies of this ancient land are bound up.

We demand that by reason of India's advancement in education, economic and industrial progress, political capacity, and above all her inalienable right to full and unfettered development and as an over-delayed act of political equity and justice, the Government of Great Britain shall make definite announcement of the period during which full and complete responsible government shall be conferred on India. Other countries that had neither the ordered and settled and scientifically efficient government, nor enjoyed such immunity from internal disorder or external menace as India, have attained the ideal which for our country is still a pious aspiration. As a first and a very short step towards this goal, we demand that immediately after the conclusion of the war, the Constitution as embodied in the Joint Scheme, shall be granted.

The spirit of self-realization which is at present moving mankind in such a tremendously ominous manner has not left India untouched. She is also possessed with it, and why should she not be possessed with the spirit? Why should she not aspire to rise to her full stature? But the scheme for which we ask is not extravagantly ambitious. It is not Utopian. Existing conditions

have been taken into account and safeguards against our inexperience have been provided.

I may offer some observations in connection with portions of it. I believe that the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India is essential. The Secretary of State for India should not have a higher, a more powerful, or different position than the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He should, however. be assisted with one Assistant Secretary and two Under-Secretaries, two of whom should be Indians, to bring before him the Indian point of view. The greater portion of the powers of the Secretary of State should be transferred to Parliament. Our aim is autonomy, and the Viceroys should no longer be the agents of the Secretary of State for India. The Executive Council should more and more approximate to the Cabinet of Ministers, members retaining their seats in the last resort by the suffrage of the people, and with this end in view, the power of nominating members of his Executive Council should be taken away from the Vicerov.

Instead of the present system, members of the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be elected by the members of the Legislature, or at least, to begin with, as a first step towards that consummation, the Legislative Council should be given the right of nominating four members out of themselves, two of whom the Viceroy should select for the membership of his Council. I have yet another alternative scheme to suggest. The Vice-President of the Council should be a Minister without portfolio. His position should be analogous to that of the Premier, and to him should be given the power of selecting all the members of the Executive Council, official and non-official. To make him a representative of the people, at least by sympathy, if not by election, the Vice-President should always be an Indian.

The official members of the Legislative Council should no longer be a machinery for voting under Government direction. They should be there as representatives of departments and provinces. The official nominated element in the Councils should be one-fifth of the total strength of the Council.

I may say that I am in favour of the proposal, according to which, if a measure is passed by the Council with which the Viceroy is not in agreement, he shall have the power first to send it back for the reconsideration of the Council, and if it

does not change it's decision, then to dissolve it and order a fresh election. If the newly elected Council again passes that measure, then the Viceroy will be bound by the constitution to give his assent to it.

The first item in the programme of the Council which I have outlined should be the introduction of free and compulsory primary education. This reform, for which the late lamented Mr. Gokhale devoted his energies in the latter part of his life, has long been overdue. Is it not a reproach to Government, no less than to those who are working for the uplift of this country, that it should be absent from the educational organization of the country, at nearly the end of the first quarter of the 20th century?

## Public Service Commission Report

Before I pass to other subjects, I may refer to the keen disappointment with which the whole country has received the majority report of the Royal Commission on the Public Service of India. As has been observed by Mr. Kunzru in his admirable criticism of the Report, "The question of the extensive employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the Public Services is not merely one of providing honourable careers for the youth of India. The exclusion of the children of the soil from all positions of power and dignity would be a legitimate grievance even if the effect of the injustice were confined to a few individuals, but the injury to individual interests pales into insignificance by the side of the wrong done to the whole nation. Our vital interests are bound up with the proper solution of this question, which is at once moral, political and economic. It affects our manhood. It involves our national self-respect, it is also a test of England's good faith. If she is mindful of her moral responsibilities, if her dominion in India is not to be synonymous with the exploitation of a helpless people, if the Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 are not mere scraps of paper, it is her bounden duty to raise Indians to positions of trust and responsibility, and to make them feel that they are not treated as helots in their own country.

But after a considerable expenditure of public money and raising hopes in public mind, the commission has perpetuated,

with minor modifications which hardly affect the position, the inequities, the disabilities, the injustices on which the whole system of recruiting and manning the higher branches of the Public Services in India is built up.

The agency which is entrusted with the prevention and detection of crime still possesses the power to awardp unishment. The incubus of an agency, alien and therefore unsympathetic, devoid of understanding and unadaptable to Indian needs, still sits on the education of the country. Equality of opportunity in competing for the premier service in India is still denied to the youth of the country; and declaration, humiliating to the whole of India, is still made that race, and not fitness and ability, is the criterion, for filling up positions of responsibility in the administration, while the excuse is advanced that the British character of the administration should be maintained. Cannot Indians with British education maintain that character?

The whole country is under a great obligation to that distinguished son of India, Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim, who in his capacity as a member of the Commission did not forget the claims of the sons of this country to their birth-right of an equal, eye, a predominant, share in her governance and administration. The Note of Dissent signed by him represents the views of the whole of educated India, Mohammedan and Hindu, on this question; and the dissatisfaction of the country can only be removed if they are adopted in their entirety.

To the non-Muslim mind, the Muslim brotherhood, which scorns the barriers of race, of clime or territory, is an incomprehensible phenomenon; but it is, all the same, a living force and an adamantine fact. And want of understanding and appreciation of this fact is responsible for half the complications with which British statesmanship perennially finds itself face to face in relation to Islam. How often has Muslim mind in India been lacerated by the ignorance of and, let us hope unconscious, want of respect for Islamic convictions which responsible British statesmen betray at the most critical period of international affairs.

The Question of the Caliphate

The question of the Caliphate is, for example, one which,

now when Islam is already on the qui vive, has been recently treated in a flippant manner by men in authority, who sought to know, and by influential organs of public opinion, which ought to be taught better. It is not a shuttle-cock for European diplomacy to play with. It is a question which has got its seat in the very fibre of the faith of a vast majority of the Mohammedans of the world, no less than of India. They are greatly mistaken who think that any interference or dictation in this matter will not be resented by the Musalmans.

Gentlemen, the disintegration of Mohammedan countries is going on apace. Countries, every inch of which is sacred to the Musalmans, have been made battlegrounds in consequence of this world conflagration. The announcement which the Government of His Majesty and His Majesty's representative in India made at the beginning of this war, and which has contributed to an enormous degree to the self-control of the Indian Musalmans, is not forgotten. It assured them of the inviolability and the integrity of the Muslim sacred places and of their immunity from attack—Jerusalem is one of those sacred places.

## Vision of a United India

Gentlemen, how do we stand in relation to the other communities in India? Our points of contact are so many and so important; but our points of difference are not few. And the energies of the best minds of the two great communities of India are concentrated on the problem of how to smooth these differences and pave the way for greater harmony, toleration and mutual goodwill. They had almost succeeded when the outrages in Arrah and other places in Bihar and in other parts of India came as a rude shock, and have caused consternation in the ranks of well-wishers of the country, and joy to its enemies.

It would be folly to shut our eyes to the fact that these events reveal that forces inimical to real progress are not yet subdued, that the danger of the elements of disruption overwhelming and sweeping away the foundations of the Indian nation are still considerable.

Is the vision of a United India in which the nation-builders of both the communities are indulging so rapturously to be shattered for ever, and the labours of Indian patriots to be mercilessly stultified?

I call upon my Hindu compatriots not to treat the problem in a light-hearted manner or try to gloss over facts.

If all the recent attempts at co-operation are not to result in dismal failure, it behaves them and us to tackle the problems of Moharram, Dusehra and Bakrid with earnestness of purpose.

What force otherwise will our demand to the Government possess?

Gentlemen, our need now is the consolidation of the ground which workers in the cause of the political regeneration of India have, as the Hon. Mr. Jinnah so eloquently pointed out last year, constitutionally won yard by yard and inch by inch. Do not rest but continue to advance.

The citadels of reaction, both official and communal, have not yet been stormed. Join your forces and with a stout heart attack them.

#### RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SESSION

- I. The All-India Muslim League notes with deep satisfaction the steadfast loyalty of the Musalman Community to the British Crown during the present crisis through which the Empire is passing, and it assures the Government that it may continue to rely upon the loyal support of the Musalmans and prays that this assurance may be conveyed to H.M. the King Emperor. (From the Chair)
- II. The All-India Muslim League accords a cordial welcome to the Right Hon'ble E.S. Montagu on the occasion of his mission to India, and trusts that he is convinced of the genuine and intense desire of the people of India to attain responsible government as soon as possible. (From the Chair)
- III. The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the death of the great and revered leader of the Musalmans of India—Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, the first Honorary Secretary of this League, whose whole life was devoted to the disinterested service of his community, and whose manly advocacy of Muslim rights and aspirations has won him an abiding place in the affections of his co-religionists. (From the Chair)
- IV. The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of profound grief at the sudden and untimely death of

Raja Mohammad Ghulam Husain, the talented founder and Editor of the *New Era* and deplores the irreparable loss which the community has sustained by his sad demise. (From the Chair)

V. The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sudden and premature death of the Hon. Mr. Abd-ur-Rasul, a patriot of the highest character and a gentlemen of stainless public reputation, whose services in the cause of the community and the country will long enshrine his memory in the grateful recollection of his community. (From the Chair)

VI. The All-India Muslim League enters a strong protest against the objection taken by the Government of India to the passage in the address of the All-India Muslim Deputation relating to the internment of distinguished Muslim leaders under the Defence of India Act—a question which, the League is convinced, is closely bound with the contentment of very large numbers of His Majesty's subjects, and which, in its opinion, does involve an important constitutional issue.

The League is further of opinion that the refusal by the Government of India to allow the All-India Muslim League Deputation to be received by the Secretary of State, unless the passage referred to above were deleted, constitutes an encroachment on the rights of Indian citizens to place their political grievances before His Majesty's representatives. Having regard. moreover, to the fact that other deputations were allowed to present addresses to the Secretary of State containing a number of matters not bearing on the question of constitutional reforms, and considering also that this attitude of the Government debarred the Deputation from placing before the Secretary of State and the Viceroy the views of the Musalmans of India on many important questions of constitutional reforms contained in its address, the League deplores the decision of the Government of India and deems it its duty to bring to the notice of the Secretary of State the circumstances which prevented the Deputation from placing the Muslim viewpoint regarding the political situation before the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy. (From the Chair)

VII. This meeting of the All-India Muslim League emphatically protests against the decision of the Government of the

C.P. and Berar is not recommending the deputation of the League of that Province to wait upon H.E. the Viceroy and the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India and thus debarring the Musalmans of that Province from placing their views before His Majesty's representatives. (From the Chair)

VIII. The All-India Muslim League is strongly of opinion that the invidious distinctions maintained among the different sections of His Majesty's subjects under the Arms Act are extremely repugnant to the Indian's sense of justice and self-respect and urges upon the Government the necessity of an early repeal of the said Act. (From the Chair)

IX. This League strongly urges upon the Government to take immediate steps for the establishment of the Dacca University. (From the Chair)

- X. (a) The All-India Muslim League views with great alarm the outburst of Hindu fanaticism on the last Bakrid and Moharram in Bihar and Chaurari in the Jaunpore district and other places, and condemns the rioters and their secret sympathizers as the enemies of the country. This meeting also expresses its deep regret at the silence of responsible Hindu leaders at the occurrences in Bihar and Chaurari.
- (b) The All-India Muslim League expresses its indignation at the failure of the Criminal Investigation Department to obtain timely information of the huge organization set on foot by a large section of the Hindu population in the districts of Arrah. Gava and Patna to plunder the Houses of the Musalmans, defile and destroy mosques and the Holy Quran, and commit other excesses, and refuses to believe that the stupendous anti-cowkilling movement could have been organised without the help and co-operation of a number of Hindu members of the force. This meeting also expresses its deep regret at the weakness shown by the authorities in facing the situation, and their omission to adopt drastic measures against the rioters who carried on the pillage from village to village, and is of opinion that by having recourse to strong measures at the outset the spread of the trouble could have been avoided. (Proposed by Mr. S. Riza Ali; seconded by Mr. Abul Qasim)

XI. The All-India Muslim League, voicing the Muslim public opinion, adheres to the principle of separate representation for Muslim community, and strongly urges upon Government

the immediate necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in provinces where it has not yet been applied. (Proposed by Mr. Amin-ur-Rahman; seconded by Mr. Aziz-ul-Haque)

XII. The All-India Muslim League deplores the fact that in spite of the expression of the overwhelming sentiment of the community, as indicated in the unanimous election of Mr. Mohammad Ali to the presidentship of this Session of the All-India Muslim League, both he and his brother, Mr. Shaukat Ali. have remained unreleased. The All-India Muslim League cannot too strongly urge upon the attention of the Government that the course followed by them is having a profoundly disquieting effect upon the community at large. The Laegue feels it its duty to point out that, if it were not for the special appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy for co-operation in making the mission of the Secretary of State a success, the prevailing sense of the co-community would undoubtedly have restrained the Musalmans from any participation, at this juncture, in the representations to the Secretary of State. The League further puts on record its unswerving conviction that the views expressed by Mr. Mohammad Ali in his draft undertaking faithfully reflect the attitude of the Musalmans of India, his offence, if it is an offence, being that in speaking out the unvarnished truth he has rendered a public service alike to Government and his own people: further that in the considered opinion of the League, the views expressed by Mr. Mohammad Ali, and also the passive sympathies of the Musalmans in general with their co-religionists all over the world, based on purely religious grounds, are not in the least degree inconsistent with the fullest measure of sincere and reasoned loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor. Lastly, the League desires to convey to Government its profound disbelief in the charges and allegations which have been officially made against Mr. Mohammad Ali, and the League does resolve, in response to the universal wishes of the Musalmans of India. to initiate a campaign of constitutional agitation, both in this country and in Great Britain, with a view to securing the release of the two brothers. (Proposed by Mr. Fazi-ul-Haque; seconded by Mr. S. Zahur Ahmed; supported by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. M.K. Gandhi, Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew, Mr. Mohammad Shafi)

- XIII. The All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government to set free Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and all the other Muslim internees who have unjustly been deprived of their liberties, and to remove the great discontent prevailing in the Muslim community in consequence of such internments. (Proposed by Moulvi Mohammad Ismail; seconded by Maulvi Nizam-ud-Din; supported by Syed Mohsin Shah)
- XIV. (a) The All-India Muslim League records its sense of great satisfaction at the announcement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the 20th of August, 1917, that the policy of His Majesty's Government is "that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration, and gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire".
- (b) In redemption of the pledge made in the announcement, "that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible", the League strongly urges upon the Government the immediate introduction of a Bill embodying the reforms contained in the Congress-League Scheme of December, 1916, as the first step towards the realization of responsible government and fix a time limit in the statute itself, within which complete responsible government should be established in India, provided always that the principle of adequate and effective representation of the Muslim community is made a sine qua non in any scheme of reform. (Proposed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah; seconded by Mr. Abul Qasim; supported by Syed Raza Ali, Mr. Yaqub Hasan, Mr. Barkat Ali, Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan, Khwaja Haji Abdussamad Kukru, Nawab Zulqadar Jang)
- XV. In view of the strong desire of the Muslim community to have definite provisions for the protection of its interests, this League urges upon the Government that the following safeguards be adopted in the forthcoming reforms:
  - (a) Musalmans should be adequately represented in the public services of the country.
  - (b) Musalmans should have representation on Government Universities in the same proportion as the representation accorded to Musalmans on the Legislative Council

- of the province concerned may be.
- (c) The Urdu language and Persian character should be maintained in courts and public offices in those provinces where they are in vogue, and Urdu should be employed as the medium of primary education in the aforesaid provinces.
- (d) Musalmans should be afforded facilities, protection and help in the observance and performance of their religious rites, ceremonies and usages on the occasion of Bakrid, Moharram, etc., without any restriction by any official or community. (Proposed by Mr. Mohammad Yaqub; seconded by Mr. Ismail Shirazi)
- XVI. (a) Having regarded to the pronouncement of the 20th of August, 1917, made by the Imperial Government, it is desirable to discuss certain matters of detail with reference to the Congress-League Scheme, and this League urges upon the Indian National Congress to appoint a committee, at as early a date as possible, to work out those details in conjunction with the committee hereby appointed, without in any way infringing the principles embodied in the Congress-League Scheme.
- (b) The following gentlemen do form the Committee, with the President and Secretary of the League as ex-officio President and Secretary of the Committee, of which seven shall form a quorum:

# Bengal

- 1. Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Haque
- 2. Mr. Abul Oasim
- 3. Mr. Amin-ur-Rahman
- 4. Mr. Ashraf Ali
- 5. Mr. Abdul Latif Ahmed
- 6. Mr. Aziz-ul-Haque

## Bihar

- 7. Mr. Nur-ul-Hasan
- 8. Nawab Sarafraz Husain Khan
- 9. Maulvi Syed Mohammad Shafi
- 10. Mr. M. Haque
- 11. Mr. Hasan Imam
- 12. Maulvi Ahmed Husain

#### United Provinces

- 13. The Raja of Mahmudabad
- 14. Nawab Mohammad Ishaq Khan
- 15. Syed Raza Ali
- 16. Syed Alay Nabi
- 17. Syed Nawab Abdul Majid
- 18. Syed Nabi-ul-lah
- 19. Mr. Shuaib Quraishi
- 20. Mr. Wazir Hasan
- 21. Mr. Mohammad Yaqub

## Punjab

- 22. Mian Fazle Husain
- 23. Mr. Barakat Ali
- 24. Mr. Agha Mohammad Safdar
- 25. Mr. S. Mohsin Shah
- 26. Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew

#### Delhi

- 27. Dr. M.A. Ansari
- 28. Mr. Mohammad Ali
- 29. Hakim Ajmal Khan

#### Central Provinces

30. Mr. Taj-ud-Din

#### Burma

31. Mr. Mohammad Yusuf Bhaimian

#### Assam

- 32. Mr. Sad-ul-lah
- 33. Mr. Abdul Hamid

# Bombay and Sind

- 34. Mr. M. A. Jinnah
- 35. Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgari
- 36. Mr. Ghulam Ali Chagla
- 37. Mr. Sheriff D. Kanji
- 38. Mr. Omar Sobhani

#### Madras

- 39. Mr. Asad Ali Khan
- 40. Seth Yaqub Hasan

## Central India and Rajputana

41. Mr. Abd-ur-Rashid

#### North-West Frontier Province

42. Oazi Mir Ahmed

(Proposed by Mr. Fazl-ul-Haque; seconded by Mr. Raza Ali).

XVII. The All-India Muslim League places on record its most emphatic protest against the refusal of the British Government to admit two Indian Barristers (to East Africa) and requests His Excellency Lord Chelmsford to move the Imperial Government to get the decision immediately reversed, as it constitutes a serious encroachment upon the indefeasible rights of the Indian subjects of His Majesty to settle freely in any part of the Empire including protectorates. (Proposed by Mr. Mohd. Nurul Haque Chaudhri; seconded by Mr. Mohammad Abdullah)

XVIII. The All-India Muslim League views with great dismay and protests strongly against the indiscriminate administration of the Defence of India Act as constituting a great menace to the liberty of the Indians, and in view of their unimpeachable loyalty throughout the war, urges upon the Government the extreme necessity for the appointment of a joint-committee of Indians and Europeans to be elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council for the purpose of inquiring into the cases of all political detenues. (Proposed by Chaudhri Alim-uz-Zaman; seconded by Dr. S. Kitchlew)

XIX. The All-India Muslim League views with alarm the present economic condition of the poverty stricken ryot of Bengal, the majority of whom are Musalmans, created by the abnormally high prices of the necessaries of life owing to the war, and urges the Government to take immediate steps to put a stop to the harassments and the indiscriminate arrests, and to treat with leniency the forced excesses that might have been made in connection with the alleged looting of "Salt and Dhoties" in

some districts of Bengal. (Proposed by Moulvi Badr-ud-Din Ahmed; seconded by Moulvi Mohammad Akram Khan)

XX. The All-India Muslim League once more places on record its strong protest against the continuation of the Press Act on the Statute Book, which has proved in practice a harsh and oppressive measure especially in the case of the Urdu Press, and has rendered the free expression of public opinion practically impossible. The League is emphatically of the opinion that the said Act should be repealed without further delay. (Proposed by Mr. Wahid Husain; seconded by Mr. Zafar-ur-Mulk)

XXI. That a committee of the following five members, with the President and Secretaries of the All-India Muslim League as ex-officio members of it, be appointed to consider and report, within four months, upon the Draft Constitution, as prepared by the Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, to the Council of the League:

- 1. Mirza Sami-ul-lah Beg
- 2. Syed Alay Nabi
- 3. Dr. M.A. Ansari
- 4. Moulvi Zafar-ul-Mulk
- 5. Mr. Shuaib Quraishi

(Proposed by Mr. Barkat Ali; seconded by Mr. Aziz-ul-Haque)

XXII. The All-India Muslim League places on record the deep-rooted feeling of the whole community as regards the safety and sanctity of the Holy Places, and in view of recent events, particularly the capture of Jerusalem, insists on a declaration of policy conforming to the promises formerly made. (Proposed by Qazi Abdul Ghaffar; seconded by Mr. A.M. Khwaja)

XXIII. The All-India Muslim League protests strongly against the restrictions imposed upon the Right Hon'ble E.S. Montagu, and considers that the hindrances placed in his way are calculated to keep him ignorant of the true state of affairs in this country. (From the Chair)

XXIV. (a) The All-India Muslim League welcomes the announcement, in the House of Commons, of "the decision of His Majesty's Government to remove the bar which has hitherto precluded the admission of Indians to the Commissioned Ranks in His Majesty's Army".

- (b) The League trusts that in framing the rules under which Indians shall be eligible for commissions, Government will have due regard for the wishes of the people.
- (c) Colleges for training Indians as officers of the army should be established in India.
- (d) The League urges upon Government that in giving effect to the policy mentioned above, full consideration will be paid to the claims of the Muslim community. (Proposed by Mr. Barkat Ali; seconded by Mr. Mujib-ur-Rahman)
- XXV. The All-India Muslim League considers that the decision of the Government of Bombay to make Urdu a second language, and not a vernacular of the Presidency, will be a heavy blow to the cause of education among the Musalmans of the Presidency, and urges upon the said Government to make Urdu a vernacular of the Presidency, and also maintain Urdu Schools like the Kaparese and Marathi Schools. (From the Chair)<sup>1</sup>

Proceedings of the 10th Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Calcutta on the 30th and 31st December, 1917, and 1st January 1918. Compiled by the Hon. Syed Wazir Hasan, Lucknow.

# Chapter 2

# ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

SPECIAL SESSION

Bombay, August 31-September 1, 1918

A Special Session of the All-India Muslim League was held at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, on the afternoon of August 31, 1918, for the purpose of considering and expressing their opinion on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. Considering the importance of the occasion and the large and enthusiastic gatherings which sessions of the League attracted in previous years, the attendance at the Empire Theatre on Saturday could be regarded as poor. The proceedings opened with a recitation from the Quran, after which Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates and visitors, delivered the following inaugural address:

The dominant consideration with all of us, when we set out to think on any matter, is the war. And in this connection, the recent success of the Allies on the Western Front is a matter at which we all sincerely rejoice, because it will bring victory and peace nearer, and the solution of all problems arising from the war. In this struggle in which the future of the whole human race and of human civilization is involved, the position and sympathies of India have always been clearly set out. While Europe is being bled to death for the sake of the principles of nationality and for the sake of the highest conceptions of political liberty, the attitude of those that have been administering this country has undergone an enormous change. India's participation in the war during the first year meant merely the participation of the Government of India. But as time went

on, all that was changed, and in the appeal of the Prime Minister and in the gracious message of the King Emperor at the last War Conference at Delhi, in the announcement of August 29. and in the subsequent efforts towards extensive political readiustment, we have had unmistakable signs of the fact that India will no longer be regarded as a mass of subject people administered by a few able men at the top, but will stand forth as she has now stood forth, as a united community, in spite of all differences of caste and creed, guided perhaps, in beneficent channels, by able English Administrators, but conscious nevertheless of her collective strength, her rights in the great Empire of England and her duties towards the great Commonwealth of nations of which she is going to form, in future, the most powerful member, a free nation amongst an alliance of self-governing communities linked together by common ties of personal loyalty to His Majesty the King Emperor, cherishing gratitude to England as the oldest of them all, but occupying an equal rank with her in the great role of advancing the civilization for which common blood is being shed side by side. In this war, as time goes on above the din and clash of daily battle, there arise great and dominant conceptions which are going to govern human life in the future, the greatest of all of them being the principles of self-determination so ably enunciated by President Wilson, the leader of the greatest democracy the world has seen.

#### India's War Service

In this great struggle, India has willingly and cheerfully borne her share of the burden and sacrifice, and the tribute of acknowledgement and gratitude which English statesmen of all ranks and opinion have been paying us until now ought to be lasting evidence that—notwithstanding the absence of any preparations in the past, on the part of the administration or on the part of the people, for this great task—we have acquitted ourselves remarkably and with great credit. In the matter of the War Loan and in the matter of recruiting, the active cooperation which the Government have secured from the people of this country will ever remain memorable in the new chapter of Indian history which has now been opened. The position of India in the Empire has also changed and the presence of Indian

delegates at the Imperial War Conference and in the Imperial War Cabinet signifies an advance which was beyond our dreams. The time is not now distant when the Musalmans shall also be enabled to contribute to important deliberations and great decisions in the world's history which will be taken at the future meetings of these bodies, at which, let me hope, the elected representatives of India, whether Hindus or Musalmans, will occupy the same honoured places as the prime ministers and other Colonial statesmen hailing from other members of the Empire.

It is gratifying to be able to express the fact, before you and before the world, that we Musalmans of India have not fallen behind in the discharge of our civic and military obligations to the State, of which we are proud citizens. We do not shrink from sharing the burdens of the Empire, and when the time of reckoning comes in future after a victorious peace—and I hope that is not now very far off-it will be found that in contributing money and in contributing men and, above all, in maintaining the general morale of the Indian communities, we Musalmans have been foremost, and our contributions are absolutely second to none. In spite of numerous doubts, in spite of blunders here and there committed by British statesmen, in spite of the inevitable turn of circumstances resulting from the stern necessities of war, the Muslims have stood firm in their purpose, and they have shouldered responsibilities and proved their indisputable claim to the political rights for which they have formulated their demands. The attitude adopted by the Musalman community with regard to the war and in respect of political reforms has undergone considerable change. In the first flush of the war, in response to the appeal made by statesmen like Lord Hardinge, there was some feeling that political agitation should be suspended till the close of the war, but now that the issues are more clearly understood, and now that the first surprise of the war is worn out, the bearing of the war on all our lives stands out very clearly. The war has only accentuated that process of liberalization in the Government of India which had begun through the Council Acts of 1861 and 1892, and through the reforms under the Morley-Minto Scheme. We are now face to face with another momentous change, this time more real and far-reaching. We are no longer content with the

passive position of subjects; we are becoming councillors whose co-operation and advice are welcomed by the Government even in its present form. I firmly believe that the ground that we have won in this manner will never be lost to us, but will become, notwithstanding all controversies that are now raging, a position of vantage from which further progress will be inevitable.

#### Muslim Political Sentiment

The position created by the war makes it difficult to keep pace mentally with the changing order of things. Remarkable events are happening everywhere in the world with such rapidity that it is very difficult to reach definite conclusions or to fix upon a well-defined programme for any purpose whatsoever. One thing is, however, clearly understood and generally accepted. and that is that nothing is going to be the same in the world after the war. The titanic struggle in which the whole world is involved is everywhere overthrowing accepted traditions, old ideals and time-worn customs; everybody is taking stock, and everybody is going to put his house in order. Old land marks are being washed away; old animosities are being effaced: new and deeper unity is being established among those that are fighting together for a common cause, for the vindication of the ideals of justice and freedom. Side by side with the geographical, the moral map of mankind is going to be altered, and those who have endured the woes of war together will join hands during the new period of reconstruction. The interest evinced by the British democracy in Indian affairs has grown apace. The fruits of this quickened interest in the welfare and political progress of this country, we are soon going to reap. As an earnest of this new relation, the Secretary of State for India has been sent down to examine the conditions personally, and to submit his report on this matter for the consideration of the British Parliament. In the British Parliament democratic forces are gaining strength, whose reaction on Indian problems will be eminently beneficial.

These world changes have not left Indian thought and the Indian mind untouched. Instead of a narrow and circumscribed outlook, men have begun to take a longer view and to see things in their proper perspective, through very trying times, through

moments of wavering and indecision. The Musalmans of India have also begun to feel, unmistakably and in a striking manner, a pure sentiment which is really national. The Musalmans fully share with other members of the Indian nation the larger hopes and the larger ambitions. A new and real interest in life, in education, in politics, has been created in them; and instead of apathy or mere jealousy of other communities, there is now a genuine desire among them to share in the common weal and in the common task of nation-building. All this is to the good, and we are here assembled to give living proof of this tendency, which I am convinced will bear great and lasting fruits.

## The Reform Scheme

Coming now to the Reform Scheme, I must say, at the outset, that to the British Parliament and the British democracy we are really grateful for the acceptance of the goal of responsible self-government for this country. To Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu, we are most grateful for the sympathetic interpretation of the spirit of the announcement of August 20. Even if we suggest some modifications, we cannot but acknowledge that these two statesmen have, on the whole, worked on lines that are admirable. We do not yet know the materials from which they constructed their report. We must therefore make our own suggestions and attempt to convince the British democracy. In the meantime we must acknowledge that the distinguished authors of the report have given much anxious thought to the problem of Indian administration, and they have made a sincere attempt to meet the difficult situation. Even while we ought to get our modifications, the names of these two liberal statesmen will remain for ever memorable and will go down in history as among the benefactors and friends of India.

Coming to the Reform Scheme itself, I have no desire to prejudice the issues at this stage. I should like to point out that the Scheme put forward in the report is by no means final. Criticism on the report is welcomed and asked for by the authors themselves. It is expected by local governments and the Government of India. It is awaited by the Parliament and the democracy of England. My own humble views have long since been published, but on this important occasion I should like to place one

or two important points before you. The acceptance by the House of Commons, and the coalition Government in the United Kingdom, of the principles of the announcement of August 20, is undoubtedly a very satisfactory thing. The report is by no means final, and does not pretend to be that. On the ultimate political status of this country, everybody is agreed without any difference. There is no influential group of people of any kind in this country or in the United Kingdom that does not acknowledge that the aim of British Government and of British statesmen in India is to lead this country to the position of a self-governing member of the British Empire. This goal has also been accepted by the All-India Muslim League which truly represents the Musalman interests of the country. To this goal we are going to stick through thick and thin; and as citizens of this country, the Musalmans will, in spite of all the sneers of their enemies and the misgivings of their timid friends, contribute their proper share. While everybody is agreed on this goal, there are different opinions as to the intervening steps through which we have to reach that stage. We have before us Mr. Gokhale's scheme published by His Highness the Aga Khan as the first step towards that glorious destiny. We have in the memorandum of the 19 members of the Imperial Legislative Council a document that forms a counterpart to the famous despatch of Lord Hardinge, from which the history of what is now called the Chelmsford-Montagu Report could be said to have begun. Last but not least, we have the Congress-League Scheme. in framing which the leading and representative men of all communities sat down together, sinking finally all that was keeping them apart and agreeing to a common workable basis; and now we have before us the Chelmsford-Montagu Scheme on which such anxious thought has been devoted by its authors.

# Stage of Transition

In regard to the stage of transition, we must all admit we have to pass various modifications of this Scheme in order to satisfy all our aspirations. In the resolutions which will be placed before you, will be found the modifications which alone, as self-respecting men, we can suggest, and nothing short of which is likely to satisfy us or to create those conditions of co-opera-

tion on which all progress must ultimately depend. In the matter of local self-government, on the one hand, and in the matter of the India Council and the entire organisation of control from the United Kingdom by the Secretary of State, on the other hand, even the joint report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy proves entirely satisfactory to everybody. But in the matter of the Government of India, there is an extraordinary sense of unity amongst all grades and sections of the Indian population and of the parties in Indian politics. No advance in the provinces could be satisfactory or certain, so long as the structure of the Government of India is maintained as it is in its entirety. In this matter the Chelmsford-Montagu Report has caused some disappointment throughout the country, and in this we would urge with all emphasis that we are capable of adopting changes that will secure us a real voice. In the matter of provincial governments, in the matter of provincial autonomy, and of administration in the provinces with reference to the reservation of subjects, the Grand Committee organization, the power of certification, the rules of business, the power of disallowing questions and resolutions and Bills, and in many other respects, at many places in the body of the Report some distrust is shown, not only of the representative assemblies as they would come to be formed, but of individual Indians and their capacity for public work, their power of co-operation and their real desire to see representative institutions successful in the country. This want of confidence is, in my mind, entirely gratuitous, and is founded on an old tradition which, like everything else, is considerably weakened, if not altogether annihilated, by the new conditions under which the Reform Scheme will be inaugurated. I have great faith in the good sense, in the tolerance, in the sense of duty, which will actuate the men in whose hands the success of this experiment will lie; and I am confident that we shall not betray the trust which will be given to us, and we shall prove in every respect, when the time comes, that the changes that we now demand are in no way premature. There will, however, be a discussion on these matters before this assembly, and I do not wish to prejudice the issue in this discussion. I shall not therefore dilate any further on the details of the constitutional reforms.

#### Muslim Interests

One of the functions of this organization, and a function which was regarded by us as even greater than the function of securing self-government for India, is the safeguarding of distinct Musalman interests in this country. In regard to this therefore, I would like to say a word—and on this I must crave the indulgence of those friends that have come from Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab. Speaking as a Bombay Musalman, I wish to commend the extreme sense of harmony that has actuated everybody in the Bombay Presidency and the very cordial relations that have been maintained here between the Musalmans and the non-Musalmans of this province. These relations have so far been devoid of every bitterness of any description. Notwithstanding this, I wish that this assembly would uphold, for a considerable period to come, the separate representation for the purpose of the legislative assemblies in the provinces, the Imperial Legislative Council, and the Council of State. It is therefore very satisfactory to note that the proportion of members of the two communities on these bodies which we had agreed has been, in a truly just spirit, reiterated and given acceptance by the Hindu leaders and others assembled in the Indian National Congress. The need for separate arrangements arises, as you know, not merely because of the disparity of population, in which respect in most cases, the Musalmans are in a minority; but because of the disparity in the actual electorates in which, even in those provinces like the Punjab, where they are in a majority as regards population, the Musalmans may find themselves handicapped because of their backward condition. I feel that the value of the compact thus reached. and honourably maintained between the two communities, intrinsically does not lie merely in the actual representation which we shall thus secure; it is a great evidence of the spirit of cooperation and of give and take which is going to characterize the future activities of these two great communities in the Commonwealth of India.

This compact which was solemnly proclaimed, and which has been sincerely adhered to, has become something sacred; and its inclusion in the Scheme of Reforms and in the Bill embodying that Scheme, we must demand with one voice. We must assure the English statesmen and the British Parliament that this is a matter between us and the other communities in India—it is a matter which we shall decide best without the intervention of anybody whatever from outside. In this as well as in other items referring to separate Muslim interests, it is my earnest hope that members of the Muslim League will arrive at decisions most favourable to the future of the community.

In all these matters there is need to view things with an eye to the future. I have given serious thought to this, and it seems to me that we Musalmans are really at a disadvantage in the matter of education, and that we are suffering from chronic poverty to a larger extent than the Hindus. From any improvement that we shall effect as the result of provincial autonomy. I expect we shall stand to gain much more than the rest of the population—from better sanitation, from wider education and other larger opportunities for industrial growth. The Musalmans stand to gain more because they are at present backward in education, living in unhealthy surroundings, and suffering from poverty. There are numerous communities of Musalman artisans that will gain an entirely new impulse from the improved conditions in industry which we hope to bring about by a real transfer of administrative responsibility to us.

## Essential Considerations

In fighting over details we should not lose sight of essentials, and we should conduct our discussions of these problems in that atmosphere of common good, in that atmosphere of give and take on which alone the future of this country and, with it, our own future depends. Whatever shape the reform takes, the path that lies before us is full of difficulties; and I hope that both the officials and the people will adapt...to the new conditions created, and will show that forbearance and that devotion to common duty and the public weal for which Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu have made an appeal in the Report. Only the experience gained as we go along will help everybody concerned to make the experiment successful. I am one of those who believe that the logic of circumstances is stronger than any other logic. We are all passing through very trying times. The shadow of famine overhangs us in some parts of the country, and a great

increase in prices has arisen. The mass of the people has in every respect been reduced to suffering. Some of us have opportunities of judging these difficulties that arise; but Government should once for all realize the impossibility of managing things in the old style. It is only by co-operation, by tolerance, and by the fullest confidence in Indians that government in this country can be carried on in the future.

I view all these things as a businessman. In political matters as in others, a businessman always takes a practical position. He has always got an eye for getting the best return for efforts put forward. Judging matters in this light, I am convinced that whatever is agreed upon as necessary in the Scheme, and whatever modifications we may ultimately come to decide upon as necessary in the Scheme, and whatever is agreed upon by the British Parliament, any forward political step that we may take will inevitably create the conditions which will take us still further forward, until we reach the final goal of complete selfgovernment. I confess, however, that I am convinced that whatever the modifications of the cave—that is to say by the prejudice of my own calling -my mind turns from questions of mere administrative machinery to the economic interests and material well-being of this period...The political reforms will, during this period, form merely a background to sustain the great efforts for the economic uplift of our country. That, we shall have to do with our new self-respect and our new self-consciousness. It would be humiliating to feel that the economic penetration by Germany should begin again, or that India should continue in the same helpless dependence on foreign supplies as in the past.

Side by side with the political, we have got to secure the economic emancipation of India. We have got to make up a great leeway to come to where the other nations of the world are, and then we have got to make another upward sweep in order to push ourselves in front, and in order to hold our own in the free competition of the economic world. We have to redeem the country into a more self-reliant robust economic position. I feel that I should bring to the special notice of this august assembly that portion of Chelmsford-Montagu Report which touches upon but does not decide the question of fiscal autonomy. The tariff policy of this country has for along time

been determined from London to suit interests other than our own. We have suffered in more ways than one by the domination of the Manchester School of Economics and the policy of open door. I submit that no country situated as India is can get on economically unless a more intelligent and discriminating policy is adopted-unless a detailed study is made of her own difficulties, and the tariff fixed upon accordingly by her own citizens. No political reforms, however valuable they may appear, will be worth having if they are not accompanied by complete fiscal autonomy, that is, today, by full powers placed in the hands of the Government of India, in which we shall have a real voice, in the future to decide the tariff rates in the best interests of our country. The Indian nation has demanded this right with singular unity in the past and I have every hope that this assembly, before it completes its sittings, will have reiterated this demand in unmistakable terms.

I pass on to the question of general industrial progress. On this, I am not at liberty to disclose the conclusions reached by the industrial Commission, but I am confident that when these recommendations are published and when they have been definitely adopted by the Government of India, they will give every satisfaction to the people. Complaints are heard everywhere about 'British and other vested interests'. We have no desire to do any harm to any other interests, but in this country which is our own, we must and we shall have an equal, if not prior, right in the exploitation of all its resources and in building the industrial prosperity on which alone the larger structure of national life can arise. More money will be required for undertaking works of public utility like education and sanitation, and this cannot be drawn from the people without creating more wealth and thus increasing the taxable surplus in the pockets of the people. In the matter of Indian commerce also, there are many points at which difficulties are experienced by us. I am particularly anxious that with the expansion of Indian commerce—which I foresee—larger opportunities could be created for Musalmans to share in the benefits, so that we too may bring to the common altar our share for the expanding glory of the motherland.

#### Islam in India

In conclusion. I wish to say one or two words with regard to our position in this country. The Musalmans in India are no longer an isolated community, and to appear so is to put ourselves in the wrong with the rest of the nation. We have in the past made important contributions to India's great civilization, of which we are proud. We have influenced the architecture of the country and put an indelible mark upon it for all times to come. We have...preserved and advanced the fine arts. We have adapted ourselves to and enriched the system of wonderful music that is neither Hindu nor Musalman, but which is distinctly Indian. In arts and crafts, we have always maintained the foremost position. We have influenced the common language of this country. We have put our mark on the national dress. in every other respect, though numerically small, we have made contributions of real and abiding value to the common life of the country. How few of us can claim to be directly descended from those who came over the frontier and who made India their home, and yet we, who belong to the common races of this country, have still possessed and developed an individuality of our own. We are going to contribute no small share to the common life of the future, and to this future we can confidently look up.

Gentlemen, I welcome you once again in our midst. I shall not interpose myself any longer between you and the distinguished President, who we are all anxious to hear. The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad is our permanent President and in his wisdom, in his firmness, in his patriotism and in his advocacy of our cause, we have the fullest confidence. We are fortunate in having him to guide us at this time.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF THE RAJA OF MAHMUDABAD

The Raja of Mahmudabad was then formally installed in the presidential chair. He delivered a few sentences of his printed speech, which was then read by Syed Hussein.

What has called us here together, the President said, is, as you know, the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and the Right Honourable

E.S. Montagu have presented to His Majesty's Government and on which criticism is invited; and as the recognized conduit of progressive Mohammedan opinion, it is the duty of the All-India Muslim League to give expression to its considered judgement on it.

The Report and the memorable announcement of British policy of the August 20, 1917, with regard to India, as a corollary of which the Report is published, have not come a minute too soon. The world-forces which are changing the mental and moral outlook of the human race, have not left India untouched or unaffected. It is not a mere idle fancy to say that unfathomed depths of Indian thought and feeling have been stirred: what is seen is not merely ripples on the surface. That more than a million sons of this ancient land have gone voluntarily to the shambles of Flanders. France and the other theatres of war, to fight the battle of England, is due to the realization by India that the British Empire has not entered this grim struggle lightly, or with an ambition to seize territory and subjugate people, but to vindicate right and justice and freedom. She saw that England drew her sword to defend the right of small nations to determine their own fate, and to live their lives unmolested by stronger and unscrupulous neighbours. I do not say that every man who has enlisted in India since the war broke out has done so after a severe process of reasoning respecting the rights and wrongs of the war. No, manifestly not. But the national mind of India has instinctively felts the justice of England's cause. The Indian's homage to moral grandeur, wherever and whenever he finds it, is immeasurable. Service, complete and unstinted, to spiritual ideals in his creed from time immemorial, and he has lived up to it. Self-mortification, nay, self-immolation, is his willing offering at that altar. And it was thus that there was a stir in the placeid life of this country hoary with age; a stir, not to take advantage of the troubles in which England found herself, but to run to her side and render whatever help India was capable of. An uninterrupted stream of men-increasing as the years of war have rolled on-of all classes, from the prince to the peasant, has found its way to where the principles for which England had taken up arms were being fought out, not to watch the struggle in a spirit of unconcerned detachment, but to take part in it, and if need be, give

up their lives for those principles. But at the same time the question was as irresistible as it was natural, as to whether the principles in defence of which, and on account of the violation of which, the Empire was draining its life-blood, were or were not applied nearer home; and whether it was a fact that in certain portions of the Empire, the right of the people themselves to manage the affairs of their country was not yet conceded.

## People's Primary Right

It was not the war which brought this reflection to them. For years past, that section of the people of India which the Report calls the 'intelligentsia' has been crying itself hoarse over the denial of what it considers the primary and inalienable right of every people, most of all of people who belong to that commonwealth of nations called the British Empire-viz., to have a predominant voice and share in the government of their own country. The utmost that can be said is that the war and the justification of our participation in it gave point to India's national demand; "it came with the accumulated force of years' discontent." What would have been the result of further delay in grappling with the grave problem of Indian discontent, it is not pleasent to think of; but the conditions of 1906 and 1907. which no lover of India wishes to see revived, threatened to make their appearance again, only in a form which, because it was constitutional, was not less formidable than the other. What I mean is that the party of constitutional progress, the party that put its faith in ordered and peaceful advance was getting impatient and despondent. Hope deferred makes the heart sick, and it was hardly a matter for surprise that the best mind of the country who never lost hope, even when the prospect was most dismal, were at last succumbing to despair.

In spite of the palliatives applied by the Minto-Morley Reforms, the conditions did not improve much. Partial satisfaction there was, but it soon became evident that the remedies were not potent enough to eradicate the maladies in the body politic. We come now to the next stage of the development of the Indian situation. I have already referred to the declaration of policy made by his Majesty's Government in regard to India's constitutional goal. Following upon that, as you are aware, the

unprecedented visit to India of the Secretary of State took place. in order to enable him personally to study and investigate the problem, and consult all shades of opinion in reference to it. The results of that investigation are embodied in the Report, to pronounce upon which you have assembled on this occasion. The Report, gentlemen, is a monument of industry and political acumen. We may not agree with all its conclusion, but we cannot fail to be impressed by it. The sinister shadow of Mr. Curtis. however, sits athwart the Report. What Mr. Srinivas Sastri very aptly calls the pedagogic tenets of Mr. Curtis seem to have exercised an influence on the distinguished authors of the Report out of all proportion to their merits. But for the gratuitous entry of this gentlemen into the politics of India, what chance of acceptance the National Scheme evolved by the joint labours of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League would have had is an interesting, though now an unfruitful. speculation. It has never been claimed for the Scheme that it was complete in the formulation of the details of its proposals, or that it was a model of draftsmanship. But any one reading it with care could not fail to discover that it rested upon and embodied certain vital principles. These principles, so far from being anything new or at variance, with the moral instincts of the British Nation or with the trend and teaching of British history, were but a reaffirmation by the people of India of what British sovereigns in succession, and the British nation through its most illustrious statesmen, had repeatedly declared to be their aim with regard to the great Dependency-as it had hitherto been called-of India.

## Counter-Proposals

Proceeding, the President recalled some of these declarations, and, continuing, said the history of India's connection with England being replete with such declarations, proclamations and assurance, it was natural that in the British House of Commons, the greatest of free and democratic institutions, the announcement of August 20 was made. Buoyed up by such assurances as he had cited and having an unextinguishable faith in the cause, a cause which they believed would further cement the connection of India with England, broad-basing it on a people's

willing allegiance, the representatives of the Indian people, through their national assemblies, evolved a scheme, which taking into consideration the existing circumstances in India, they thought would be the most suitable beginning of a regime in which the principles enunciated, over and over again in Parliament and outside, with regard to the governance of this country, would have a chance of gradual but progressive application.

The president then proceeded to refer to the fundamental principles of the Congress-League Scheme, the criticisms passed on it in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the counter-proposals.

Speaking of the latter the Raia of Mahmudabad said: Instead of the scheme of reforms which the All-India Muslim League, in collaboration with the sister organization, the Indian National Congress, presented the country and the Government for their acceptance, the Report issued over the signatures of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford and the Right Honourable E.S. Montagu, after making an exhaustive survey of the political situation, and taking note of the different complicated problems which the conditions in India give rise to, makes counter proposals with regard to the constitutional reforms which they think ought, in pursuance of the policy enunciated in the announcement of August 20, to be introduced in the government of this country forthwith. The announcement having been made, the vision was now clear, and the goal definitely fixed, which His Majesty's Government definitely—and we trust irrevocably pledged itself to help India to reach. The announcement naturally raised high hopes in the minds of those Indians who already regarded the principles enunciated in it as the articles of their political creed, and when simultaneously with the announcement, it was further announced that accepting the invitation of His Excellency the Viceroy, the Secretary of State would proceed to investigate the subject, on the spot, in order to formulate proposals to give effect to what the announcement intended the Indian patriots began to feel that the era for the inauguration of which they had been striving was drawing preceptibly nearer. The publication of the Report, as a result of this visit and of the enquiry..., has plunged the whole country into a state of intense excitement. It has stimulated thought and provoked keen controversy. The question is being hotly debated as to whether it should be accepted by the country or not; whether or not the proposals it contains satisfy the aspirations and the expectations raised by the announcement itself; whether, in one word, they constitute a substantial step towards the realization of responsible government? That they have caused disappointment in our minds, cannot and need not be denied. They have fallen short of natural and legitimate expectations. What now is the remedy?

### Three Basic Formulas

The proposals are built upon the foundation of three formulas. which have been stated thus: (1) "There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control." (ii) "The provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps towards the progressive realization of responsible government should be taken. Some measure of responsibility should be given at once, and our aim is to give complete responsibilities as soon as conditions permit. This involves at once giving the provinces. the largest measure of independence, administrative and financial, of the Government of India, which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities". (iii) "The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament and saving such responsibility, its authority in essential matters remain indisputable, pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced to the provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased.

These formulas and the qualifying phrases and sentences implying distrust of the capacity of the people, with which the announcement of August 2J is hedged, tend to mar the undoubted bona fides of the actual proposals. The formulas which I have just quoted, and specially the manner in which they have been evolved and given shape in the concrete proposals put forward, make the Government of India practically unamenable to the influence of the representatives of the people. In fact, the cumulative effect of the proposal seems to me, if anything, to take the Government farther away than now from the orbit of such influence.

## Council of State

The institution of the Council of State and the consequent elegation of the Legislative Assembly to a position of secondary mportance, the humiliating provision that bills rejected by the egislative Assembly may be referred de navo to the Council of state and passed there; and worse still, the reservation of the lower of introducing a bill in the first instance in, and of passng it through, the Council of State alone, merely reporting it o the Assembly, all point in one direction, viz., to make the oice of the people important in the Government of India. I ave no quarrel with the dictum of the Report. "In all matters hich it (the Government of India) judges to be essential to the ischarge of its responsibilities for peace, order and good govnment, it must, saving only for its accountability to Parliaent. retain indisputable power". So it must; but there is no ason why, with the retention of that indispensable power on secure basis, opportunities to the people of the country for fluencing the Government in other matters of vital importance ould not be more extended and definite. No definition has en given as to what will be the boundary line of responsibility r peace, order and good government; and when the definition left undetermined, as it has been in the Reforms Report, it is nceivable that the domain of things and of actions considered cessary by Government for peace, order and good governent, may become co-extensive with the personal predilections d even idiosyncracies of the Executive. It is necessary in my inion that the boundaries should be well defined as to what tters ordinarily relate to peace, order and good government. sponsibility to the electorate, an element of which is introed in the Provincial Government, is entirely absent in the stitution of the Central and supreme Government. It is only ountable to Parliament and the Secretary of State. That, I mit, is not the right way to prepare us for full and complete consible government at a later stage. In the Government of ia also, though in a more circumscribed area than in the Proial government, the principle of responsibility should have sway. This brings me, gentlemen, to the novel method in ch responsibility is sought to be introduced by the distinguiauthors of the Report. In this Provincial Government. where alone the system is to come into vogue, a system of dual government is set up. Departments of government will be divided into those dealing with reserved and those dealing with transferred subjects. Transferred subjects will be administered by ministers selected from among the members of the Legislative Council and they will be responsible to it. They will be removable by the Council inasmuch as their lease of official life will be co-terminal with that of the Council itself, of which they will be a member. They will be dependent for administration of their department on the votes of supplies which they may get from the Council or from fresh taxation which they may persuade the Council to impose for specific benefit of those transferred subjects. The reserved subjects will, on the other hand, be in the happy position of having their financial requirements attended to first to the extent that the Executive Government may demand; and the Legislature is debarred from having any determining voice in the matter.

## Harmony Menaced

In so far as this makes a portion of the determination amenable to popular control, the proposal is to be welcomed. But the bifurcation of Government will not lead to that harmonious working for which the authors are so anxious. This duality of government has in recent history been in operation in Egypt in pre-protectorate days, and Lord Cromer's Modern Egypt bears witness to the difficulties and sometimes quite intolerable situation which it gave rise to. It was due to this anomalous combination that the prestige of the Government, of which he was at once a symbol and an agent, overcame such difficulties, and tided over the situations. It may be said in reply that there were two governments, foreign, the dominant, and native, the subservient, ruling side by side, and it was due to this anomalous combination that the difficulties owed their origin. That is true; so will it be true of the government set up in the form of administration of reserved and transferred subjects. The prestige of the reserved departments will make transferred departments feel small in their own estimation. I cannot but fear, as has been suggested, that "the one government will be regarded as official and the other as Indian"; and although the proposals say that

all orders relating to reserved and transferred subjects would be the orders of one government, it is not difficult to foresee that the subordinate officials would very soon decide as to what orders required prompt and thorough obedience, and what could be complied with at leisure. There is historical precedent for this view. When the East India Company took over the Divani from the Nawab Nazim of Bengal-although it professed to have acquired nothing more, in fact, the Executive of the Nizamat came. in time, to be subordinated in the public mind, to the administrators of the Divani. This may be described as an earlier example of dubious dualism in Government. The administration of transferred subjects will therefore, in my opinion, start with a great handicap; a handicap which, I submit, cannot be fairly placed on it, and which it should be our aim to remove as soon as possible. But if the system with its attendant defects and dangers is considered necessary as a training school in the art of responsible government for the ministers and Legislative Assemt bly alike, I accept it—I accept it not for any inherent or intrinsic merit of which I see it possessed, but because I think that this proposal for experimental purposes may be accepted in its principle.

## Reasons for Bifurcation

The main reason—in fact the only reason—for the suggested bifurcation of Government which has been advanced is the necessity of keeping authority unimpaired in the experienced hands of the Executive Government for maintaining peace, order and good government. The principle being conceded, the Government should act up to its own professions. It should reserve only those subjects which are absolutely necessary for peace, order and good government. Moreover, the distinction should conscientiously be abandoned when its experimental purpose has been served. The period should not extend beyond five years, according to all reasonable calculation, and therefore provision to that effect should be made in the statute. The illustrative List No. 22, showing transferred subjects, any, some, or all of which may be transferred to the provinces, according to the capacity which the different provinces may be adjudged to possess, is not required. What is required is a list of subjects which it is

intended to reserve, not at random, but in their indisputable indispensability to peace, order and good government. In this connection, and here it would be proper if I draw your attention to an ominous passage in the Report. It says: "What we have to do is at once to encourage and to regulate this process. After five years' time from the first meeting of the reformed councils. we suggest that the Government of India should hear applications from either the provincial government or the provincial council for the modification of the reserved and transferred lists of the province, and that after considering the evidence laid before them, they should recommend for the approval of the Secretary of State the transfer of such further subjects to the transferred list as they think desirable. On the other hand, if it should be made plain to them that certain functions have been seriously maladministered, it will be open to them, which the sanction of the Secretary of the state, to retransfer subjects from the transferred to the reserved list or to place restrictions for the future on the minister's power in respect of certain transferred subjects". Do you realize, gentlemen, what an interminal vista of accusations and allegations against the Indian people this opens up for those—and their number is not negligible yet—to whom the thought of any transference of power to the Indian people is anathema.

# Future Opposition Feared

Anglo-India and reactionary India, it is idle to disguise, will not fail, at the end of five years after the meeting of the reformed Council, to bring charges of serious maladministration with regard to the transferred subjects. The close of the fifth year would be a signal for the revival of racial bitterness. The flood-gates of charges regarding the Indians want of capacity and their ineptitude will be opened. The doctrine of transmigration, and not of evolution, will thus be applied to the political constitution of India and there will always be the danger of a transferred subject 'reeling back into' the reserved subject. It is not an exaggerated fear. I can foresee what frantic efforts will be made, both here and in England, to have those subjects retransferred to the reserved list. What will be the result? The cycle will not end and the process will never be complete—"of adding to the

transferred subjects and of taking away from the reserved ones. until such time as with the entire disappearance of the reserved subjects the need for an official element in the Government procedure in the Grand Committee vanishes and the goal of complete responsibility is attained in the provinces". The proposals with regard to the autonomy of the provinces in fiscal matters are satisfactory as far as they go. The provinces will no longer be in the position of collectors of their own revenue for the purpose of handing it over to the Government of India, and to beg for whatever dues the latter may be pleased to give out of its abundance, to enable the provinces to eke out an existence. The freedom to impose fresh taxation is accompanied by the freedom to utilize the revenue derived from those taxes for provincial purposes: this is an act of overdelayed justice. But it has come after all; and the provinces will no longer be starved as they have been so far. One caveat the Government of India have made: "Emergencies may arise which cannot be provided for by immediately raising Government of India taxation, in that case it must be open to the Central Government to make a special supplementary levy upon the provinces". The Report, after considering the advantages and disadvantages of the bicameral system of government, comes to the conclusion, and I think rightly, that the system should not be introduced here. "We apprehend", says the Report, "that a second chamber representing mainly landed and moneyed interests might prove too effective a barrier against legislation which affected such interests. Again, the presence of large landed proprietors in the second chamber might have the unfortunate result of discouraging other members of the same class from seeking the votes of the electorate. We think that the delay involved in passing legislation through two houses will make the system far too cumbrous to contemplate for the business of provincial legislation. We have decided for the present therefore against bicameral institutions for the provinces". After such a lucid exposition of reasons against the system, one would have thought that one had heard the last of it, but it makes its appearance all the same in the Provincial Constitution. What are Grand Committees, if not second chambers in essence? In spirit and in origin they may be regarded as a diluted form of the second chamber.

# Second Chambers Harmful

I unhesitatingly declared that in the proposed Constitution. where the government have been subjected to such a restricted and partial, in fact illusory popular control, these second chambers, by whatever name you may call them, are not merely superfluities, they are positively harmful. I have already shown that I regard the Council of State as an innovation which would make the Government of India even less amenable to the influence of the representatives of the people of the country than it is now, and, therefore, gentlemen, we must urge for its removal from the proposed Constitution. I note with satisfaction that in the Executive Councils the Indian element is to be increased: but our demand that the Indian element introduced in the council should be truly representative has not been acceded to. The cogency of arguments which the distinguished authors in the Report advance in support of their inability to satisfy this demand must be admitted and, therefore, we should not just at present press for the modification of the Report in that respect. But we should insist that in the Executive Councils, the Cabinets of the Government, the Indian Element should be increased: they should be half and half. It will comprise representatives of the people by sympathy of sentiment and identity of interest which is the next best thing to representatives by direct election. One great matter which constitutes the basis of the whole structure has been left to be settled later on. I refer, gentlemen. to the electorates that are to come into existence. They will be the motive power of the whole machinery, and yet the determination of their composition and the qualifications which will be demanded of them has been left to the discretion of a committee to be called hereafter to institute enquiries and make recommendations. These recommendations should have emanated from the distinguished signatories to the Report-they would have had on them the impress of two great and penetrating minds. What will happen now? The whole question of the capacity of the people will be re-opened. Associations and individuals who have not reconciled themselves to the main principle of the declaration of August 20th-and who are otherwise known to be hostile to Indian progress-will start their campaign afresh against the grant of any extended franchise to the people. And it is unfortunate that they will get many weapons from the armoury of the Report itself.

## Shortcomings Exaggerated

The picture as presented in the chapter on 'The Indian Conditions of the Problem', for instance, may in its main outlines, be faithful to the lineaments of the original, but as has been pointed out, the blemishes have been given an undue prominence, "the circumstances which go against the introduction of responsible government have been given an exaggerated value and those that are in favour of it have been underestimated of ignored". The absence of education, the differences of religion, race and caste, the ignorance of the masses of the people, their distressful poverty—far beyond the standards of Europe—the alleged want of political capacity of the rural population, are all paraded forward and backward and side-way to prove that it is problematical whether people so circumstanced are capable of properly exercising the power of voting. Yet it may be confessed, more in sorrow than in shame, that not a few of the conditions mentioned are not of our creating. We have been pointing to them insistently for a long time and offering suggestions with a view to their amelioration, but unfortunately, as in other matters, they have fallen on deaf ears. I have of course no wish to minimize our own responsibility for the prevailing condition of things in India. For much of the religious differences for instance, that exist we ourselves are to blame. There may be officials who in pursuit of the well-known principle of "divide and rule" would wish to see the perpetuation of these differences; but whose is the fault if we make ourselves not only willing but eager tools in their hands? What efforts-I am talking of sincere and not stimulated efforts—have we made to obliterate those cleavages of which the report speaks. "the cleavages of religion, race and caste which constantly threaten its (Indian society's) solidarity and of which any wise political scheme must take serious heed". Social aloofness and separation are not fostered by Government. For this we are to a greater degree than we wish to admit responsible. The fact that these differences do not appear to soften down is due, however. I am firmly convinced, to the absence of one factor from the life of the masses of India. It is that, apart from the spiritual temperament which keeps the Indian immersed in religious preoccupation, there is also the lack of any other equally engrossing interests in life. Next to religion, politics dominates the minds of men in other places. But the average Indian has been given little opportunity or encouragement to take a healthy and active interest in the affairs of his own country. Politics to him is taboo. And indeed, it could hardly have been otherwise with a system of administration so central and bureaucratic in character, and paternal in its professions, as the one that obtains in India. The consequence is that religion mainly colours the texture of his life.

#### Views on the Franchise

The President then dealt with that section of the Report which dealt with the condition of the masses. Giving his views on the franchise he said: Apart from the historical validity of the official argument, however, it is our duty now, gentlemen, to put on record our views on the subject of franchise instead of waiting for the initiation of enquiries by the Committee which is going to be appointed for the purpose. It may be stated broadly that the present condition of the people in respect of education and training in politics should not be made an excuse for disqualifying a considerable number of them from enjoying that privilege. The electorate must be sufficiently broad-based to include all those who can be expected to be capable of using the vote in an ordinarily intelligent manner. Manhood suffrage is neither demanded nor is feasible, but literacy and possession of some property may well be recognised as qualifications for the franchise. As regards the public services of the country, it is gratifying that Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu do not stop at the recommendations of the Public Services Commission of 1912, but make more equitable and more generous recommendations. They have recommended, among other things, the removal from the regulations of the remaining distinctions that are based on race, and the throwing open of all appointments in all branches of the Public Service without racial discrimination. They have also recommended that in the Indian Civil Service the proportion of recruitment in India be 33 per cent of the superior posts, increasing by 1.5 per cent annually. I think the percentage, though an advance on what the Public Services Commission recommended, is not quite adequate. The ethics of the question of the larger employment of Indians in the administration cannot be discussed at length here; but one point may be mentioned. Among many reasons which have been advanced on every occasion (when the question has been debated) against the admission of Indians in any considerable number to the superior grades of the service, one that has been put forward is that the British character of the Indian public services will be adversely affected. I refuse to admit that proposition. Among the lessons of the war there is a striking demonstration of the fallacy of that assumption. Owing to the exigencies of the war, as is well known, many Indian services. notably the Indian Civil Services and the Police, have been depleted of their English personnel, and Indians in the provincial services are being put in charge of positions which they could not formerly hope to reach. Many districts are now almost entirely manned by Indians. The Police, the Judicial and even the Executive charge of some districts is now in their hands. Has the character of the administration become un-British? No, on the contrary the administration has gained by being brought more in touch with the people.

# Pay of Public Services

Before leaving the subject of the Public Services, I should like to point out that the proposals still further to increase the pay of the European members of the Civil Service, which is already the best paid service in the world, will make the cost of administration disproportionately heavy; and considering the poverty of the country, we should not impose a heavier strain on it. The demand for making the King's Commission available to Indians has at last been conceded, but the proposals in the Report are not commensurate either with the requirements of the situation or even with necessities of the hour. India is no longer isolated. It is in the vortex of international strifes, ambitions and struggles. The menace to her is not chimerical, we have been told on the highest authority that it is very real. India has been asked and she is straining every nerve to put forth her greatest effort in supplying men, money and material

for the needs of the Empire, and the defence of her own borders. She is supplying men not in thousands but in hundreds of thousands; would it not be an inspiring sight if these men were to be led to battle by officers of their own race as are the Canadians, the New Zealanders and even the South Africans? Why this mistrust, even at this supreme moment of trial? The rally of India to the flag has been nothing short of phenomenal. At a critical time of war, the contingent from India turned the scales, and we are thankful to Lord Hardinge for having given India an opportunity to prove her mettle. Let her be given a national army, officered by her own sons, let her people have the right to bear arms, and then she may face with equanimity any menace to her safety.

## Fiscal Autonomy

Gentlemen, no real beginning towards a self-governing India can be made until fiscal autonomy is included in the first instalment of reforms. No nation can make any progress without it; and to my mind, it is the very life-breath of the industrial renaissance of which India stands so much in need. The policy of free trade might have made England what it is; but the principles which will bring economic salvation to India, we are firmly convinced, are not the principles of Adam Smith and his school. The world has travelled very much farther since his days. Protection and bounties and discriminating tariffs, which were not the gods worshipped by the political economists of the Victorian age, have been now enshrined even in that country. In the economic reconstruction of the Empire after the war, the problems of which are now being considered, the voice of the free trader is no longer heard to any effect. England is committed to a policy of preference. One thing is clear; the belligerent Powers of to-day will not enter into any economic peace on pre-war terms. Even after they have sheathed their swords and resumed political relations, there will probably be an Allied Zollverein. India is not alone in her repudiation of free trade. The Central Powers, Austria-Hungary and Germany, rejected that principle. They built up their huge industries, their marvellous trade, and captured the markets of the world by a systematic application of the principles of protection, and encouragement of industries by State subsidies and bounties. Japan, the primitive backward Asiatic country of 40 years ago, did the same. To-day she is highly industrialized State, and her people are rich and prosperous. India has been the dumping ground of foreign manufactures of every country in the world. She had no industries to speak of her own, and was dependent on imports for even the smallest article of everyday use. Her function has been to supply raw materials of every kind, and get them back in the shape of manufactured articles and contribute to the prosperity of those countries which thus sent out their commodities to her.

## An Opportunity Missed

Following the outbreak of the war, Germany and Austria were automatically excluded from Indian markets and imports from other belligerent countries, too, were restricted. Here was a splendid opportunity to revive and improve her industries; but, unfortunately, we had neither state subsidies nor protective tariffs to help us forward. The result is that Indian industry continues to be where it was. Instead of Germany and Austria, Japan has flooded our market. Though we cannot expect much help from the British Parliament in this matter, I am sure if we pressed our claim with unanimity and force, the love of fair play of the British democracy would assert itself and India would get fiscal autonomy. The report under consideration omits to make any proposals, I regret to say, in this regard.

# Hindu Muslim Repprochement

Gentlemen, I now come to a question with which the very existence of the All-India Muslim League is bound up. I mean the question of the separate representation of Musalmans in the Legislative Councils and in local bodies. I have reserved the consideration of this question to the last, not because it is less important than the others, but for us the most important of all. From the point of view of the Mohammedans of India it should be and is, under the present circumstances of the country, the dominant factor in Indian polity. The attitude of the Mohammedans on this question has been characterized by an utter

unanimity, and intensity of conviction, which does not appear to have been adequately realized so far by the authorities.

Following upon the rapprochement of 1916, by which the Hindus and Mohammedans self-determined their national demands, the Hindus realizing its beneficent effect on the vital interests of the country, agreed to the Msulims having not only separate electorates, but a representation commensurate with their status and special needs in country. The Muslims on their part renounced their participation in mixed electorates. This result was arrived at by mutual consent. That constitutes the chief basis of the agreement. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report. however, fails to grasp the significance of settlement. "We are not aware on what basis the figures were arrived at," say the authors of the Report. I wonder what other basis than the one I have pointed out could be more valid. Is not natural consent the most satisfactory basis for any such settlement as the one under consideration? I may be permitted to point out that in the discussion of its proposals, which the publication of the Report has evoked, there has been a unanimous condemnation of, and protest against, on the part of Hindus and Mohammedans alike, of the view taken of the Hindu-Muslim agreement referred to by the authors of the Report. I may further remark that. having regard to the dissatisfaction already engendered by the attitude disclosed in the Report in regard to this matter, there cannot be any doubt that the Musalmans, any less than their Hindu brethren, will agree to any thing less than the restoration of the settlement in any Bill that may be in contemplation. It is my duty, knowing as I do the intensity of Muslim feeling on this question, to sound this note of warning and of appeal. Gentlemen, I am afraid I have taxed your patience and your indulgence to an inordinate extent, but the seriousness of the occasion is my excuse for it. We, who are assembled here, have a sacred though a heavy duty to perform, and I pray that God will grant us all light and guidance to see which way our duty lies.

#### Conclusion

Gentlemen, I shall conclude with one last word. You will have observed that I have refrained from indicating any specific

lines for your deliberations to proceed upon. This I need hardly say is not due to any oversight, but to the fact that I very strongly feel that on so momentous an occasion as the present. no individual opinion should be imposed upon the community, and that the community itself should, through its chosen representatives, declare its mind on the issue before it, according to the constitutional procedure by which we are bound. While on this point. I cannot but deplore that at this juncture the Musalman community is deprived of the benefit of the advice and guidance of some of its most trusted leaders, who, moreover, had made a special study of the constitutional issues on which we are called upon to pronounce. I refer especially to that brilliant publicist Mr. Mohammed Ali, who occupies a position of outstanding eminence in the progressive party of modern democracy, and who, together with his brother and a number of distinguished confreres, is still condemned to internment without any well-established cause. The Musalmans keenly feel the wrong inflicted on them by their being thus deprived of most valuable assistance and guidance in the task of considering and pronouncing upon the Report of Indian Constitutional Reforms. May I once again appeal to the Government to meet the wishes and satisfy the sentiment of the Muslim community in this regard?

#### SECOND SITTING

The All-India Muslim League continued its deliberations the next day at the Empire Theatre, Bombay, the Raja of Mahmudabad being in the Chair. A praiseworthy determination on the part of the organizers to expedite the proceedings, which showed a favourable contrast to the procedure adopted by the Congress, was noticeable. The speeches were noted for brevity and couched in a temperate tone. A number of resolutions were moved from the Chair without any remarks and they were adopted unanimously.

#### HOMAGE TO HIS MAJESTY

The first resolution proposed by the President ran as follows:

The All-India Muslim League tenders its most loyal homage

to His Majesty the King Emperor and assures the Government of the steadfast and continued loyalty of the Muslim community of India throughout the present crisis.

The resolution was carried.

The following resolutions were also moved from the Chair and carried unanimously.

#### PROTEST ON REFORM REPORT

The All-India Muslim League enters an emphatic protest against the insinuation contained in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms that the people of India are unfit for responsible government.

#### **SELF-GOVERNMENT**

The All-India Muslim League reaffirms the principles of reform contained in the resolution relating to self-government adopted in their annual sessions at Lucknow and Calcutta and declares that the grant of self-government within the Empire is essential to strengthen the bond between England and India and also to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people.

#### RELEASE OF LEADERS

The All-India Muslim League deeply deplores the absence of some of the trusted leaders of the community from this Special Session of the League and once again puts on record its respectful but firm protest against their continued incarceration, in spite of the repeated prayers of the community for their release.

The All-India Muslim League once again emphasizes the importance of making due provisions for an adequate and separate representation of the Musalmans on all self-governing institutions which will be constituted on the inauguration of the proposed constitutional reforms.

# CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the Government of India shall have undivided administrative authority

on matters directly concerning peace, tranquillity and safety of the country, subject to the following: That the statute to be passed by Parliament should include the Declaration of Rights of the People of India as British citizens: (1) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalized or resident in India are equal before the Law and there shall be no penal or administrative law in force in India. whether substantive or procedural, of a discriminative nature; (2) that no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or in respect of free speech or writing or right of association except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice and as a result of lawful and open trial; (3) that every Indian subject to His Majesty shall be entitled to bear arms subject to the purchase of a licence, as in Great Britain, and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice; (4) that the Press shall be free and that no licence nor security shall be demanded on the registration of a Press or Newspaper: (5) that corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian subject of His Majesty serving in the Army or Navy save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects.

#### FISCAL POWERS

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that it is essential for the welfare of the Indian people that the Indian Legislature should have the same freedom in fiscal matters as are enjoyed by the self-governing dominions of the Empire.

#### REFORM SCHEME

Syed Wazir Hasan next moved the following resolution:

The All-India Muslim League affirms that the introduction of a system of responsible government should proceed simultaneously in the Central as well as the Provincial Governments. The All-India Muslim League while welcoming the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms as an earnest attempt to liberalize Indian political institutions, and recognizing that some of the proposals constituted an advance on

the present conditions in some directions, is of opinion that the recommendations as a whole are unsatisfactory, and regrets that the scheme fails to appreciate the peculiar position of the Musalmans of India and evinces a want of sympathy with their interests.

The League is further of opinion that the following modification and changes in the proposals are necessary to render the scheme of reforms a substantial step towards responsible government. The proportion of the Musalmans in the Assembly and the Legislative Councils as laid down in the Congress-League Scheme must be maintained. The measure of control that Parliament and Secretary of State exercise over Indian affairs should be relaxed as subjects are transferred to popular control, from time to time, and in the case of reserved subjects, the general and financial control of Parliament and the Secretary of State should not be substituted by the control of the Government of India as long as the Government of India is not made fully responsible to the people. The Council of India should be abolished and the Secretary of State should be assisted by two Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian. The establishment charges of the India Office should be placed on the British Estimates. The Committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India should contain an adequate Indian element. The words 'Good Government' in Recommendation 5 of the Report should be either clearly defined or deleted. There should be no Privy Council for India. The Indian element in the Executive Council of the Governor-General should not be less than half of the total number of members. In making such appointments the claims of the Musalmans should be borne in mind.

Power may be taken for the appointment of Under-Secretaries, but the majority of these should be appointed from amongst the elected members of the Legislative Assembly. The total strength of the Legislative Assembly should be 150, of whom four-fifths should be elected. The President and Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly should be elected by the Assembly. The Council of State may be retained, provided that a system of reserved and transferred subjects

similar to that proposed for the provinces is adopted for the Central Government and that in the Legislature of India the certificate of the Governor-General-in-Council should not apply except to certain reserved subjects hereinafter mentioned. The reserved subjects should be confined to the Army, the Navy, Foreign and Political relations between the Government of India and other Powers, excepting relations with the Colonies and Dominions, including the declarations of war and entering into treaties and matters directly affecting the peace, tranquillity and safety of the country.

In the Council of State half the members shall be elected, one-third of the elected members being Musalmans to be elected by Muslim constituencies.

The certificate of the Governor-General should not apply to matters only than reserved subjects, and only in cases directly affecting the peace, tranquillity and safety of the country. If the Governor-General dissolves the Legislative Assembly, he shall summon a fresh Assembly within three months of such dissolution.

The Governor-General-in-Council and not the Governor-General alone should have the power to pass ordinances. The Budget in the Legislative Assembly should follow the same procedure as the Provincial Budget mutatis mutandis. Reserved subjects are to include only Law, Justice and Police (except prisons), and there should be a complete separation of judicial and executive functions, at once.

The status and salary of the ministers shall be the same as that of the members of the Executive Council.

Complete provincial autonomy should be assured by terms of the statute within six years. No additional members shall be appointed without portfolios. The League disagrees with the recommendation that additional member or members may be appointed to the Provincial Executive Councils by the Governor from among his senior officials for purposes of consultation and advice only. The Governor shall not have power to summon either part of his Council separately. Power may be taken to appoint Under-Secretaries provided that the Under-Secretaries so appointed shall be from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council shall consist of four-fifths elected and one-fifth

nominated members. The Legislative Council shall elect its own President and Vice-President. The re-transfer of transferred subjects to the list of reserved subjects in case of maladministration shall only take place with the sanction of the Parliament. The Legislative Council shall have the right to vote the salary of ministers five years after the first Council.

The status of Ajmer, Merwara and Delhi should be that of a Regular Province and popular government and effective control in the affairs of the local government should be granted to their people.

The percentages of recruitment in India of the public services, including the Indian Civil Service, should begin with 50 per cent, and increased by 1.5 per cent annually, until the position is reviewed by the Commission. The League objects to the time scale of promotion set out in Recommendation No. 68 of the Report. All persons either recruited in England or India should receive equal pay. No allowances to be granted to persons recruited in Europe for service in India or to those recruited in India for service in Europe.

The All-India Muslim League authorizes the Council of the League to take steps to send a deputation to England at an early date to work conjointly with the Congress deputation in the matter of reforms in accordance with the principles incorporated in the resolutions passed in this Special Session of the All-India Muslim League and to secure for the Musalmans of India due recognition of their rights for enabling them to take their proper place in the reformed political constitution of the country.

Syed Wazir Hasan, in support of the foregoing resolution, observed that the All-India Council of the Muslim League had passed a resolution, at its meeting held on August 29, that they should confer with the Subjects Committee of the Congress in the matter of the reform proposals and come to an understanding in respect of them as far as possible. They had accordingly discussed the resolutions in the Subjects Committee of the Congress, and he was glad to say that there was perfect unanimity between them and the Congress, except in one matter relating to the proposal for creating a Council of State. The Council of

the League had bestowed its best attention on the subject, and he hoped they would unanimously pass the resolutions.

Mr. Yakub Hasan seconded the resolution, and in the course of his remarks, said that the resolution was the result of a compromise between all shades of Muslim opinion, which meant that every word in the resolution had been very carefully weighed before finding a place in it. The League had accorded its welcome to the proposals which it would not have accorded if the proposals had been wholly unacceptable. They recognized that some of the proposals constituted a distinct advance on the present state of affairs. The phrase "the recommendations on the whole are unsatisfactory" might not perhaps be endorsed by some, but it must be remembered that it was assented to as a compromise. There was a Conference of the Council of the League and the Subjects Committee of the Congress, and some of the modifications of the proposals which were adopted by a majority of the subjects committee, but which did not meet with the approval of the Council of the League, were reconsidered by the Subjects Committee in order to come more in line with the Muslim League. As an example, he cited the case of the inclusion, in the reserved subjects, of matters affecting the peace, tranquillity and safety of the country, and the retention of the Council of State and the Grand and Committee, which formed part of the League's resolution.

Mr. Fazlul Haq, supporting the resolution, said that the people of India resented the insinuation that they were unfit for self-government and they should enter a most emphatic protest against the insinuation. It was suggested, not only that the people of India were unfit, but that the Musalmans were the most unfit. They should point out that the people of India were quite fit to have self-government in the British Empire, and that the Musalmans were the most fit. He also said the Government of India must be liberalized as was proposed in the case of the Provincial Governments. They fully appreciated the efforts made by the authors of the report towards the liberalization of the Government, but they also felt constrained to say that the Scheme that they had proposed was on the whole unsatisfactory and disappointing.

Mr. Nabiullah further supported the resolution and was followed by Mr. Barkat Ali, who in the course of his speech, said

that they accepted the bifurcation of provincial administrations, not because they were enamoured of it as establishing an arrangement, but merely accepted it as a compromise.

Mr. Asad Ali further supported the resolution.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, who was greeted with loud applause, on rising to speak, moved, as an amendment, that the following sentence in the resolution be deleted, viz., "the words good government' in Recommendation 5 of the Report, should be either clearly defined or deleted." In support of his amendment, Mr. Jinnah pointed out that anyone who had read the Montagu-Chelmsford Report carefully would perceive that the expression 'good government' used there was very vague. The resolution proposed here asked that "peace, tranquillity and safety of the country" be included in the reserved subjects whereas the authors of the Scheme used the expression 'good government.' By 'good government', the League meant safety of the country, and they did not want Government to define the expression 'good government' for them, because they might perhaps say that 'good government' included also, for instance, the financial administration of the country and so on. He considered, therefore, that clause in the resolution was superfluous and asked them to delete it. He also moved, as an amendment, the substitution of the word 'shall' for 'should' in that part of the resolution which dealt with reserved subjects.

Syed Wazir Hasan having accepted the modifications proposed by Mr. Jinnah, the resolution as amended was carried unanimously.

#### PROTEST AGAINST ROWLATT COMMITTEE REPORTS

The following resolution was then carried unanimously:

The All-India Muslim League while generally condemning the conclusions arrived at by the Rowlatt Committee, records its emphatic protest against the aspersions cast in the Report on the loyalty of the Musalman community, and having regard to the method of investigation adopted, declares its conviction that the conclusions arrived at by the Committee regarding the existence of a seditious movement in the community are not correct. The League further emphatically

declares that it cannot accept the remarks of the said Committee regarding some of the respected leaders of the community, unless and until the materials on which the Committee profess to base their conclusions are tested in a court of law.

Dr. Ansari and Moulvi Abdus Subhan appealed for funds to help the families of the internees.

The President then, in bringing the proceedings to a close thanked the Reception Committee and the volunteers for taking so much trouble to make the Special Session such a success, and specially paid a tribute to the pains taken by Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Mr. Jinnah and the Captain of the Volunteers, Mr. Dadamia.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy moved a hearty vote of thanks to the President, who, he said, had taken considerable trouble in coming to Bombay from a long distance, and who had guided their deliberations with very great ability.

Mr. Mirza Ali Mohammed Khan seconded the proposition which was carried by acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.<sup>1</sup>

# Chapter 3

## ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

#### **ELEVENTH SESSION**

Delhi, December 30, 1918

The annual session of the All-India Muslim League commenced on December 30, 1918, at Delhi. A special feature of the Delhi Session of the League was that the Ulema also participated in its deliberations. The Ulema conducted a meeting in the Fatehpuri Mosque a day before the commencement of the League's Session and decided to join their voice with the Muslim League in all matters concerning Islam. Prominent Muslim divines included Maulana Abdul Bari, Azad Subhani, Ibrahim Sialkoti, Sanah Ullah Amritsari, Ahmed Saeed Kifayatullah and Abdul Latif.

Dr. M.A. Ansari, Chairman of the Reception Committee. pointed out that the separate electorate was based on the Government promise made in the past, and it was confirmed by an agreement with the Hindus. As such, it could not be touched. Referring to the criticism of Communal Electorates in paragraphs 228, 229 and 230 of the Joint Report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms, Dr. Ansari said that it had given rise to fears among Muslims that they might lose their special representation under the reforms system of Government. Dr. Ansari remarked: "The Muslim claims for separate electorates were analysed and recognized by the Government of India and it was admitted, in the first place, that Mohammedans were promised electoral advantage on the ground of their political importance. Secondly, the Muslim community being poor, any property qualification common both to the Hindus and the Musalmans would reduce the Muslim electorate in

proportion to the Mohammedan census. Thirdly, in the census the strength of the Muslim community did not correspond to the strength of the Muslim community did not correspond to their political strength. Fourthly, the effectiveness of a minority depends upon its being large enough to have the sense of not being entirely overwhelmed. Notwithstanding all this, it was observed by the Government of India, "if we were writing on a clean slate, we should greatly desire to establish a ratio of Mohammedan seats which would bear a closer relation with their strength as a community, while amply fulfilling our undertakings to safeguard them as a minority." Such views of the Government could not but create a flutter in the Muslim world. Dr. Ansari warned the Government that the Musalmans would not allow for a single minute either the Government or the Hindus to shift the grounds and make any changes in the right of separate representation. The exclusion of the Muslim members from the Imperial Conference was also deprecated. In view of the fact that important matters which were concerned more with the future of the Muslims were sure to be discussed, it was clear that a non-Muslim could not speak with that force and conviction on purely Muslim questions as a Musalman can do. There was much criticism by the Hindus for this demand of the Muslims. Addressing such critics who took pleasure in an irresponsible fashion to misrepresent Muslims, Dr. Ansari said that he was constrained to note that some of his friends have said that any Indian Musalman is prepared to give the whole country of India for the sake of one inch of the ground of Gallipoli. He challenged his Hindu compatriots to point out a single instance wherein the Indian Musalmans have not stood side by side with them. He made it clear that a true Muslim would also remain a true Indian. If they showed their sympathy with Iran and Turkey, they at the same time, where the question of India was conserned, stood by their motherland.

Dr. Ansari condemned the Hindu-Muslim riots of Katarpur, and the attitude of the Hindus, but advised the Musalmans to remain calm.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. A.K. FAZLUL HAQUE

You have been pleased to summon me, a mere commoner from a corner of the Indian Continent, to preside over the deliberations of a body whose activities, based on the noble principles of Islam, have been moulding into shape the nascent aspirations of the Muslim nationhood of India. The honour which you have thus conferred upon me is unique and evokes my heartfealt gratitude; but the responsibility which this position carries with it is also unquestionable and immense, specially at a time when dark clouds are louring over the political horizon of the country, big with the possibilities of a political devastation which may engulf civilization all over the globe. My remarks apply with special force to the Musalmans of India, who are being hemmed in on all sides by enemies bent on the destruction, not merely of Islamic Empire, but also of Islamic civilization and culture. The great World War, which seems to be coming to an end, has brought problems relating to Islam to the forefront all over the world. These problems call for solution, not only to protect the temporal power of Islam, but also those spiritual forces which for the last 13 countries have illuminated the path of material and moral progress all over the civilized world. I feel confident that having conferred such a unique honour upon me, you will also come forward to render me all help and assistance in carrying on the duties of such an exalted office. I also feel sure that with your help and assistance we will be able to guide the deliberations of this session of the League in a way which will lead to the successful attainment of all those aims and aspirations, which we have always kept in view as the guiding principles of the great organization to which we all have the honour to belong.

# Muslim Apprehension About The Fate of Turkey

Brethren, we have met to-day under circumstances entirely different from those that prevailed in this Sub-Continent during the last four years. The Great World War seems to be coming to an end. The thunders of cannon balls and the clash of arms are becoming fainter and fainter, and we are all on the tiptoe of

expectation for the peace which alone can bring relief from the awful conditions through which we have passed during the War. Anything that was good and noble in the civilized world has been practically shattered to pieces, and when the long-wished-for peace will come, we will have to rebuild a new order of things out of the ruins of the old. But even this peace is still far off, and we will have to wait anxiously for the opportunity which peace will bring in its train. There are many difficulties in the way of real peace. The innate and inborn envy and jeal-ousies of the nations of Europe will raise insurmountable difficulties in the way of peace, and unless some unforeseen event happens, all our cherished hopes for peace will end in disappointment.

The present age is full of anxieties for Muslims all over the world. The Great World War, which appears to be ending so happily and triumphantly for the Allies, has unfortunately brought deep and gloomy forebodings to Muslim minds. Muslim countries are now the prey of the land-grabbing propensities of the Christian nations, in spite of the solemn pledges given by these very nations that the Wolrd War was being fought for the protection of the rights of small and defenceless minorities. Morocco, Tunis, Algiers, Egypt have all their tales of woe to tell about the unabashed greed of Christian Powers, and hardly do we get a little breathing time to deal with one unfortunate Muslim state, when cries of distress come from other quarters. Only yesterday, the attempts made by the Christian Powers to throttle Iran raised loud protests from all over the Muslim world, and today we find the same powers seriously bent on the dismemberment of Turkey. To us, the Muslims all over the World, the fate of Turkey is bound with problems of deep concern. We cannot forget that Turkey raises, for all Muslims, the questions of the Khilafat and the protections of our holy places. We are often told that England has under its sway more Muslims than any other power in the world. But alas, is it not within the memory of even the present generation that the ministers of the British Crown have seldom had any scruples in casting to the winds their obligations to the Muslims, specially of India, and even trampled under foot, solemn pledges given time and again to the Muslim world? Over the past misdeeds of British statesmen, we may draw a veil, but we feel that the time has come when we should warn these statesmen that it is against all rules of prudence to draw ceaseless drafts on the bank of loyalty. It is a trite saying, but nevertheless true, that it is the last straw that often breaks the camel's back. It will be a miracle if it is otherwise with Indian Muslims.

From a consideration of the prospects of a speedy peace, let ue turn to the efforts that are being made by the victorious Allies to discuss the terms of Peace. It is a matter of great regret that in these deliberations of the various Powers, no Muslim Power will be allowed to take any part. Muslim cases will thus go by default. It is obvious that we cannot depend on British statesmen to represent the Muslim cause. Only the other day, a prominent British statesman, Lord Robert Cecil, declared that Turkey has shown an utter incapacity for ruling subject races. Fortunately, no detailed discussion on this point is necessary, because it will suffice if we refer the noble lord to the pages of Gibbon, Froude and Arnold, and of Orientalists like Margouleith and Pickthall for an authentic testimony to the manner in which Turkey has discharged her obligations to subjects races. Even the most hostile critic of Turkey will admit that history abounds with instances not merely of the liberal administrative policy of the Turks, but also of the manner in which Turkey has often given shelter to small Christian nations. who but for Turkish help, would have been wiped out of existence by bigger Christian Powers. I would have treated the remarks of the British minister with supreme-contempt had it not been for the fact that these words of the British minister clearly indicate that a case is being made out to throttle Turkey. I will therefore venture to take up a little of your time to discuss this question briefly before I pass on to other matters.

# Turkish Treatment of Subject People

Eminent historians have borne testimony to the magnanimity with which Turkey has often treated its Christian subjects, even in cases of proved treason and disloyalty, and how the much maligned Turks have given practical demonstrations of that toleration which Christians often preach in theory but never show in practice. Everyone known that for centuries past, Russia

has been the biggest enemy of Turkey. The internal dissensions in Russia have often given Turkey opportunities of bringing about a dismemberment of the Russian Empire. But Turkey never played a mean part by hitting Russia below the belt. Only the other day thousands of Russian Jews were turned out of Russia in the most inhuman manner. They were homeless and resourceless in a foreign land, and would have succumbed to the privations with which they were faced, had not the hospitality of the Turks saved them from the dismal fate that awaited them. In this respect, the history of Europe has been repeating itself for centuries. Not once or twice but times without number. the Jews have been turned out, bag and baggage, from Christian countries only to get shelter in the domains of the very Turks whom Christian statesmen have denounced as incapable of dealing with subject races. The phrase 'Wandering Jew' has passed into a proverb to represent the sad plight of Jews all over Europe, knocking at every Christian door but getting a response from none. It is the Turks who have invariably given them shelter, and at the present moment it is well known that the Middle East and Near East have become colonies of these wandering Jews, who have concentrated in Salonica as their final abode to live peacefully and happily under Turkish rule.

# England's Opportunities in India

I have already referred to the remarks of Lord Robert Cecil about the incompetence of the Turks in dealing with subject races; but have the English given practical proofs of their own capability of dealing with nations committed to their care? Tall talk and low performance are perhaps the privileges of Englishmen, just as they think that they have a right to claim all sorts of privileges which can fall to the fate of any nation in the world. But have they pondered carefully over the performance of their countrymen in India, and have they got imagination enough to conceive what will be the verdict of history on the achievements of the British nation in India and other Eastern countries? It is well known that the Duke of Wellington, who earned the appellation of the Iron Duke, claimed in his speech, delivered in 1832 that the British people are the favoured people of the Almighty and are pure and holy distributor of justice

all over the world. The Viceroys and Secretaries of State for India, in their reports and speeches, have also spoken about the British administration in terms of similar praise and admiration. The world might well have been spared these uncalled for certificates of personal superiority, because we are all prepared to give the British nation the fullest credit for whatever good they may have done in India. No one denies that England has given India the most precious human possession called peace, that the English have introduced Western arts, culture and civilization in the East and have more or less successfully acquainted the nations of the Orient with modern methods of administration. They have introduced a system of administration which, though capable of many improvements, is still unsurpassed by any such system in the civilized world. They have also introduced wise and humane laws and regulations. Their courts of justice are ideal in their own sphere, and may well excite the envy of the civilized world. We are prepared to give the British nation the fullest credit for their achievements in India; but there is also another side to the picture which we cannot afford to forget. The British nation has had opportunities of successful administration in India which have seldom fallen to the lot of any other nation in dealing with Eastern races. India can boast of an ancient civilization and culture of which any nation may be proud. Our grievance is that these opportunities have been misused and utterly neglected. Far from taking the fullest advantage of the opportunity they had within their reach, the British administrators have utterly misused their opportunities in a manner unparalleled in history. About 17 years ago on the August 16, 1901, Lord George Hamilton, then Secretary of State for India, made the following announcement in Parliament: "It has been said that the British nation has introduced the system of administration which is eating into the very vitals of the Indian nation. The British administrators are held up as blood suckers in their dealing with the people of India. I freely admit that, if it can be shown that India has deteriorated in material prosperity under British rule, I will concede that we stand self-condemned, and that we have no right to hold any further the reins of administration in India".

I am prepared to accept the criterion laid down by Lord George Hamilton in judging of the benefits derived by Indians under British rule, by comparing the material condition of the Indian people in pre-British days and modern conditions under British rule. Fortunately, we have definite facts and data for undertaking a comparison of India under pre-British rule and India under British rule. A slight reflection will show that the most prominent feature of the deterioration of the material condition of the Indian people is the frequency of the devastating famines which have been causing havoc among the people of India in quick succession.

Comparison of the Havoc Caused by Famines in Ancient Times and under British Rule

Famines have now become an acknowledged feature of Indian life. One famine succeeds another, and the only manner which British administrators want to shake off their responsibility is by remarking that famines are due to natural causes, mostly connected with uncertain rainfall. In other words, the British administration is not responsible for the frequency or intensity of the famines in India; but these statesmen forget that we have got definite evidence for the comparison of the state of things under Muslim rule with the condition of things under British rule in India.

We have got documents to show that famines under Muslim rule were characterized by the following redeeming features:

- (1) They were all of a local character, or in other words, they were not widespread in their effects or intensity.
- (2) They never appeared suddenly, but always showed signs which led the authorities to make preparations for meeting the coming disasters.
- (3) Famines in ancient times were not responsible for that apalling loss of human life which has characterized famines in modern India. Mr. Digby, in his book *Prosperous India*, has made the following observations by dividing famines into different periods:

11th Century Two famines Both local
13th Century One famine One famine round-about Delhi
14th Century Three famines All local
15th Century Two famines Both local

16th Century Three famines All local

17th Century Three famines Incidence not known

18th Century One famine Subas south and north of Delhi

Up to 1744 Four famines In Sind, all local

For the purpose of comparison, I will now point out, from the official records, the famines of the 19th century:

1st Era	Five famines	mortality, several millions
2nd Era	Two famines	mortality, five lakhs
3rd Era	Six famines	mortality, five lakhs
4th Era	Eighteen famine	s mortality, several millions.

It appears from an analysis of official documents that from 1854 to 1901, more than 30 million people died of famine. Mr. Digby calculates that, roughly speaking, the mortality in the last 30 years of the 19th century were four times those that had occurred during the previous century.

Mr. Ramesh Chunder Dut thas said that the famines of the 19th century in India were unparalleled in their rigour and intensity by famines in any other age of this country. He says that in 1877, 1889, 1892 and and 1900 famines had carried off more than 15 million people; in other words, the deaths by famine amounted to the populations of some minor States of Europe. According to Mr. Digby, it is worthy of note that the number of people who fell victims to wars from 1703 to 1900 amounted to 5 million while in Hindustan, within 10 years, namely 1891 to 1900, more than 19 million people lost their lives in famines.

The question now arises, what are the causes of these frequent and devastating famines in British India within only about a century of British rule? The answer is writ large on the pages of British statistical reports, based on facts collected by British officials themselves. British officials maintain that famines are caused by uncertain, and often inadequate rainfall, and hence are beyond the control of British officials who are after all human beings, who can have no power over the forces of Nature. But this lame excuse is opposed to the facts. It is possible that a rise in price or inadequacy of food may be due to scarcity caused by Pate or erratic rainfall; but this scarcity generally assumes famine proportions mostly owing to the poverty of the people and their low purchasing power to meet the

vital necessaries of life. It is generally the case that while there is scarcity in any area, there are sufficient food stuffs in neighbouring areas to meet the deficit of food. But the poverty of the people stands in the way of taking advantage of surplus food stuffs in other areas. Scarcity may be due to natural causes, but the incapacity of the people to face such scarcity, the inability of the people to face even a slight rise in prices, is due to general poverty. Widespread famines follow local scarcity, when people are unable to buy the necessities of life owing to general poverty.

## Poverty of the People of Hindustan

The poverty of the Indian people has passed into a proverb. Official records admit that the average income of an Indian is less than £2 a year, whereas in the United Kingdom (England and Scotland), the average income exceeds £45 a year. Mr. Dutt (in his India in the Victorian Era) has observed that even in most fertile tracts in India, the daily earnings of a peasant labourer does not exceed three pence a day. His daily life is a tale of miseries. His hut and hovel can hardly give him protection from the inclemencies of weather; his women go almost without raiment; his children run about naked; his hut contains no utensils or the coarsest furniture; and whether it is the burning heat of a tropical summer, or the shivering cold of a bleak winter, the Indian peasant, with his wife and children, passes through physical discomforts which make him the most miserable creature in existence.

On the other hand, if we turn our eyes towards the past, we will find that only a few centuries before the advent of the British, Indians had acquired the reputation of being wealthy and prosperous. Western nations used to cast longing eyes on the wealth of the Indian people, and the whole civilized world used to covet their prosperity and their material superiority in all the necessaries of life. It was this wealth and material prosperity of the Indian people that lured foreign nations to try their luck in India. British historians have borne unanimous testimony to the prosperous condition of the Indians even at the commencement of British rule in this country. Only about a hundred years ago, Bengal was richer than even Britain; and when in 1757,

Clive entered Murshidabad, he wrote that he found that city an extensive, as populous and as rich as London, with this difference that individually the citizens of Murshidabad were richer and more opulent than those of London.

It is often said that the present rise of prosperous and flourishing cities on all sides, the increase of trade and commerce in volume and intensity and the popular demand for articles of luxury, amusement and pleasure in India are definite signs of the prosperity of Hindustan under British rule. It is possible that this will be the first impression on the mind of a superficial observer, but such an impression is wholly wrong and misleading. The Hindustan which catches the eyes of a traveller or a superficial observer is not the real Hindustan. It is the shadow of Hindustan with a veneer of European civilization to hide its real character. No wonder that the real Hindustan is completely shut from the view of British people. In this connection, I may be permitted to quote the words of great historian Mr. Ramesh Chunder Dutt. He says: Things in Hindustan are materially different from those in England. The external trade of Hindustan is carried on by foreigners with foreign money. The profits of foreign trade go to Europe and are not available in Hindustan. The earnings through the foreign trade of India are not the earnings of the inhabitants of Hindustan. Moreover, the volume of Indian foreign trade is no index of the national earnings of the people of Hindustan. For example in 1881, during the comparative prosperity of the administration of India under Lord Ripon, the value of the total exports and imports of Hindustan amounted to £ 12 million whereas in 1900, when Hindustan was in the grip of famine and distress, the value of exports and imports amounted to about £ 120 million. Will not one unacquainted with the real Hindustan say from these statistics alone that Hindustan earned more money or consumed more food in 1900 than in 1881 ?

There is another important point about foreign trade which must not be overlooked. Foreign trade, through foreign money and foreign agencies, is not necessarily harmful to the economic condition of the country. Imported goods are generally cheaper than indigenous goods. These foreign goods serve a double purpose. Through competition, they raise the standard of the efficiency of home products, and although they displace home

products to a certain extent in the beginning, the saving to the buyer effected by cheaper prices goes to increase the wealth in the country. But in Hindustan, even this indirect benefit from foreign trade is hemmed in by limitations. The foreign trade of Hindustan does not run in natural channels, but is forced on the people of the country. For instance, the tax on the production of whole goods falls on those articles of production which could have been easily produced in this country. This forces Hindustan to export her essential commodities of life. Equally disastrous are the taxes on cotton goods, which come from the pockets of the people in the shape of taxes on vital articles of food. Judged by these facts and circumstances, we can answer Lord George Hamilton's test by saying that Hindustan has unquestionably deteriorated in material prosperity under British Rule.

### Cause of the Decline of Material Prosperit

Let us now consider what are the causes of this decline in material prosperity. Are the causes beyond the power of human control, or are they the natural outcome of the basic policy of British administration in Hindustan? A little consideration will show that the answer to the first part of the question is in the negative, and to the second part in the affirmative. In other words, the causes of this decline in material prosperity can be clearly traced to the policy pursued by the British administrators in Hindustan. In the first place, British administration has done nothing to increase the sources of natural wealth in the country. Secondly, all the wealth available in the country has been drained out by the pursuit of a policy which could not have left any wealth in the country without falsifying the truth of those natural laws which control the growth and development of the material wealth in a country.

This is a serious charge to lay against any civilized administration but I have no alternative but to state what I feel to be the truth. Let us examine the position a little closely.

All nations derive their sources of wealth from agriculture, trade and commerce, arts and industries and a sound policy of finance in administration. Let us consider all these points separately as applied to Hindustan.

## Decline of Agriculture

First take up the case of agriculture in India in ancienttimes. The high state of excellence in methods of agriculture in India was well known through out the world. Rulers throughout the country had realized the importance of irrigation in the improvement of agriculture. Wells, channels, large tanks, which now are found all over the country, bear witness to the fact that the ancient rulers in Hindustan were very anxious to increase the sources of wealth in the country. Unfortunately, in the time of the British rulers, this important part of administration seems to have been completely ignored. It is a fact that in Hindustan the production of crops per acre is less than the average product of other countries. In Japan, whose soil is not blessed by nature more than the soil of Hindustan, the produce of paddy is at least twice that of Hindustan. All this is due to the neglect of the Government to improve methods of agriculture suited to the soil of Hindustan. There are ample opportunities of developing sufficient irrigation projects by drawing water from rivers. wells and canals. Opportunities are also not wanting of gathering and reaping crops by means of machines and other instruments (vide recommendations of the Agriculture Commission). But all the bounties of nature and the opportunities of improving the productivity of the soil are lost through the apathy of the Government in the matter of improving the material prosperity of the people. Government spends crores of rupees in building railways and other means of locomotion to patronize the products of British firms at home, but unfortunately the Government in Hindustan does not pay the slightest attention to improving agriculture by even ordinary methods. No one can ignore the importance of railways in the development of the resources of a country, but irrigation is no less important than the development of railways. The Famine Commission of 1880 wrote strongly that the claims of irrigation should have the first place in the attention of Government in order to prevent recurring famines; but the only way in which the Government honoured the recommendation was by spending, from 1880 to 1897, six times more on railways than on other projects. Mr. Ramesh Chunder Dutt has worked out that the total amount spent on irrigation by March, 1902, was less than £ 24 million as against £ 226 million

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spent on railways. Fortunately, there are signs for the better, and there are reasons for hope that there is the chance of a dawn of good sense in the minds of administrators regarding the improvement of irrigation in Hindustan.

### Decline in Trade and Arts

Let us take up the case of trade and arts in Hindustan. It is needless to refer to the high position occupied by Hindustan in the annals of ancient times as a country famous for fine arts and industries. The report of the Industrial Commission contains the following remarks: "In ancient times the tracts of Europe are renowned for arts and industries were the abodes of uncivilized nations. Hindustan was at that time renowned for its wealth and for its skillful artisans. In the beginning of British rule also. Hindustan was in no way inferior to the advanced nations of Europe in the matter of arts and industries. But after the introduction of British rule, people were forced to pay less and less attention to arts and industries, and more and more to agriculture. Sir Henry Cotton has written, in his New India, that the British companies immediately took hold of all opportunities of selling their goods on a large scale in India, and secondly the prominence that was given to Manchester completely wiped out the improvements of handlooms in Hindustan. In the words of the well-known historian H.H. Wilson. British owners of industries and concerns used the Government of India as a political weapon to strangle the ancient industries of Hindustan'."

All the above causes have combined to convert Hindustan from being a country possessing arts and industries into a completely agricultural country. All the laws and regulations were passed for the improvement of British industries and not those of Hindustan. A similar attempt was made by England with respect to her trade and commerce with America, but after the American War of Independence, the United States formulated a policy of its own, and by reciprocal laws and regulations relating to demand and supply, the United States has managed to march abreast of England in the improvement of its national wealth.

The most powerful cause of the downfall of Indian arts and

industries has been the financial poverty of the Indian people.

It is unfortunately true that the East India Company and the British Parliament of about a century ago, in the pursuit of their selfish policy of encouraging the industries in Great Britain and depressing corresponding industries in Hindustan, left no chance for the Hindustani industries to prosper; with the result that in about a century of British rule, practically the whole of the indigenous industries of Hindustan had collapsed. Mandates came from England to employ Hindustani workers in the firms of the Company, so that skilled indigenous labour might be utilized for the growth of British industries in Hindustan. These workers were given considerable facilities for ousting native weavers and other similar workers from the field of competition. Heavy duties practically killed at the native industries in silk and fine cotton, and British goods of inferior stuff filled the markets because of the low duties imposed on them.

Dealing with this subject, H.H. Wilson, the famous historian, has made the following remarks: "The owners of mercantile houses in England did not scruple to strangle a rival by political injustice whom they could not under ordinary circumstances have successfully faced in open competition. Crores of Hindustani artisans were deprived of the fruits of their labour...All this is a sad chapter in the history of British rule in Hindustan. The history of the injustice by British merchants on the inhabitants of Hindustan would be incomplete without a reference to the systematic manner in which British artisans used machinery for the production of articles which in Hindustan were being produced according to old crude principles of manual labour. To add to this, the British Government in Hindustan tried to strangle the production of the manual labour of the people of Hindustan by the imposition of heavy taxes. The fate of the Indian artisans was complete when Japan and China also entered the field and joined hands with the merchants of Great Britain in putting down indigenous industries of India."

In 1837, when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, Indian artisans were at their last gasp. To take one instance out of many: Hindustani handkerchiefs had a good market in Europe, and this trade which was open to the people of Hindustan was virtually strangled by the levying of heavy export duties on all silk products by the British Government in India. Parliament

made enquiries on how the trade of Hindustan in this respect could be stopped altogether. In other words, the British Government never cared to find out how the trade and commerce of Hindustan could be improved, but directed their enquiries to finding out how the trade and industries of Hindustan could be superseded by the corresponding trade of Great Britain. The life of the East India Company came to an end in 1857, but long before this, India had fallen from her high pedestal as one of the foremost industrial countries in the world; and the people of Hindustan were left to fend for their existence on the fitful produce of their lands by means of obsolete methods of agriculture carried out under unfavourable conditions. The Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviva has in his writings gone very deep into this matter; and he remarks that the East India Company, from about 1788, turned their attention to the question of the restriction of the cotton of East Bengal, and from the very beginning, the Directors of the East India Company made no secret of their anxiety to deprive the artisans of Bengal from reaping the benefits of their skilled labour by open competition in European markets. Every one knows of the world-wide fame of the Muslims of Dacca. It is a sad story how this industry was strangled by the enforcement of laws and regulations. But repressive laws were not enough. Barbarous methods were adopted to incapacitate skilled workers by cutting off or mutilating fingers of artisans, and human conscience revolts against the atrocities committed on innocent people to give opportunities to the mills and handlooms of England.

India came under the sway of the British Crown in 185%; but even after this revolution, the British merchants used to influence the Government in the imposition of duties on goods imported into India. The flow of British goods into Indian markets was facilitated by the reduction of import duties in India; and in 1879, which was financially a bad year for India, Parliament proposed a reduction in Indian import duties. In 1882 all import duties, except on wine and salt, were practically abolished. Unfortunately, this very repeal of the import duties reacted adversely on Hindustan. In 1894 the former import duties were re-imposed with slight modifications. An import duty of 5 per cent was imposed on cotton cloth and on coarse cotton. A duty of 5 per cent was also imposed on indigenous cotton goods which

might enter into competition with foreign goods. Even on coarse Indian-made goods, which might in any way enter into competition with Lancashire goods, heavy taxes were imposed. Bomhav products in arts and industries were burdened with taxes seldom known in any part of the civilized world. In the course of 150 years, British rulers in India brought into perfection the policy which helped, not the industry of Hindustan, but of England (Vide R.C. Dutt's India in the Victorian Age), Generally speaking, the prosperity of the modern European nations has been built on the industrial destruction of ancient nations and communities in various parts of the world. This is what Spain did in plundering South America, and such has been the policy of other European nation. Till the middle of the 18th century, the arts and industries of England were in a decadent state. So far as skill was concerned, the Indian artisans were in no way inferior to those of Lancashire. In skilled and creative genius. Hindustani handloom weavers were superior to the mill and machine weavers of Europe. I take this opportunity of quoting the following few lines from the writings of Mr. Brooke Adams (The Law of Civilization and Decay): It is a law of nature that new industries depend for their development on the finance available in the hands of the people to give them full circulation. Fortunately for England, enough wealth was available to Britishers as the result of their loot in Hindustan. This was illustrated by what happened in the early days of British rule in Carnatic and in Bengal, where enormous wealth came into the hands of the Britishers in quite an unexpected manner. Such an underserved luck of financial prosperity has seldom been witnessed in any country in the civilized world.

Mr. Digby says that it is impossible to have a correct estimate of the wealth which fell into the hands of the European nations as a result of their loot in the East; but it is generally estimated that somewhere between £500 million and £1,500 million found their way into the British banks between Plassey and Waterloo. Comment is superfluous.

It is sometimes urged that, even assuming that the British Government had not done its duty in the matter of the improvement of the arts and industries of Hindustan or of the methods of agriculture prevailing in the country, the duty of the leaders of the Indian people was also clear. In other words, if there is

any blame at all, it must be shared by the leaders of the Indian people and the British Government alike. It is true that Indian leaders have not fully done their duty in this matter, but the reason is also very clear. The decline in material prosperity and the poverty of the Indian people made it impossible for Indian leaders to embark on any large scheme which would have successfully arrested the decline of Indian arts and industries and would also have successfully entered into competition with the products of Great Britain. It may be that there are some Indians who may be called wealthy and rich, but their number is small, and the total wealth at the disposal of the Indian people has always been inadequate to the task of improving the national industries of India. Mr. Digby, in his book Causes of the Decline of Indian Industries, has mentioned three reasons why Indian leaders could not help the people of India in protecting the national industries:

- (1) In the regions in the vicinity of Madras, Bengal, and which were the first areas to come under the rule of the East Indian Company, all sources of wealth were drained dry and the people of these tracts had no money to purchase machines and other instruments for the improvement of industries.
- (2) The British Government did not think of helping the people of the country; on the contrary, they helped British cometitors, as against the children of the soil, who struggled hard to overcome the difficulties in their path.
- (3) The Government helped the import of foreign money in the development of the arts and industries of the country, with the result that the wealth derived from arts and industries filled the pockets of foreign capitalists at the expense of the natives of India.

The inadequacy of financial facilities have long been a serious obstacle in the way of initiation and development of arts and industries in Hindustan. I am not one of those who think that Indians are unfitted by nature to initiate and develop arts and industries by improved methods. Given the opportunity, Indians have distinguished themselves in the departments of arts, commerce and industries as they have done in other walks of life. This is amply illustrated by the manner in which Indian artisans and craftsmen have distinguished themselves in the activities of the various branches of the well known mills and industries of

Tata. It is well known that when Lord Dalhousie filled the country with a network of railways in order to find a suitable market for the iron industries of England, immense quantities of iron and iron products were found in various parts of India which could have been utilized for the purpose of building up a well-furnished and well-regulated iron industry in Hindustan. Had the situation been properly handled, not only would the requirements of Hindustan have been satisfied in the matter of iron products, but Hindustan would have been enabled to build up the locomotive of iron industries to compete on equal terms with the advanced nations of the world. But our rulers in Hindustan treated the interests of India in such a vital manner in a spirit of envy and jealous. British industrialists thought that if Hindustan were given an opportunity, it would become a very formidable rival of England, with respect to iron industries in the markets of the world. With the shrewdness which distinguished British industrialists, they at once got alarmed, and made their path of success clear by shutting the possibilities of Indians achieving any means of success in various arts and industries, especially in those in which iron plays an important part.

Agriculture, trade and commerce, arts and industries, have all thus deteriorated and been practically strangled under British rule. I will now turn for a few minutes to a consideration of the financial policy of the British Government. Even the most devoted admirer of British rule in Hindustan will not deny that the average tax on a native of Hindustan is much higher than the average of any other civilized country in the world. You have also to remember that the average income of a native of Hindustan is extremely low; and from this, it will not be difficult to realize that the ensuing taxation is the heavier in Hindustan than in any other country in the world. Compare, for instance, an income of £1 with an income of £45. Three shillings out of an income of £1 tells far more heavily on the payee, than a tax of £3 on an income of £ 45. It is therefore evident that even a tax of £3 in some respects is lighter than a tax of 3/-s. The truth is that in Hindustan the burden is too heavy to be borne by the taxpayer; but it becomes sheer cruelty if this heavy tax is imposed on a resourceless people for the benefit of foreign capitalists. In former times there has also been heavy taxation in Hindustan, but the rigours of the taxes under British rule have been more strict and far more severe than in ancient times. Moreover, in pre-British days no money used to go out of Hindustan, so that in some shape or other, the taxes realized redounded to the benefit of the country.

I will now say a few words about the export of money out of India. This aspect of British rule is the sadest record of the fate of any country under foreign rule. Volumes have been written on this question, about the manner in which the people of the country have been fleeced by foreign rulers, and I will not take up your time by repetition of a subject which is well known to every educated Indian. The East India Company were merchants and traders as well as rulers in the country. The raw materials and finished products were stored on the banks of the Hugli, and then conveyed in ships to England and disembarked on the banks of the Thames. The loss to Hindustan from the economic point of view is evident; but there is another point which is not generally known to the public. Apart from the profits enjoyed by the British people by the manner in which Indian goods are sold by means of British coinage, there is another source of the drain of wealth from India to England. In the financial statements of the Government of India, there is the column of expenditure under the heading 'Services Rendered to India'. It is amazing that last year this expenditure amounted to £17 million. All sources of income in Hindustan have run dry, and whatever may be left is successfully exported from India for the benefit of the people of England.

## Unfounded Charge of Indian Incompetence

The British Government generally puts forward several reasons against the introduction of self-government in Hindustan. The first is the usual plea of our incompetence for home-rule. This is not only a cruel, but an entirely unfounded accusation. Our critics also know that the charge is definitely unfounded, and even insulting. It is belied by the past history of Hindustan. Leaving alone the distant past, the achievements of Abdul Fazl and Toddar Mal are yet unsurpassed by anything done by the British administrators, although they had the advantage of years of improved methods of the arts of administration. The administrations in natives, which are solely in Indian hands,

also bear witness to the genius of Indians in the arts of selfgovernment. Competency is a relative term; and experience has shown that whenever Indians have been given a chance or opportunity, they have excelled British officers in the arts of administration. Suitable opportunities are withheld from Indians. and the charge of incompetency is nevertheless levelled against them. Take an example: the badge of the Victoria Cross was not open to Indians in the beginning of British rule; but when restrictions were removed. Indians demonstrated their superiority in winning this highest of military honours much oftener than the Britishers themselves. Fitness for home-rule comes from experience acquired from the proper enjoyment of the benefits that follow home-rule; and home-rule must come before fitness or unfitness can be judged. They cannot be judged on mere theoritical grounds. Any other method would be worthy of the fool in the story who swore never to go near the water till he had leart to swim. It is only in the proper discharge of responsibility that one acquires a fitness for being trusted with responsibility. Mistakes may be committed in the beginning, but these very mistakes will teach the way to avoid mistakes. No child will ever learn to walk unless he goes through periods of falls or slips of the feet. It is a truism, but none the less true, that nations attain ultimate success from initial failures as well as successes.

The authors of the Reform Scheme<sup>1</sup> have remarked that there can be no doubt as to the Indians' ultimate fitness for self-government; but that they are not fit at the present moment. This is a slur on the whole Indian nation. If we are yet unfit, even after 150 years of British rule, we will never be fit at any time in the future, so long as the present system of British rule continues to exist. The poverty of the Indian masses, their illiteracy and the divisions of the Indians into innumerable races, religions and nations are also stressed as obstacles in the way of the attainment of self-Government by the Indian people. Let us consider these objections a little closely. If we look into the future in the light of the experience of the past, there is hardly any hope for the disappearance of the awful poverty of the people or the removal of the illiteracy of the masses, so long as the

### 1. Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

present British system of administration continues to exist. As regards the last objection, the differences that exist are likely to be enhanced, rather than diminished, so long as an irresponsible foreign administration remains in power. Under present conditions, all the divergent elements of the population vie with each other to secure the good offices of the ruling power. This naturally breeds envy and jealousy in the mind of one section of the people against another. Even in England, material prosperity, as well as the removal of illiteracy, did not precede but followed the introduction of home-rule and self-government. Similarly, in the cases of the United States of America, Canada, Transval, Switzerland and other small States, complete homerule prevails in spite of the diversity in the population of diverse races, religions, creeds and nations. Moreover, the representative and responsible governments prevalent in these countries are in no way inferior to those prevailing in the most highly advanced nations of the globe. In these small states, the selfgovernment that prevails has been the cause of the unification of the diverse elements of the population by creating, in each unit, a sense of responsibility and of the duty of safeguarding the common interests of the entire population. Even so, with the grace of Allah, these things will happen in Hindustan. It is also said that public spirit is wanting in India, and in the absence of the public spirit, no system of self-government can be introduced in this country. But facts do not substantiate even this charge. It is now admitted that long before even the birth of Christ, a highly developed system of government was prevalent in India. We all know that the Orient has been the birth place of municipal institutions. Moreover, the authors of the Reforms Scheme have themselves admitted that these qualities of self-government are acquired and developed by actual work in practice. It therefore follows that unless Indians are given an opportunity to show their worth, it is difficult to say, if at all, when and under what circumstances Indians will acquire the qualities necessary to fit them for self-government.

## Communal Conflicts

As an instance of Hindu Muslim disunity, the communal riots of Arrah of 1917 are often quoted. It is said that the hos-

tility of Hindu zamindars, mahajans, lawyers and other sections is so keen and widespread that Muslims would be ill-advised to put the halter of insecurity round their neck by voting for a system of government which will put powers in the hands of the Hindus majority. It is strongly urged that it is the British Government alone which is the only real shelter for the weaker communities, and that the transfer of power from British hands would be disastrous to the Muslims and other minorities. I wish to say a few words to such kind advisers for their gratuitious advice. On the question of Hindu-Muslim quarrels, I consider it an insult to both to suggest that the Hindu is the natural enemy of the Muslim. Those who base their advice on incidents like the Arrah riots stand self-condemned, because of their hastv generalization from insufficient data. These riots are exceptions to the happy relations between the two communities which exist throughout the Indian Peninsula, and it is absurd to rely on exceptions and ignore the admitted universal rule. Secondly, these riots are the outbursts of some kind of frenzy between the misguided sections of both communities, which fortunately seldom appear to freeze the genial current of national life. The actors in these tragic and despicable tragedies are those misguided specimens of humanity who are unable to tolerate the view points of other people, owing to the ignorance due to want of education and other causes. It is our firm belief that with the spread of education and culture, the views of our countrymen will be broadened and mutual toleration will replace occasional discord. No instance can be quoted of educated Hindus and educated Muslim being involved in communal riots. Once again the remedy lies in calling upon both the communities to shoulder the responsibilities of government, so that all communities may realize that such responsibilities can be discharged only by mutual co-operation and not by communal or sectional discord.

It remains to consider the oppressions committed on Muslim by Hindu zamindars, lawyers, money-lenders and others. A little consideration will show that such oppressions are not the responsibility of any particular religious belief or communal animosity. They have their origin in the rapacity of the powerful in plundering the weak, and in this respect the offender does not look to the religious feelings or the communal character of the victim, but to his capacity to satisfy his lust for plunder. In my own experience, I have come across Muslim mahajans and other representatives of the learned profession whose oppression on their co-religionists have not been in any respect less objectionable than those committed by the Hindu oppressors. It is the spread of education that will minimize the greed of the powerful party and also create ample powers of resistance in the weaker party. The weaker should be taught to try to protect his legitimate rights; and if necessary, they should be taught to combine irrespective of race, colour or creed, to resist the oppressor. Much depends on the individual resources of the victim himself. In many cases it is impossible for the representatives of Government to interfere between the oppressors and the weak victims. In many cases, it has been found that even the officials, in consequence of the undue and unjustified pressure of the strong party. have even been led to side with the oppressors and to add to the troubles of the weaker party.

# Alleged Infringements of Muslim Rights by Hindu Officials

It is true that a non-Indian officer may, if he likes, hold the scales even among various communities; but it is unsafe and against experience to put any reliance on the possible impartiality of non-Indian officers. Here as elsewhere, everything depends on the essential sense of justice of the officer concerned. We often hear that a certain officer is Pro-Muslim and some officers are Pro-Hindu; but here we have got to bear in mind the innate weaknesses of human character which may lead such officers to act from partiality or partisanship. Even at the present moment, many of the high officials are Hindus and they have means of oppressing Muslims, and may even escape punishment by reason of the protection they may get from their own superior officers. In many cases, oppressed Muslims have petitioned Government against Hindu and European officers, but the result of such representation has not been uniform in all cases. In some cases, the local magistrate may be a strictly impartial officer and may be induced to render justice to the oppressed people by an innate sense of justice; but quite different may be the case with another magistrate who, although a non-Indian officer, is not imbued with any high sense of impartiality and is under the influence of his Hindu fellow-officers. It is therefore evident that an

oppressed Musalman can get justice from British officers only if the circumstances are as follows: if the local officer, namely the District Magistrate, is an impartial and strict officer, and also if there is an absence of outside influence which might impair the judgment of the District Magistrate. But experience has shown that it is unsafe to depend on the possibility of the existence of both these conditions. Even if the District Magistrate is an impartial officer, his subordinates may be Hindus and not favourably inclined to help the Muslims; or it may be that the District Magistrate may overrule his Hindus subordinates and report cases for the disposal of higher officials. Here again the same problems arise, and everything depends on the sense of justice of the officer who is to dispose of the cases, as also his immunity from extraneous influence which may hamper his judgment or induce him to ignore all sense of responsibility. In some cases, it may happen that the British official is only a figurehead and a complete tool in the hands of his Hindu subordinates. All things considered, it is evident that it is idle to build hopes on the sense of justice or the impartiality of British officers, because however much the circumstances may be in favour of an oppressed Muslim, there are other circumstances which may deprive the Muslim of the consideration of his legitimate rights. I do not maintain that this arrangement cannot be a complete safeguard against oppression and justice, but what I do maintain is the possibility, perhaps certainty, of a better state of things coming into existence in the joint responsibility of the people themselves to provide for the protection of their mutual rights from oppression by any part.

# Representation of Muslims in Local Bodies

Now take the case of the representation of Muslims in the governing bodies of self-government institutions. Can it be that the British Government has made sufficient provision for the protection of Muslim interests in local bodies?

We have to remember that local self-government was introduced into India towards the sixties of the last century, but during all these years no special provision has been made for the protection of Muslim interests. In the beginning of the introduction of local self-government, Musalmans were politically of no

importance. At that time, it was more necessary than now to make provisions for the protection of their interests, but no such provisions were really made. In these bodies, if the Musalmans fail to obtain representation through election, the only means of their representation would be the limited power which government has reserved in its own hands for the representation of minorities. These powers of nomination are naturally limited. and it would not be surprising if Muslim interests do not in some cases get any recognition at all. In many cases, Muslim interests have suffered even though Government had wide powers of nomination for the representation of Muslims and others. An instance in point is that of the Calcutta University. Here Government possesses the right to nominate 80 per cent of the Fellows, but in no case have the Muslims been able to secure a representation of more than 8 per cent. Some seats have been reserved in local bodies and other institutions under the Minto-Morley Scheme, but here again the representation given to Muslims is wholly insufficient. In the case of the Calcutta Corporation, Government thought that Muslim representation to the extent of 13 per cent would be sufficient, although census reports and other papers show that the percentage of Muslims in the population of Calcutta exceeds 25 per cent. In my opinion, we should not depend on the kindness of Government in a spirit of helplessness, if in fact we have a legitimate right to have what we want. The policy of mere begging is never fruitful, however successful the beggar and his means of begging.

# Treatment of Muslims by British Mercantile Bodies

There are some ignorant people who think that the British people naturally prefer Muslims to Hindus, and therefore, when in any matter the question of the consideration to be given to the representative rights of the two communities arises, Muslim interests will be safe in the hands of Britishers. Those who fall into this erroneous way of thinking have an idea that if power is to be transferred from the hands of British officials, it should be entrusted to non-official Britishers. In this connection, I wish to point out one significant fact. The Anglo-Indian community have hundreds of offices under their control where clerks and other subordinates are Indians, but it is significant that these

Anglo-Indians have not shown any particular leanings towards the employment of Muslims. It is not possible to give an exact idea of the percentage of Muslims in the offices of these Anglo-Indians; but on a rough estimate, the Muslims in these offices do not exceed one per cent. Comment is useless. I am not prepared to prefer the Anglo-Indians to our fellow-citizens of the Hindu community.

# Apprehensions of Hindus Monopolizing Public Offices

There is another apprehension in the minds of the Muslim community regarding the introduction of self-government in India. It is said that the introduction of self-government will mean that the Hindus would completely fill up all public offices in the country. We have to see what is the total number of the offices that are now filled by Indians of all communities. The Reform Scheme (Montagu-Chelmsford Report) shows that of the total population of Hindustan, 70 per cent are agriculturists, 12 per cent are in trade and commerce, 5 per cent in various professions and 1.5 per cent in the public service or in the army. Let us assume that the total number of Indians in all the public services amounts to only one per cent of the population.2 Then, if all the non-Muslims are turned out of public office, and their places are given to Muslims alone, a rough calculation will show that only 3 per cent of the Muslims of Hindustan will be provided for in these public offices. But what will then be the fate of the remaining 97 per cent? They will have to shift for themselves for their livelihood and, if nothing is available, they will have to find some means of subsistence or die of starvation. Take the converse case, and assume that all the reponsible offices in Government are given to non-Muslims. In such a case, 3 per cent of the population will suffer, but 97 per cent may be in the enjoyment of all those benefits which flow from the introduction of self-government. In fine arts and in works of skill and craftsmanship Muslim artisans and workers will have a complete hold. and will be in the enjoyment of benefits which follow the restric-

<sup>1.</sup> This, it is fairly obvious from the percentages, refers to the labour force or the employed labour force.

<sup>2.</sup> Here again, the concept of total population is to be understood in the above restrictive sense of the labour force.

tions of export of money from the country and also through other reasons. It is therefore, akin to madness if benefits of the three per cent are allowed to prevail to the detriment of the remaining 97 per cent. I have always wondered that Musalmans do not realize that under the present system of government Musalmans are the greatest sufferers. Nothing produces greater effect on our British rulers than to be subjected to agitation. For them, agitation in the press and on platforms produces greater terror and fright than even the sound of cannon balls. Since the Musalmans are not experts in the arts of modern agitation and do not possess a powerful press, they have not got the means of giving publicity to their own legitimate claims and aspirations. For these reasons, many officers ignore Muslim claims altogether. An instance in point is the annulment of the partition of Bengal. which proved how the British Government entirely ignored the existence of the rights of the Muslim community, who formed an overwhelming majority of the population of East Bengal. Only a few days ago, Lord Ronaldshay, Governor of Bengal. told an audience in Dacca that the annulment of Partition was undertaken for the benefit of the people of East Bengal. His Excellency must have thought that 65 per cent of the population of the Province of East Bengal, consisting of Muslims who were most definitely against the annulment, were not representatives of the population of East Bengal; but that the 35 per cent, who were non-Muslims, were the real representatives. This was so because the 35 per cent were unceasingly vocal and the 65 per cent were quiet as lambs, and depended solely on the sense of justice of the British rulers. They were soon undeceived. They were completely ignored, whereas the vociferous Hindu agitators got what they wanted. All this again shows that it is not always the legitimate rights of Muslims which can protect the community; but that in many cases, they have to depend on the British rulers' sense of justice, which is influenced by various means beyond the power of the Muslims to adopt.

But this is not all. Under present conditions, every Government official, whether British or Indian, is after all a mere human being, and the only check on the exercise of his unlimited powers is his innate sense of justice and loyalty to duty. If he wants to be merciful and just, there is nothing to fear; but if he is bent on exercising his unlimited powers as an autocrat, there is

nothing left to the helpless oppressed but to sit down and die. A very apt illustration of what I mean is afforded by the disturbances which took place recently in Calcutta, popularly known as the Calcutta Riots.

### The Recent Calcutta Riots

I will refer to the events connected with these riots briefly, because a full report has already been published by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, and a more detailed report, after a careful local enquiry, by the non-official Investigation Committee. As you are all aware, the Indian Daily News of Calcutta. in its issue of July 27, 1918, published matter containing a most objectionable and reprehensible reference to the holy rowza of the Prophet. The Bengal Muslim League immediately summoned a special meeting, passed a resolution strongly condemning the action of the Indian Daily News and calling upon the Editor to offer an unqualified apology. The attention of the Bengal Government was immediately and pointedly drawn to the incident, but to no effect. But this was not all. The Bengal Government was indifferent, while the Editor of the paper showed an attitude of utter defiance. Upon this, the Muslim League arranged a meeting of renowned divines from all over Hindustan, with the object of making the British Government fully aware of the outraged feelings of the Muslim community. The meeting was scheduled to meet on December 8-10, 1918. Things went on smoothly till August 31, when the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, wanted to know certain particulars from the organizers of the meeting. This information was supplied, and on December 3, the Governor consulted a large number of Muslim leaders regarding the proposed Muslim meeting. The organizers of the meeting told the Governor that it was impossible to stop the meeting at that stage and they asked permission to wait in deputation on His Excellency to explain the whole situation and the reasons for going on with their meeting. The prayer for a deputation was rejected. On December 4, the Government banned the proposed meeting, and a communique was issued explaining the attitude taken up by the Government. One of the chief reasons referred to the fact that the meeting was scheduled to take place only a few days before Bakrid, and the Government apprehended that, in taking revenge for the publication, in an Anglo-Indian paper, of a most provocative statement, the Musalmans might turn the sacrificial dagger into an instrument for the annihilation of the Hindus. What better logic could be expected from a civilized Government like the British? All this exasperated the Muslims, and they decided to disobey the prohibition and hold the projected meeting. On December 7, I was asked to intervene and to stop the meeting. The Commissioner of Police further assured me that if the meeting were stopped, he would arrange with His Excellency to receive a deputation. On December 8, no meeting was held as previously notified, and I was told that His Excellency would receive the deputation the next day at 3 p.m. At about noon, the Muslims insisted on going to the Government House to know the result of the deputation. The more the Muslims tried to force their way, the more the police stood in their way, and began pushing the Muslim crowd backward. Ultimately, the police fired on the dense Muslim crowd, killing one and wounding two Muslims. The inevitable happened, and riots broke out in all directions. Unruly elements found their opportunity of rapine and plunder. So the military were called out, and they, along with armed police, were given full liberty to use their guns in any way they liked. On December 10, a number of sepoys rushed into the Colootollah Mosque and attacked the Muslims, killing two and wounding eight innocent persons. Actual statistics are not forthcoming, but it is believed that the number killed far exceeded 500, and might even have been approximately 1,000.

As regards these riots, two points have to be kept in mind. First, that the riots did not break out because the Muslims held the projected meeting in defiance of prohibitions or that they disobeyed orders; quite the contrary, on the first day no meeting was held, because Muslims obeyed Government orders; nor would there have been any meeting on subsequent days—the people only wanted to approach the Governor to permit the meeting to be held. Maybe some enthusiasts even went to Government House to hear the Government decision. But the police intervened and tried to hold back the Muslims by force, and ultimately shots were fired by the police on an excited mob. This, and nothing else, led to one of the biggest riots known in Calcutta. Secondly, the moment the meeting was banned, I

personally went to all high and responsible officials to have the prohibitory order withdrawn, and I gave a personal guarantee. along with about a dozen Muslim leaders, that the meeting would be held under the most peaceful conditions, that there would be only one or two speeches by very responsible persons with a view to allay public feelings, and restore peace. When all entreaties failed. I beseeched His Excellency to allow me to explain to the meeting, in only a few minutes, why the meeting was being abandoned. But all in vain; Government was adamant, and the only reply to our entreaties was reckless military and police fire. The non-official commission which the League had set up has published a detailed report and fully supported the public point of view. Government retaliated by publishing a resolution exonerating the officials from all blame. and bestowing the highest eulogies on the military and the police.

Only recently, the Secretary of State for India publicly expressed approval of the action of the Governor of Bengal and of the police and the military. One is tempted to ask, why is the public version different from that of the Government? The answer is clear. Neither the Governor nor the Secretary of State saw things with their own eyes, they never had occasion to see what the police and the military had been doing in the streets and bve-lanes of Calcutta. They depended on reports of the police themselves, and it would be unnatural if the police were to report against themselves. And lastly, according to rules of official routine and etiquette, the Governor and Secretary of State look upon official reports as divine inspirations. Such is the sanctity attached to official reports all over the country, although officials never mix with the people to see things for themselves, first hand, and although they claim to be the bulwark of the protection of the right of the people against any oppression of their own countrymen. All these things happen under British rule; could things be worse if British rule were replaced by Indian home-rule?

# Detention of Muslim Leaders

One of the most regrettable and heart-rending errors committed by Government, as a result of the blind acceptance of

the one-sided official reports, has been the policy of the detention of prisoners without trial. Some of the most venerated and popular of our leaders have been deprived of their liberty as a result of this inhuman policy, in consequence of which the whole country is seething with disaffection and discontent. The cases of Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Mahmudul Hasan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and others come uppermost to our minds rent with deep and inexpressible sorrow.

# Questions Relating to Khilafat and Muslim Holy Places

Brethren, I fully realize that I have already trespassed too much on your time and patience, but I cannot resume my seat without a brief reference to the questions relating to the Khilafat and the protection of our holy places. You have heard the speech of Dr. M.A. Ansari on both these points. He has dealt with all questions relating to both these vital affairs so thoroughly that there is hardly anything for me to say. In my opinion, the question of the Khilafat should be dealt with by Muslims themselves without interference from non-Muslims, and our holy places should also be immune from non-Muslim influences. We should object to having anything to do with political mummers who outwardly profess Islam and claim some amount of influence in public. The revolt of the Sherif of Mecca has endangered the future of our holy places, and the world of Islam is watching with sorrow and anxiety the effects of the Sherif's declaration of Independence. I wish to leave these questions to be dealt with by the revered Ulema whom I see present here; but I cannot but say a few words on one point which is likely to escape the notice of officials. All questions relating to the Khilafat and the protection of our holy places are intimately bound up with the vital articles of our faith. Our rulers are in the habit of distorting political problems by setting up their tools and sycophants to defend official points of view; but however entertaining this pastime may be in the case of political affairs, it is fraught with danger if the experiment is tried with reference to questions relating to our religious views. We are loyal subjects of the rulers, and are prepared to prove our loyalty in actual practice by making sacrifices. But this temporal loyalty is subject to the limitation imposed by our undoubted loyalty to our faith. We wish to warn our rulers that in making sacrifices one after another, the dividing line may soon be reached; and we need hardly emphasize that in case there is a conflict between Divine Laws and the mandates of our rulers, every true Musalman will allow the Divine Commandments to prevail over human laws, even at the risk of laying down his life.

### Conclusion

The heart-rending events which I have tried to bring to your notice ought to be sufficient to put a quietus to communal strife, and to teach every patriotic Indian and every Englishman who is a sincere well-wisher of the Empire to try to put an end to those causes which are gradually leading Hindustan to inevitable ruin. This is not the time when we should waste our energy in quarrelling over the number of seats which different interests should secure in any future scheme of self-government. It is true that it is extremely important that all communities should be given an equitable share in moulding the destiny of our common motherland. But we should also remember that the numbers of seats in Legislative Assemblies are by no means an end in themselves; we should all strive for that complete freedom which is the goal of all our ambitions. We should learn to rise above petty squabbles and, if necessary, to sacrifice self on the altar of duty. Even from the point of view of the protection of their own interests, the Indian Muslims would be well-advised to forget their differences with other communities and to secure their help and co-operation in all efforts at self-improvement. We shall lose half our strength if, in the protection of our own interests, we do not secure the co-operation of our non-Muslim brethren. Recent events have made it clear that in times of real danger, our non-Muslim brethren will never desert us or leave us to our fate. During the recent Calcutta riots, it was a Hindu newspaper named Amrita Bazar Patrika which boldly espoused the Muslim cause. I take this opportunity of publicly acknowledging the services of the Amrita Bazar Patrika and of Bharat Mitra, an organ of the Marwari community in Calcutta, and the help and assistance we have received from leaders of the Hindu Community, who never hesitated to assist us with their

invaluable advice and co-operation. It was through this help and co-operation of Hindu leaders, so ungrudgingly given, that we could make it possible to set up a non-official commission of enquiry in Calcutta. I am referring to all these events only to show that it is not true that Hindus and Muslims always cut each other's throats, but that they also render each other material help and assistance in times of difficulty. I would also like to tell our rulers that England now being practically the strongest Power in the world, a contemplation of such dazzling eminence may fill the heads of Englishmen with the wine of vanity and pride. But whether they are sober physically or not, they should be sober in the discharge of their duties in the responsible positions that they occupy; and I would earnestly appeal to our rulers to investigate matters themselves, instead of relying blindly on the reports of police officers and on flattering eulogies of office-seekers and title-hunters. These apparent friends have not the courage to tell the truth, and are in reality among the greatest enemies of British rule in India. The educated classes in India may be severe critics, but, under all circumstances, their sole aim has been to broaden the base of Government so that British rule may endure for as long a time as possible. There is a class of Englishmen who vainly think that there can be no end to British rule in India, and that it will endure for ever. This is a vain delusion. It is only the Kingdom of God that will endure till the end of time: human empires will have their rise and fall, as has been the case since the creation of the world. Standing here in Delhi, in the midst of the glimmering phantoms of departed glory, one is forcibly reminded of the hollowness of human vanity and the nothingness of man. Empires have risen and fallen on the soil of India, leaving no trace behind, and even so will one day be the fate of the British Indian Empire. We want the British people so to behave themselves that when the awful end comes, and Providence writes fiat on the British Raj, Britishers may not have cause to be ashamed of their epitaph. The British should not forget that their policy in India is capable of material improvements. The Laws administered should be just and humane, not barbarous and autocratic. In particular, all repressive laws in India should be abolished. They may be worthy of the Czar or the Kaiser, but are unworthy of the genius of the British race. The Press Act and the Arms Act should be repealed forthwith, and the Defence of India Act should be so completely effaced from the statute-book as to leave no trace behind.

After all this, I cannot help remarking that it is essential that the British rulers should give up their policy of looking upon the educated classes in India with an eve of suspicion. It is an insult to the Indians themselves to suggest that the educated sections of the community have no sympathy for their unfortunate illiterate brethren. The records of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League bear witness to the anxiet which the educated classes have always felt for the masses in India. It would be unnatural if educated Indians had no feeling for their less educated brethren. After all they are bones of our bones, flesh of our flesh; we have lived among them and we have to die among them, and we are bound up with them in death and in life. Wherever and whenever the poor cultivators of India have been in difficulty, it has been men like Gandhi and others, and not the foreigners, who have rushed to their aid and rendered them assistance. In all our demands for legitimate self-government, our eyes have always rested on a very wide canvass in which the demands of the masses are writ large, and which can never escape our attention. Our rulers need not have the slightest doubt that in case we succeed in wresting the reins of power from foreign hands, we will not in any way forget the legitimate claims of the millions of our illiterate brethren who constitute the real, effective population of the country.

Brethren, I have finished. I offer you my grateful thanks for the honour you have done me in calling me to this exalted position and for the patience with which you have listened to me.

### RESOLUTIONS OF THE ELEVENTH SESSION

### HOMAGE TO HIS MAJESTY

The All-India Muslim League tenders its homage to the person and throne of His Majesty the King-Emperor and assures him of the steadfast and continued loyalty of the Musalman community.

### CONDOLENCE I (Hajee Md. Ishaque Khan)

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of irreparable national loss at the death of Nawab Hajee Muhammad Ishaq Khan, late Honorary Secretary of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, whose staunch and fearless support of the true ideals of Islam and whose dauntless advocacy of the rights of the people of this country had won him an abiding place in the hearts of the Musalmans and the Indian Nation.

### CONDOLENCE II (Justice Shah Din)

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad demise of Justice Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shah Din in whom the Muslim community loses a great advocate of Muslim education and an eminent lawyer whose services to the Musalmans and the country will always be remembered with gratitude.

### CONDOLENCE III (Wilayat Ali Bambooque)

The All-India Muslim League expresses its deep sense of sorrow at the sad death of Shaikh Wilayat Ali Bambooque of Barabanki, whose premature death has removed from the Muslim community a gifted writer, an unrivalled humourist and a true servant of Islam.

### CONDOLENCE IV ( Abdur Rahman Bijnori )

The All-India Muslim League mourns with profound sorrow the grievous loss suffered by the Muslim community in the untimely death of Dr. Abdur Rahman Bijnori, whose unassuming life and deep learning had raised him to an exalted position in the hearts of his co-religionists. In him the country loses a poet and philosopher of great eminence and an educationist of a high order, whose services in connection with the proposed Muslim University shall always be remembered gratefully by the Musalmans of India.

### SECOND DAY

The next day's sitting of the League commenced with an Urdu

speech from the Chair in which the President eulogized the special features of the year's sitting, in which their revered Ulema had come to take part in their deliberations. He considered himself very fortunate and thought that it was the greatest honour for him that he was presiding over a session in which their religious leaders had joined hands with them. Dr. Ansari, in proposing a resolution to welcome the Ulema, read a letter from the Darul-Uloom, Deoband, signed by Shums-ul-Ulema Hafiz Ahmad and also the proceedings of a meeting of the Ulema held in the Fatehpuri Mosque on December 30, which had elected and sent three Ulemas to represent that body in the deliberations of the Muslim League. Shums-ul-Ulema Hafiz Ahmad wrote that the Ulema of Dar-ul-Uloom, Deoband, agreed with the Muslim League and endorsed the resolutions regarding the Holy places, the Caliphate and Muslim States. The sentiments of the Ulema of the Dar-ul-Uloom was at one with that expressed by the Muslim League in its resolutions. Dr. Ansari added that the Ulema had always given their moral and material help in matters concerning religion, and that they would never refuse to do so in future.

The Ulema who attended the session of the League were:

- 1. Maulana Ibrahim of Sialkot
- 2. Maulana Sanaullah of Amritsar
- 3. Maulana Kifayat Ullah of Delhi
- 4. Maulana Koraman Ullah
- 5. Maulana Abdul Latif
- 6. Maulana Abdul Husain
- 7. Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow
- 8. Maulana Salman Ullah of Lucknow
- 9. Maulana Azad Subhani of Cawnpore
- 10. Maulana Ahmad Saced

Moulvi Ghulam Mohiuddin of Kasur, in seconding the resolutions, said that up to this time the Ulema had considered that the religion and politics of Musalmans were two different things, but in fact they were one and the same in Islam. Their politics was their religion. He added that when Baghdad was overrun and conquered by the Tartars and Muslim supremacy there vanished, God came to their rescue, and the conquerors

themselves became the followers of Islam. They need not be anxious for Islam, as God had promised to take care of it himself.

On behalf of the Ulema, Maulvi Kifayat Ullah, thanked the League and the audience for the warm welcome extended to them by their President, Dr. Ansari, and other gentlemen. He repudiated the charge that the Ulema considered religion and politics to be two different things. He said that he had always been of the opinion that the religion and politics of Musalmans were one and the same thing. In fact their religion was their politics, and their politics was their religion. So far they had thought the Musalmans had committed their religions to the custody of the Ulema and their politics to the custody of the All-India Muslim League and kindered organizations; but when the call went out to them, they came with open arms and pleasure to join their political body. He then read out the proceedings of the meeting of the Ulema held in the Fatehpuri Mosque, in which it was resolved that three Ulema be sent to the Muslim League to represent them and to put before that body a resolution passed at that meeting regarding the Holy places. After reading this, Maulvi Kifayat Ullah added that the Government had given them a pledge in clear terms about the Holy places and it should keep its promise. The British forces should evacuate Jerusalem, Najaf and other Holy places. If the British Government failed to do so, he could not say to what extent the Musalmans would remain loval to it. He had no official information that the Government was going to do so, but he apprehended a breach of promise on their part as the returning Hajis had told him that Jeddah was in the possession of the British, and he had also read in the papers that British warships in the Jeddah harbour fired salutes for the Mahmal from Egypt. These facts gave an impression that the Holy places were now not immune from military occuption.

Moulvi Abul Qasim then proposed the following resolution about the Calcutta disturbances:

### CALCUTTA DISTURBANCES

The All-India Muslim League views with alarm the interference on the part of the Government of Bengal with the right

of the Musalmans to hold public meetings and to give free expression to their opinions, as evidenced by the unfair and unjust attitude taken up by the said Government regarding the contemplated meeting in Calcutta in September last, strongly protests against the high-handedness of the Civil and military authorities in firing upon the Musalmans, in some cases even without orders, and especially against the wanton discretion of the Nakhuda Mosque.

The League deeply deplores the loss of life and property resulting from the uncalled for measures adopted by the Bengal Government.

The League further regrets that the appeal made to the Government of India by the Council of the League for the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry to investigate the matter has not been accepted, but the League welcomes and approves of the appointment of the Non-Official Commission appointed by the people of Bengal.

Moulvi Qasim compared it with the Cawnpore Mosque incident, and said that some dishonest titled and honour-hunting Musalmans misinformed the Government, which, regardless of the feelings of Musalmans and without hearing or consulting their accredited bodies, prohibited the meeting. The Nakhuda Mosque was desecrated by soldiers who fired wantonly on the inoffensive and unarmed Musalmans collected in the Mosque. He called the Government statement a glorified and incorrect document. He was followed by Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, who seconding the resolution, said that he was an eye-witness, and gave an account of the riots.

He complained of the high-handedness of the police, and was picturing the massacre and bloodshed of innocent men and children in vivid colours when he was interrupted by the President, as his words were creating excitement. He also said that the British called themselves civilized and said that Germans were barbarous and uncivilized, but the Germans after all fired on hospitals and sunk hospital-ships which contained those wounded who had fought against them, but the authorities in Calcutta allowed wanton firing and killing of inoffensive and unarmed Muslim men and children.

Nawab Zulqadar Jang proposed the next resolution about the Holy places:

#### OCCUPATION OF HOLY PLACES

The All-India Muslim League enters its strong protest against the occupation of Jerusalem and Najaf-i-Ashraf and other Holy places by His Majesty's Forces, and having regard to the solemn promises given to the Musalmans regarding those places, hopes that all such places will be immediately restored.

The League further requests His Majesty's Government that in view of the wishes of the Musalmans of India, it will use its good offices to dissuade other Allied Powers from taking any step which might affect the position and status of their Holy places.

Maulana Abdul Bari supported the resolution and remarked that the actions and speeches of the Musalmans should follow this spirit. Those things (pointing to the Union Jack flags with which the hall was decorated) should not have been allowed to be hung in this hall in which they were holding their deliberations. Although they were the flags of their rulers, the sign of the cross was most prominent in them, which they could never respect. The Maulana said that Dr. Ansari had fully dealt with the religious aspect of the question of the Holy places, the Sharif and the Khilafat, and very little was needed to throw more light on it. He then discussed the terms Dar-ul-Aman, Dar-ul-Islam and Dar-ul-Harb. He added that India was by some called a Dar-ul-Aman and by others a Dar-ul-Islam. In the case of a Dar-ul-Aman, their eyes searched for a Sheikh-ul-Islam. There should be complete freedom, and in the event of an attack on a Muslim country, it was incumbent on the inhabitants of the Dar-ul-Islam to defend their attacked Muslim brothers—and this procedure would be followed by the Musalmans of all Dar-ul-Islams in the world if they had the strength to do so. If a Muslim country is occupied by non-Muslims, efforts should be made to get it cleared of them. As regards the prohibition respecting the presence of mushrikin (idolators) in the Jazirat-ul-Arab referred to by Dr. Ansari in his address, the Maulana said that he would quote a more clear Hadis in which the Prophet says, "Remove the Christians, the Jews and the idolators from the Jazirat-ul-Arab at all cost."

The boundary of the Jazirat-ul-Arab was explained in detail in Dr. Ansari's address. He said that Holy places should be evacuated, or it would be incumbent on the Musalmans to continue their efforts to drive out the non-Muslims. As regards the Khilafat, he deprecated the idea of its being conferred on anyone except the Sultan of Turkey, who was only rightful Caliph of the Musalmans of the world. It was the duty of every Musalman to help the Sultan of Turkey. He also enumerated the points which he said were essential in a Khilafat, and added that the Sharif was a rebel.

When the President rose to ask the audience to vote on the resolution, Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja moved an amendment that the word 'further' in the second portion of the resolution be deleted and details of the Holy places be given instead. He also asked that a further clause in the following words should be added to the resolution: "The League considers it necessary and essential that the Holy places occupied by His Majesty's forces should be evacuated, as the occupation of these places is likely to severely shake the loyalty of the Musalmans who are enjoined by religion to defend their Holy places at all sacrifice."

This amendment was seconded by Jaji Musa Khan of Aligarh. But the President requested Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja to withdraw this amendment, as all this had been said by the Ulema in their speeches on the resolution and the amendment would serve no further purpose. Mr. Abdul Majid Khwaja refused to withdraw it, as it was a question of religion, and his conscience would not allow him to be false to his religion.

Maulana Azad Subhani opposed the amendment; and Mr. Khwaja, on being again appealed to withdraw it, said that he would do so if Mr. Abdul Bari would order him to do so. At this, Maulana Abdul Bari got up in great excitement and said that anyone who considered the action of the English right was dishonest, and that a single movement of his tongue and a stroke of his pen would shake the world. He would do more than what they said (Jetna tum kehte ho men us se ziada karoonga) but would do it in his own time as the duty was his (lekin namaz meri hai, jahan chahoonga parhoonga).

After this Mr. Khwaja withdrew his amendment, and the

original resolution was carried by acclamation.

The next resolution, regarding the Khilafat, was moved by Mr. Asghar Husain of Hyderabad:

### KHILAFAT QUESTION

The All-India Muslim League deems it necessary to remind the Government of the declaration of policy made by His Majesty's Government "that the question of the Khilafat is one for Muslim opinion alone to decide", and begs to point out that any departure from that policy will cause great resentment and ill-feeling among the Musalmans. The League further requests His Majesty's any interference with this question from taking any action in this matter.

Mr. Asghar Husain, quoting the reply given by Lord Robert Cecil in Parliament, said that the Sultan of Turkey was the only person who was entitled to be the Khalifat-ul-Muslemin. The resolution was seconded by Maulana Ahmad Saeed who said that pledges given by the Government often became threats. He recalled that during the Russo-Turkish War, when the Russians were advancing towards Constantinople, Sultan Abdul Hamid said that the time had arrived when he would have to take out the Holy Relics and appeal to the Muslim world in their name to fight for Islam. This made the Russians go back from the very doors of Constantinople. He added that a rebel could never be a leader of the Musalmans, and that as the Sharif was a rebel, he would not be made a Khalifa. He had information that the Government was going to give the Sharif the title of Khalifa; and Maulana Abdul Bari had told him that he had seen the Sharif called Amir-ul-Momenin in the Al Qidla. He further said that the statesmen of Europe had been unanimous that it was in the interests of universal peace that Jerusalem should remain under the Sultan of Turkey, or there would be perpetual bloodshed. The Musalmans could never agree to the Sharif being the custodian of the Holy places, as Sharif Faisal in his reply to an address in England said that the ground of the Holy Haram and Hedjaz, which white man could tread in the past, was now open to every Englishman.

Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin said that the French, who had lost

Alasce and Lorraine in 1870, always longed and thought of getting it back from the Germans, while these Holy places had belonged to the Muslims from time immemorial, and Sultan Salahuddin had defended them at the sacrifice of thousands of Muslim lives against the Christians. The Musalmans would not sit quiet if these places were now taken over by non-Muslims. He urged that all these places should remain under the Khalifa.

Moulvi Sanaullah, supporting the resolution, said that no one but the Musalmans of the mohalla (locality) had even the right of selecting the Imam for a mosque in that mohalla. Thus, when non-Muslims could not even select the Imam of a mosque, how could they select a Khalifa for the Musalmans. The following resolution was then read out in Urdu:

### EMPIRE AND THE MUSLIM STATES

Having regard to the fact that the Indian Musalmans take a deep interest in the fate of their co-religionists outside India and that the collapse of the Muslim powers of the world is bound to have an adverse influence on the political importance of the Musalmans in the country, and that the annihilation of the military powers of Islam in the world cannot but have a far reaching effect on the minds of even the loval Musalmans of India. the All-India Muslim League considers it to be its duty to place before the Government of India and His Majesty's Government the true sentiments of the Muslim community, and requests that the British representatives at the Peace Conference will use their influence and see that in the territorial and political redistribution to be made, fullest consideration should be paid to the requirements of Islamic law with regard to the full and independent control by the Sultan of Turkey, Khalifa of the Prophet, over the Holy places and over the Jazirat-ul-Arab as delimitated in Muslim books.

The League further hopes that in determining the political relations of the Empire for the future, His Majesty's Ministers shall pay the fullest India, and that resolute attempts shall be made to effect a complete reconciliation and lasting concord between the Empire and Muslim States, based on terms of equity and justice in the interests alike of the British Empire and the Muslim World.

Maulana Azad Subhani made a lengthy speech justifying the commandments of Jehad on occasions like these. He said that it is written in the Quran that the Musalmans were the best of creation and were created to improve the conditions of their fellow beings. He added that, in order to reform the wicked, the Prophet had to raise the sword. He (the Prophet) had the same justification for it which a teacher has in relation to his pupils. The Musalmans had been created to punish and to teach a lesson to the mischievous kafirs and they were justified to do so to reform them. He was followed by Hakim Ajmal Khan, who said that the integrity of the Muslim States and Turkey was essential for the prestige of Islam, without which their dignity and honour would suffer.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu then spoke on the following resolution.

#### INDIA'S RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

That in view of the announcements of President Wilson and the British and Allied statesmen, that it is essential for the permanent peace of the world that every nation should be given the right of self-determination, and in view of their being adopted by all the civilized Governments as the basis of the impending political reconstruction of the world, and having regard to the sacrifices that India has made for the establishment of that right, the All-India Muslim League urges that India's right to self-determination be recognized by the British Government and the Peace Conference, and she be given immediate opportunity of freely exercising that right by means of her popularly elected representatives.

Mrs. Naidu appealed to the Musalmans to sink all their differences and to unite with their brethren, without which they would never get self-government or the right of self-determination. Her speech was heard with great interest and was punctuated with loud applause.

Hazik-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan then proposed the next resolution:

### **MUSLIM INTERNEES**

The All-India Muslim League views with great dissatisfaction the unreasonable attitude of the Government in not releasing the Muslim internees, particularly Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan, even after the signing of the Armistice, and urges their immediate release in order to allay Muslim feelings.

In view of the vague nature of the charges framed against them by the Committee of Enquiry, appointed by the Government to investigate their case, the League strongly protests against the continuation of the internment of Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali.

Hakim Ajmal Khan said that, as far as he knew, the Ali brothers were not guilty of the offences of which they had been accused, and the Commission of Enquiry, as in other cases, had not conducted their trial in the manner in which it should have been conducted ordinarily. He thought that it was high time that they should have been released. Mr. Wazir Hassan, who seconded the resolution, said that the religious and political services of the Ali brothers were innumerable. When the usual declaration to be signed by an internee before his release was sent to Mr. Muhammad Ali by the C.I.D., he thought of the greater law of God and religion, and added only one line to the effect that they would do nothing which was against the commandment of God. He added that their conduct in this case had placed them on a very high pedestal in the opinion of the Musalmans and had endeared them to their hearts.

The following resolution was then moved by Mr. Masud-ul-

#### DEFENCE OF INDIA ACT

The All-India Muslim League demands the immediate repeal of the Defence of India Act, and while repeating its condemnation of the Rowlatt Committee Report, emphatically declares its recommendations to be most retrograde, which, if given effect to, will greatly interfere with the freedom and liberties of the people of India.

Mr. Masud-ul-Hussain said that the Defence of India Act

was responsible for the internment of their leaders Maulana Mahmud Husain, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the Ali brothers, who were deprived of their liberty on dirty C.I.D. reports, without any trial. The Rowlatt Committee had dealt with these cases under this Act in an even worse fashion that cases under section 110 Cr. P.C. and he was surprised to see how such eminent judges as Sir Sydney Rowlatt, and others. forgot British Indian law when hearing these cases and relied on statements made before the police and on confessions of approvers. He said that the non-official members of the Imperial Council were responsible for the passing of this Act, as with the exception of one man, none raised a voice against it. They should now see that the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee were not passed by the Council. If they were passed, they should punish their non-official members by not returning them again. They should agitate against it in their cities, towns and villages when they went back.

Agha Safdar, seconding the resolution, said that if these recommendations became law, they would end their freedom and liberty forever, and the dream of self-government and progress for India would vanish.

Another resolution regarding further contributions towards the expenses of the war was not taken up, as in the Subjects Committee Meeting it was opposed by Messrs. Wazir Hassan, Zahur Ahmad, Nabiullah and others, and the resolution had to be dropped.

Maulana Fazlul Hasan Hasrat Mohani moved the following resolution:

### WORKING OF THE C.I.D.

In view of the growing dissatisfaction with the administration of the C.I.D. and its adverse effects on the political, moral and national advancement of the people, the All-India Muslim League requests the Government to appoint, at an early date, a Commission from amongst the official and the elected Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council to conduct an enquiry into the working of the department and to recommend measures necessary for putting it on a satisfactory basis. In

moving the resolution, Mr. Hasrat Mohani said that he had personal experience of the false reports and the high handedness of the C.I.D., but he did not like the idea of asking for the appointment of a commission, as commissions were either a farce or appointed to justify the action of the Government. Haji Ahmad Mulla Daud and Musa Mal, late Burma internees, accused the C.I.D. of dishonesty and making money by threatening people. Musa Mal laid a direct charge against the C.I.D. of Rangoon for black-mailing respectable Musalmans through their agents, by drawing up lists of respectable peoples suspected by the Government.

The following resolution was proposed and passed with the amendment indicated after it:

#### REFORMS

The All-India Muslim League authorizes the Council of the League to take steps to send a deputation to England, at an early date, to work in the matter of the Reforms in accordance with the principles incorporated in the resolution passed in the special Session at Bombay, and in this session of the League, and to place before His Majesty's Government and the British public the views of the Musalmans in connection with their special and religious interests.

The amendment, which was accepted, suggested that pending the departure of the proposed deputation to England, Maulana Hasrat Mohani be sent to England at once to work in connection with the Reform Scheme on behalf of the All-India Muslim League.

### INVITATION TO ULEMAS

A new resolution was then moved by Dr. Ansari, requesting the Ulemas to become permanent members of the All-India Muslim League. The resolution was passed.

### COPIES OF RESOLUTIONS

By another resolution it was decided that copies of the Muslim League resolutions about the Holy places, the Khilafat, Muslim States, self-determination, and Maulana Hasrat's deputation, should be sent to the Viceroy, Secretary of State, and the Peace Conference by wire.

Mr. Abdur Rehman Siddiqui proposed that copies of the first four resolutions mentioned above should also be cabled to President Wilson. This suggestion was received with great applause, but the Council of the Muslim League did not accept it.

Then the following resolution was moved by Syed Husain, of the Bombay Chronicle:

### RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR PROVINCES

The All-India Muslim League while re-affirming the principles underlying the resolutions passed at its sessions of Lucknow 1916, Calcutta 1917, and Bombay 1918, demands that complete responsible government be immediately granted to the Provinces.

The League further resolves that the Congress be asked to appoint a Committee, at an early date, to confer with the Council of the League, in order to arrive at an understanding on questions arising out of the demand for complete Responsible Government for the Provinces.

He said that since the Special Session of the League at Bombay, many changes of great importance had taken place, and the question of self-determination and self-government for the smaller nations was before the Peace Conference. They should therefore ask for complete responsible government in the Provinces at once. This resolution was seconded by Mr. Shuaib Qureshi who explained that the British Government had failed to educate the Indians for the goal of self-government; and asked, when they had failed to achieve this in 150 years, in spite of their boast of being the most civilized nation and the pioneers of democracy, liberty and freedom, what could be expected of them in future. He quoted the examples of Germany, France, Austria and Italy, which had become powerful nations during the period from 1868 to 1914, while Japan had become what she was to-day in 40 years. He added that railways and canals were not being used for the benefit of India or to make it economically sound. They were used to exploit the country. The railway was used to carry away the grain and other products of India for the benefit of foreigners. He also criticized the educational policy of the Government.

An amendment to the resolution was moved by Mr. Abul Qasim of Bengal, that a time limit of six years might be fixed for granting complete responsible government. This amendment was supported by Mr. Abdus Salam, Mr. Mohammad Yakub and Mr. Wazir Hussain, who urged that there should be a time limit, as they were in a minority, and they were not sure in what way they would be treated by the Hindus when complete responsible government was granted; but if a time limit was fixed they could at the end of this period, remedy and the evil that they might experience during the period. Mr. Yakub quoted instances of Hindu treatment at Katarpur and Arrah.

At this point he was hooted down by the audience, who did not like his argument. Mr. Abdur Rehman Siddiqui, opposing the amendment, said that people quoted instances of Katarpur and Arrah very readily, but they forgot Cawnpore and Calcutta. They should remember that they could not be worse off with those people with whom they had been living for the last 800 years and who were the sons of the same soil as they themselves. Even taking the worst for granted, it would be better to receive kicks from the black than from the white.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, speaking on the amendment, said that the Government made the promise of August 20 when it was weak and had only 15,000 troops in India; but a conquering nation was always ungrateful, and the English had started showing their ungratefulness.

Winding up the debate, Syed Husain said that those who quoted Katarpur and Arrah forgot all that had happened in Singapore and Mesopotamia and had been allowed to be published in papers. If they would not give up these ideas and unite with the Hindus, they would always be trampled under the heals of the English.

The amendment was put to the vote and lost. The resolution was then passed. Dr. Sadruddin, of the Silk Letter Conspiracy, was also on the dais.

The session of the League was closed after passing the following resolutions:

### KATARPUR DISTURBANCES

The All-India Muslim League views with alarm the fanatical and barbarous way in which the Hindus of Katarpur treated the innocent Musalman of that place and calls upon the leaders of the Hindu community to take effective steps to prevent a recurrence of such incidents.

### INDIAN PRESS ACT

Having regard to the fact that the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book of India and the manner in which it is administered is producing a demoralizing and degenerating effect on the mental, moral and political development of this country, the All-India Muslim League considers that the existence of the said Act on the Statute Book is unjustified and it should immediately be repealed. (From the Chair)

### ARMS ACT

The All-India Muslim League regards the continued existence of the Arms Act in its present shape as insulting to the self-respect and dignity of the people of this country, and in view of the proved loyalty of India in the cause of the Empire during the War, considers that a continuation of the policy of mistrust is not justified and urges the amendment of the said Act so as to bring it in line with the English law on the subject. (From the Chair)

### FRIDAY PRAYERS

The All-India Muslim League hopes that Government will be pleased to take into consideration the just grievances of the Musalmans, having business in Government Offices and Courts, in finding difficulties in the performance of their Jumma Prayers and requests that business in Government Offices and Courts be suspended from 12 noon to 2 p.m. on Friday. (From the Chair)

### LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The All-India Muslim League welcomes the idea of forming a League of Nations for deciding international questions by means of arbitration and urges upon the Government the securing for India her proper place in it. Further the Muslim League hopes that the rights of the non-white races will receive equal and fair consideration at the hands of its members as those of the white races.

### INDIANS AT PEACE CONFERENCE

The All-India Muslim League, while appreciating the admission on the part of the British Government of the right of Indians to be represented at the peace conference, strongly protests against the principle of nomination by Government, observed in the case of India and is of opinion of the Indian Musalmans, be authorized to elect its own members to represent the Musalmans of this country. (From the Chair)

### KASHMIR MUSLIMS' PLIGHT

The All-India Muslim League begs to draw the attention of the Kashmir Durbar to the hardships suffered by the Musalmans of Kashmir under the system of the collection of revenue in kind and appeals to the Ruler to appoint a commission to investigate their complaints.

The League requests the Durbar to hand over the Patthar Mosque to the Musalmans, and places on record its deep regret at its constant desecration.

The League also regrets to point out that the imposition of begar on Musalmans alone is a great injustice to them and should be put an end to immediately. (From the Chair)

### DELHI JAMA MASJID

The All-India Muslim League requests the Government to remove the restrictions placed on the use of the Jama Masjid of Delhi by the Musalmans under the order passed after 1857 as the said order militates against the free enjoyment of the right of using the mosque as a place of worship by them. (From the Chair)

## Chapter 4

## ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

### TWELFTH SESSION

Amritsar, December 29-31, 1919

The Twelfth Session opened on December 29, 1919, in the Bande Matram Hall, Amritsar. The presence of Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew-who had been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee while suffering incarceration on the orders of Sir Michael O'Dowyer, the Lieutenant-Governor, and had since the Royal proclamation been released in time to be present—evoked a wild enthusiasm. Before the proceedings began, it was announced that Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali had been released and would be in Amritsar the next morning. The news was received with applause. The proceedings commenced at 1-30 p.m. Most of the prominent Congressmen were present: Pundit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. M.K. Gandhi, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. Bamanji, Mr. B.N. Sharma, Mr. Gokaran Nath Misra, Mr. Bukshi Tek Chand, Mr. Ramaswami Iver, and others. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew delivered his welcome address, and Moulvi Sanaullah, who had been elected Acting Chairman of the Reception Committee, while Dr. Kitchlew was in prison, then read his speech in Urdu. Thereafter, Hakim Ajmal Khan delivered his Presidential address.

# PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF HAKIM MOHAMMAD AJMAL KHAN (EXTRACT)

Amritsar, where we are now holding the annual gatherings of the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, has been the scene of incidents which shall ever remain indelible and ugly

blots on the history of the British Raj in India. But the fact that, in spite of the most depressing and dispiriting happenings, the citizens of Amritsar have made it possible for the Congress and the League to hold their sessions here calls for our admiration for these spirited patriots; and while fully appreciating their courage, perseverence and manliness, we must testify that they have. by their behaviour, furnished an ocular demonstration of the fact that martial law and its tyrannies are as powerless to silence the voice of truth as they ever deserve to remain. But the responsibility for the occurrences whether of Lahore, Amritsar or Kasur must primarily be placed at the door of the Government, who have so far been ruling India without the least regard for the desires of their subjects, and the passage of the Rowlatt Act is a concrete illustration of that disregard. This legislation was unanimously opposed by all the elected Indian members of the Legislative Council and every section of the Indian population raised its voice against it. But the Government turned a deaf ear to all these voices out of tender regard for the fetish of prestige making it possible for all the woeful events of Delhi and Punjab to follow which we and our coming generations are never likely to forget. It is not given to any common individual to appreciate the particular necessity for enacting the Rowlatt Act. It is generally asked why the legislation of the Rowlatt Act was deemed essential, while such effective weapons as the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, the Press Act and the Defence of India Act were available in the armoury of repressive enactments, and more especially when, rightly or wrongly, the proclamation of martial law, by means of an ordinance was fully within the limits of Government's competence. If, however, the question of prestige alone is responsible for the passage of the obnoxious legislation, then I fear the consequences of the enactment have been more deleterious to the Government's prestige than the other state of affairs might possibly have been.

## Mistake in the Punjab

Passing now from this initial blunder of the Government of India, we come to the Punjab where we meet with an abundant store of mistakes. To begin with, the late Lieutenant-Governor of this Province speaking from his privileged place in the

provincial Legislative Council said that drastic proceedings would be taken against the opponents of Rowlatt Bill. I am not sure how far such a threat, coming as it did from the representative of a constitutional Government, could be regarded as proper: for the entire activity of the Punjab involved in the struggle against the Rowlatt Act was strictly within constitutional limits. The ex-Satrap's pronouncement of the minatory words referred to above was tantamount to declaring the mere protest against any legislation undertaken by the Government as criminal. One, however, does not know under what law such an offence would fall. A possible rejoinder may be that under the Defence of India Act, whose elasticity in obedience to the official will has become notorious, any constitutional activity of this kind may become punishable. Enthusiastic protests and demonstrations took place in other provinces as well, but the heads of those provinces did not feel the necessity of resorting to minatory declamations, nor did it become necessary from them to have recourse to shooting and killing people, and delivering their provinces overto military authorities for martiallaw. It was this miguided and repressive activity which last April 3 and 5, took the form of muzzling Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, the two popular leaders of Amritsar. Not content with this blunder. the pace of mistaken activity was accelerated; and on the 10th of the same month these leaders were deported from Amritsar. This deportation was undertaken at a time when responsible officials fully anticipated disturbing consequences—'a fact' elicited by Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad in his cross-examination of Mr. Miles Irving, who admitted having anticipated agitation as the result of the deportation of Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal.

In view of these circumstances the responsibility for all that followed the flagrantly unwise order of deportation must necessarily be laid at the door of the authority from whom the order emanated, particularly when we know that previous to the blunder, there was no trace of any public excitement of the kind anticipated. A hartal followed as an inevitable result; but according to Mr. Jarman, then Municipal Engineer of Amritsar, there were no signs of disorder, notwithstanding the cessation of business. In fact, Mr. Miles Irving himself admits, in his statement, that previous to the firing at the bridge, the crowd did not seem disposed to rioting, but wanted to make a repre-

sentation to the head of the district for the restoration of the deported leaders. So far from there being any testimony in the official evidence to the crowd being disorderly, it shows that the crowd passed Europeans and Government buildings on its way to the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow without signifying any inclination to interfere with them; their desire to petition the Deputy Commissioner for the restoration of their leaders; their not being in possession of sticks or *lathis* at the time, which are all evident proofs of their peaceful disposition. But the atrocity of opening fire on them was perpetrated in spite of all this, which resulted in the regrettable occurrences at the railway station, the banks and other places involving the loss of European lives (which I deplore as deeply as any other man), and once again the Deputy Commissioner had recourse to firing. All was quiet from the 10th to the 12th.

## Jallianwala Bagh Firing

The next day was the well-known Baisakhi festival, and a considerable assemblage of men took place in the Jallianwala Bagh, which was gallantly and courageously attacked by General Dyer, who had, previous to reaching the spot, decided to open fire on them. In his evidence before the Hunter Committee, he proudly boasted that he "fired and fired well", for "little firing" was, in his opinion, "bad".

He further admitted that he had made no medical arrangements for the wounded, as all the hospitals were open to them. Finally, replying to Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan, he affirmed that there was no difference between mere civil disorder and rebellion. It is to be profoundly deplored that the lives of His Majesty's subjects are entrusted to the care of men who are capable of boastfully proclaiming that they "fired and fired well", who are ignorant of the difference between the menial offence of ordinarily riotous disorder and the heinous crime of rebellion, and who are incapable of realizing that the wounded cannot attend hospitals without somebody's aid. The Commander-in-Chief my profitably open some institutions for teaching such men the difference between ordinary disorders and grave rebellions, the common sense about the inability of the wounded to walk to hospitals without any help, and finally to instruct

them in the elementary principles of humanity, which require that human life should be treated as valuable and should not be taken without the profoundest consideration. For a member of a fair and democratic people to have the wantonness to set his heart on firing on fellow-beings without taking adequate thought is a revoltingly execrable atrocity. It deserves to be mentioned with poignant anguish that Indian blood was recklessly made to flow in Jallianwala, with the outrageous result that so far over 500 dead have been traced. In reply to the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's interpellation in the Council, official admission went up to 290; but Amritsar's Deputy Commissioner's evidence has unmasked the reality in the amusing statement admitting the number of persons killed as three, four or five hundred—the uncertainty of hundreds deserves marked attention. This figure has been corroborated by General Dyer himself, who admitted having fired 1,650 rounds, which according to him may have killed 400 to 500 men. This firing becomes all the more indefensible and deplorable when we are told that it was quite possible to disperse the crowd in Jallianwala without recourse to firing, as admitted by General Dyer in the course of his cross-examination.

Another matter which deserves to be specially mentioned is the operation of martial law before it had been actually proclaimed on the night between the 15th and the 16th of April. On April 11, the administrative control of the District was delivered up to General Dyer, and punishments and orders began to emanate from him. One is, however, left wondering what legal sanction these proceedings had behind them. Do these evidently unconstitutional proceeding, resulting as they did in the loss of more than 500 lives of His Majesty's subjects, not entitle one to expect that at least the persons who are directly liable for these deeds of violence will receive the punishment which they richly deserve?

Who can forget the outrageous crawling order of General Dyer, by which human beings were compelled, under pain of punishment, to degrade themselves to the level of animals? And who can ever forget the infamous floggings? Did not this very General, in the course of his examination by the Hunter Committee, assert that India was the "land of salaams", where Indians "understood and ought to understand salaaming". Indians owe

it to the honour of their country now to fully grasp the lesson of this assertion and to demonstrate, by their behaviour in future what they have learnt by it.

## Other Incidents in the Punjab

Amritsar's occurrences reacted on Lahore and elsewhere in the Puniab: and a wave of indignation, caused by these wrongs, swept over the Province. The hartal of the April 6, passed off peacefully at Lahore; but the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, effected under orders of the ex-Satrap of the Punjab, soon had its effect on the people of Lahore, who assembled in a large crowd to go to the Government House with the object of appealing to the Lieutenant-Governor for the cancellation of his order. The crowd was stopped on the Mall and turned back; and it is stated that the crowd was first fired on while returning, and again while it was nearing Lahori Gate. On the 11th people were busy with the obsequies of the dead, and on the 13th they held a meeting in the Badshahi Mosque to express their sorrow. Some people, however, stripped and burnt the clothes of a C.I.D. officer, which at all events, was a regrettable act. As the people came out of the mosque on the termination of the meeting, they were fired on by the military at some neighbouring place. Then came the arrests of some of the well-known and able leaders of the people such as Lala Harkishan Lal, Pundit Ram Bhui Dutt, Mr. Duni Chand, Bar-at-Law, and others who could under no circumstances be suspected of countenancing any kind of disorder, and who had made every possible effort to maintain peace and order in the town. But we are all painfully familiar with the treatment they received in return for their civic labours, and I advisedly refrain from dilating on this painful topic.

It seems that the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Michael O' Dwyer, desired to benefit not only his own Province by his Nadirshahi' reign but wanted to extend its blessing to other parts of India as well. He had proposed to penalize *The Independent* newspaper from his seat in Lahore, but the Government of the United Provinces did not prove amenable to the wisdom of undertaking the duty of carrying out each and every whim of His late Honour. It is, however, regrettable that this newspaper's office could not escape the distinction of a police search.

It is understood that he was also instigating the Delhi authorities to proclaim martial law and desired to have other provinces in the same boat with his satrapy, so that it might evade being marked out as a solitary example; but he failed to achieve his end. He had Mr. Goverdhan Das arrested in the Madras Presidency solely on the ground that the latter had dared to furnish a correct account of all the events of the Punjab and its ruler to the press, and that the wires which Pundit Rambhui Dutt could not, on account of his arrest, send to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, were despatched by him. He was ultimately prosecuted, and has not yet been restored to us. All the occurrences of the Puniab were almost wholly due to reactionary methods. Had wiser counsels prevailed, there is ample reason to believe that not a single life would have been lost. If fire had not been opened on the unarmed crowd in Amritsar, if Mr. Gandhi had not been arrested, and if the advice of the leaders had been listened to, it can be stated without fear of contradiction that, so far as the Punjab was concerned, no untoward incident would have taken place.

The late Lieutenant-Governor did not content himself with proclaiming martial law in some cities, but gave a carte blanche to men of such pronounced 'competence' as General Dyer, in Amritsar, and Col. Frank Johnson, in Lahore. The latter, in his evidence before the Hunter Committee, has said that 277 persons were tried by the summary courts, out of whom 207 were convicted and 66 were whipped, the total number of stripes amounting to 800. The latter figure included men who were publicly flogged. The Colonel has also opined, if not in so many words, that this method of punishment was full of the milk of human kindness. Further, he is responsible for the statement that the people liked the martial law and were grateful to him for maintaining peace and order. It seems that people who manifested such remarkable admiration of martial law were not lucky enough to have a taste of the punishment which was brimful of kindness, otherwise they would have been less eager to express their partiality for such a regime. He has further stated that on the 10th, when fire was opened on a crowd of about 8,000 men on the Mall, it resulted in the loss of one human life and five or six wounded, which was due to the fact that the firing of the police force was very much below third class. It is a pity that none of the members of the Hunter Committee appears to have asked the gallant Colonel what in his opinion would have been the result of firing by one who had hardly ever shouldered a gun on a crowd of 8,000. The only answer according to Frank Johnsonian logic could be that none would have been injured at all. It is noteworthy that Col. Frank Johnson likes the jails immensely, and seems to regard them as unusually comfortable. If jail is really the place of such comforts, it would have been the most proper thing for the Colonel to send there those of his admirers who expressed their deep appreciation of the martial law.

Lieutenant Col. Frank Johnson, who holds a high rank in the army, and who can unmistakably be considered an expert in military matters, has further observed that "whipping is equal to a thousand soldiers" in military equation, of course. Col. Johnson should certainly be sent to the front on some future occasion, so that in an actual engagement he may, by dispensing with soldiers, prove the striking effectiveness of the weapon he has discovered—alas, at the conclusion of the late war—and vanquish the enemy with its aid. The credit of the discovery must ever belong to this renowned and gallant soldier. Later on. he has also deposed that the order to shoot any person who stood in the way of opening shops emanated from him; and again he has affirmed that as peace in the city depended upon the cessation of the hartal, no punishment could be too severe. It is alleged that the martial law notice which was posted on the Sanatan Dharam College building was torn down by some unknown person and led the Colonel to detain the 500 men belonging to the College, who were made to march long distances in the heat of summer. They were let go after two days' detention. On this point, Sir C. Sitalyad asked him if he considered it the proper discharge of his duty to march five hundred students to the Fort under the burning sun of Lahore; and the reply of the merciful and justice-loving Colonel was that he was prepared to do it again, if necessary. We learn from this gallant officer that he was responsible for punishing one thousand and eleven students. These punishments are in addition to those inflicted by the police. In answer to a question on this point, the chivalrous Colonel is reported to have stated that information was received that many students were insulting English women, and that was why he looked upon his orders, which were undoubtedly severe, as right and just, and he would continue to hold that opinion. It is a pity no one asked him on which dates after the 10th European women were seen out, and who were the boys complained against. Is it not deeply regrettable that on the strength of baseless and absurd rumours or predelictions, poor students were subjected to subtle tortures which are truly barbarous, and shall ever continue to be regarded so.

He admitted his responsibility for a ridiculous order before the Hunter Committee, according to which no two 'natives' could walk abreast in front of a European, lest the latter should be provoked to commit a breach of the King's peace.

And again, I feel a certain commiseration for the Colonel, within whom burnt the fire of conscience with a steady flame, when he confesses his weakness in having punished a magistrate for interfering with a marriage procession and for having the offenders, including a priest, flogged. The reason why I feel compassion for the Colonel is that in my opinion this order of the magistrate did nothing to offend against justice, but perhaps necessity and expediency required it, for it brought out the real character of the likely ends which came within the operation of martial law. If two 'natives' could not walk together in front of a European lest the latter should be provoked to commit a breach of the peace, in the case of a marriage procession, the fear of a graver disturbance would be thoroughly justified.

In this instance, by arresting a marriage party which was supposed to be defying the martial law, in so far as it carried with it the potentialities of a breach of the peace, and flogging it, the one beneficial result which followed was that the whole city came to know of the incident, and the Colonel was saved the inconvenience of administering this punishment to others, as the example must have terrorized the whole city. I am, therefore, truly grieved that Col. Johnson during his 'strong administration', betrayed the weakness, induced by qualms of conscience, of dismissing a magistrate who, keeping the maintenance of peace and order in view, had, all in a bona fide way, ordered this supremely merciful and sublimely kind mode of chastisement. I wonder if this magistrate would care to bring the matter to the notice of Sir Michael O'Dwyer (for it was during His ex-Honour's term of office that an honest maintainer of peace was

so unjustly treated), and prefer charges for the Colonel's dismissal! It would be unjust to overlook the incident of the Badan appeal against the noble and gallant Shahi Mosque (sic) and the closing of its doors upon Mohammedan mosque-goers, for it constitutes the most illustrious episode of the O'Dwyerian rule, never likely to be effaced from our memories. It would be an act of folly for the Musalmans to complain against this outrage. They should see for themselves that it was here that a C.I.D. officer was stripped of his clothes, and the only merciful punishment for so wanton a disregard of the all too fine susceptibilities of the Department could be closing the Mosque altogether for the time being. If it had remained open, and the same incident had been repeated, the consequences for the Musalmans would have been very grave indeed. It was also possible that the people might congregate there on the pretext of saying prayers, but really conspire against the Government, and then, Col. Johnson or the civil authorities would have been obliged to adopt severe measures. Moreover, the Musalmans should remember that if the Colonel closed the Langar Khanas. meant for distributing food among the poor and the hungry, because "rebellion also could be promoted there" (against which grave contingency the city had to be guarded), the closing of the Mosque must have been dictated by tender regard for the benefit of the Mohammedans themselves. It was apparent that their not congregating there for prayers would insure them against the catastrophe resulting from fanning the flame of rebellion. This Mosque may have been closed on another possible ground. On the 12th, when a number of Musalmans were returning from it, the Colonel's guard was attacked in the rear (the Colonel is silent as to how and with what weapon) and perhaps an accidental but vigorous dead set was made at the Colonel himself, with the help of a big or triffling brickbat.

Placed in such a helpless situation, if the Colonel ordered firing and some lives were lost, the matter should not assume the magnitude of a complaint; for according to the recently propounded principle already referred to while dealing with the evidence produced before the Hunter Committee in Delhi, only "a triffling number of men were killed to save a large number from decimation". If the Colonel had refrained from firing it was quite within the pale of possibility that the centre of the

army would have been rushed, which would have led to more deaths among the crowd than actually took place on the 12th.

Endowed with a rare genius, this war-lord anticipated that if the citizens threw any bombs, the lives of his soldiers would be lost in vain; and to provide against such a contingency, he had kept two aeroplanes in readiness to go up at a given signal and drop bombs on the city. This wisdom-propelled precaution achieved a remarkable end, namely that the citizens were (according to the perverse imagination of the gallant Colonel) prevented from using their hand grenades, and the Colonel's army, through his foresight and God's grace, remained intact and quite safe.

After describing the incidents at Lahore, we come to Kasur. The following is a bare statement of facts gathered from the evidence of official witnesses who appeared before the Hunter Committee:

On April 11, a public meeting was held at Kasur, at which speeches were delivered about the Rowlatt Act.

A hartal followed the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest and continued till the 12th.

On the 12th, a procession of people carrying black flags proceeded towards the station, when, according to the evidence of Mr. P. Marsden, the Sub-divisional Officer, the leaders declared that the British Raj had come to an end. The people attacked the railway station, godown goods, wagons, and passenger trains, and looted all the cash which they found there. Similar incidents took place at Khem Karan and the station was damaged at Patti.

At the Kasur Railway Station, a train was stopped. Two soldiers who were travelling on this train fired one or two shots on the crowd, after which they were attacked and killed. The crowd was shouting that two of their men had been killed (which meant that they meant to avenge their death).

On the same day, 300 Indian and 50 British soldiers reached Kasur, under the command of Captain Macray, and on April 16 he declared martial law before a public meeting held at the Town Hall. The total number of arrests made was 172, out of which 51 persons were convicted, and the rest were discharged or acquitted. In addition to these, two persons were shot by the sentry, because they failed to reply when challenged—one

of them was a deaf mute! During this period the people were subjected to various punishments which must be mentioned:

A case was put up in which people were imprisoned, and they were obliged to answer the calls of nature where they were.

Some persons were made to draw lines on the ground with their nose, as vouched by some reliable persons. But the military officer responsible for this punishment stated that he did not make such an order; he had only ordered men to prostrate themselves on the ground, which was a form of salaaming.

The headmaster of a high school and an aged man were flogged.

On May 3, a public gallows was erected, but was subsequently removed by the order of the Punjab Government.

The Headmaster of the Municipal Board School complained that the boys disobeyed his orders. He was, therefore, asked to send any three boys for punishment. As the three boys sent by the Headmaster were physically weak, a second order was sent to him to furnish three robust boys; who were selected and sent and were punished for the misfortune of being physically strong.

The Headmaster of the Islamia School had made no complaint against his boys, but three lads from this school too were similarly punished.

The entire male population of Kasur, numbering some eight to ten thousand, were summoned for identification several times, and were ordered to bare their heads.

The police searched the houses of eight pleaders, and arrested several others, including those who had helped the Government to maintain peace and order. Mr. Dhanpat Raj, Pleader, was arrested without any evidence of any kind against him.

Persons were flogged before prostitutes, who were collected to witness the punishment.

Forty persons were flogged, each receiving 18 stripes on an average, and some students were publicly flogged.

From 20 to 25 persons were given the fancy punishment of 'skipping', which was said to be good for their health.

A poet who had been arrested was asked by Capt. Doveton, the Martial Law Administrator, to write an ode in his honour and was released in reward for it. How can one characterize these punishments except as being a leaf out of mediaeval history? In the present age, inflicting such punishments, and proudly boasting about them, can only come from individuals wholly devoid of human attributes.

The occurrences of Gujranwala were still worse. Here the unarmed civil populace was bombed from aeroplanes for the first, and let us hope, for the last time in India.

On April 6, hartal was observed. But previous to this, on April 5, a public meeting was convened at which people were enjoined to observe hartal—in speeches, which according to Colonel O'Brien, incited the people to acts of lawlessness. On April 14, a disturbance took place as described in official evidence, which led to the burning of the station, the cutting of telegraph wires, and damage to the court buildings. Government property and railway stations were partially damaged in 14 places other than Gujranwala. Some Europeans were also assaulted at some of these places. But the most heinous crime alleged to have been committed at Ramnagar was the burning of the King's effigy, after which some people went to bathe in the river.

On the 14th, aeroplanes were sent to Gujranwala where six bombs were dropped. The damage done by two of these bombs is stated to be six killed and six injured. Colonel O'Brien's evidence is silent about the damage done by the four remaining bombs. He has given the total number of casualties as 27, including 11 killed, which figure appears astonishingly small, in view of the frequent bombing and machine-gunning from the aeroplanes.

Colonel O'Brien then goes on to say that at 11 the same morning, the police fired on the people for the first time when Mr. Heron was assaulted. On the second occasion, a crowd crossing the railway line was fired on without any reason; after which wherever people collected, they were fired on. It does not require very hard thinking to come to the conclusion that the gallant Colonel's memory has played him false in regard to the number of casualties. It is, one might observe with regret, the inferior shooting by the police which deprived certain persons of the satisfaction of doing justice to Gujranwala.

Colonel O'Brien asserted that the order could be restored only with the help of the army, and martial law would not

have been necessary if summary courts had been established. However, according to Col. Macray everything emanated from the Punjab Government, of whose will the district authorities were mere instruments.

A catalogue of all the wrongs committed before or after the announcement of martial law would be rather prolix, but a few concrete illustrations would not be out of place. Enumerated thus are:

- 1. Flogging publicity.
- 2. Refusal to admit people to bail.
- 3. The arrest of persons, on information supplied by the police, without due inquiry.
- 4. Handcuffing and marching those under arrest a distance of two miles through the bazar, preceded by two municipal commissioners, one Hindu and one Musalman. (Most probably to ridicule Hindu-Muslim unity)
- 5. Sending 23 arrested persons of Lahore by cattle trucks, and marching them through the bazars of Lahore.
- 6. Punishing a police sergeant for failing to give evidence as directed.

Gentlemen, this is a brief but deeply sad tale of the inhuman reaction of which the fair Province of Punjab has been the victim. I have refrained from dwelling on all the atrocities in detail for the obvious reason that you yourselves are fully familiar with them.

## Conclusions Regarding Delhi and the Punjab

I have, after carefully weighing all the circumstances, arrived at the conclusion that the Delhi and Punjab occurrences were due to a series of blunders. I see behind all these happenings one mistake after another, like those committed by a physician, who causes endless harm to the patient, by failing to diagnose the disease. Had not the Rowlatt Act been passed in the teeth of the opposition referred to, not the smallest event of an untoward nature would have taken place in Delhi or the Punjabi! The enactment of this legislation brought the Satyagraha movement into existence, which was considered the last remedy. It was not translated into practice in Delhi, but the better part of the country regarded it as an acceptable idea. As I have

already said, not a drop of blood would have been shed in Delhi, if better counsels had prevailed. The Chief Commissioner certainly acted with patience, and largely helped to save the situation; but all that occurred in Delhi is traceable to the mistakes of other officials. Had no firing taken place at the Railway Station, as none took place in the King Edward Park, the situation would have been peacefully overcome.

Coming to the Punjab, the Amritsar happenings clearly show that the initial blunder consisted in the muzzling and deportation orders served on Dr. Satyapal and Dr. Kitchlew, which emanated direct from Lahore, without previous consultation with the man of the spot, who had every right—being entrusted with the sole responsibility of keeping order in this District—to be consulted in respect to so delicate a matter.

This led to all the sad occurrences which followed. I have a right to ask any right-minded person whether, in his opinion, any of the gruesome events we all know, and which have been referred to above, would have come to pass, if the initial blunder had not been perpetrated? Similarly, but for Mr. Gandhi's arrest at Palwal and the firing on the crowd at Lahore, there was no fear of any untoward event at Lahore. The crowd could easily have been dispersed by other means, as represented by the leaders to the authorities at the time. The occurrences of Kasur and Gujranwala, too, arose out of like blunders, otherwise the demonstrations would have ceased in a short time, as generally happened everywhere.

### Lord Hunter's Committee

The Disorders Inquiry Committee was appointed in response to India's constant demand for a searching inquiry into these occurrences. It commenced its work in November, at Delhi, regarding the Delhi and the Punjab occurrences. We have no right to pronounce any premature judgment and must patiently await its report. Although our bitter experience of such committees in the past has been abundantly depressing, we must wait and see, and refrain from expressing any opinion. Considering the fact that the findings of the Hunter Committee will, at most, have a moral effect, we cannot have any very high expectation of it, nor can we fail to observe the more or less

inconsequential nature of its labours; for has not the Indemnity Act taken the wind out of its sails, by guaranteeing impunity to officials whose appalling infractions would, in a court of law, have assumed the magnitude of grave crimes? This Act also covers the mistakes committed previous to the operation of martial law, and goes as far back as last March 30. It is therefore not a matter for wonder that delinquent officials are encouraged to confess their crimes with unseemly audacity, for they feel that they have a right to say and do worse things.

As borne out by the procedure adopted at Delhi, it was not originally intended by the Congress Committee to boycott the Hunter Committee. But their modest request for the enlargement of certain Punjab leaders (who are suffering incarceration for no crime other than that of being leaders), with a view to securing the best non-official evidence, was rejected; and they were constrained in the last resort, regretfully, to decide that they should refrain from leading any evidence before the Hunter Committee, but produce the same before the Non-Official Committee, which is also doing its work. The non-official report will, no doubt, present the other side of the picture in bright colours. I am of opinion that General Dyer, Colonel Frank Johnson and some others have greatly lightened the task of the Non-Official Committee. In fact, India may be fully content with reprinting the statements of those witnesses and circulating them widely in England to bring home to the British the real nature of the share of some of their able representatives in ruling India, and also to let them have an idea of the value and worth these men attach to Indian lives. There is, however, a good deal of work before this Committee, and we hope it will take early steps to publish, both in India and in England, the evidence it has collected.

It is India's misfortune that the men at the helm of her affairs seem to be actuated with the belief that the central principle of government must ever be repression.

Although the evidence daily accumulating drives one to the conclusion the repression always leaves a vigorous dynamic force in its wake, yet our Government prefers to adhere to its antiquated political creed, its daily increasing deleterious results notwithstanding.

. If Lord Curzon laid India under a debt of gratitude by the

partition of Bengal, Sir Michael O'Dower has done nothing less, by his *Nadirshahi* rule in the Punjab, and of which we shall soon begin to be conscious. Sir Michael will have occasion to be proud of his achievement, if political activity is snuffed out in the Punjab. But, if the real political life of the Province begins after his strenuous efforts to stamp it out, the ex-Satrap will have occasion to realize the magnitude of his blunder. He will then realize that the bitter poison he ministered to the Punjab, actually proved the elixir of life to her.

## The New Reforms

The forthcoming reforms will, no doubt, go a certain length to affect the antediluvian nature of the existing constitution. But, so long as India's share in the Central Government is not of a really satisfactory nature, we cannot hope to have seen the last of the massacre of Jallianwala and the bombing of Gujranwala. We have not the least doubt about the good intentions of the Rt. Hon. Edwin Samuel Montagu, who, we fully realize, has not merely taken endless pains to achieve the successful conclusion of his efforts in regard to the Reform Scheme, but has evinced great preseverence and statesmanship, in winning the goal, in spite of the reactionary efforts of certain parties. He has established his claim to be regarded a true well-wisher and benefactor of India. But we cannot help observing that these reforms fall short even of the minimum demand of India.

Judging the recommendations of the Joint Committee of the Lords and Commons relating to the Central Government in the light of the announcement of August 20, 1917, we are constrained to say that they do not fulfil the promise vouchsafed to us. Nor can it be said that increasing the number of Indian members of the Central Executive Council means the devolution of responsibility in the real sense. Such effect as it may possibly have must needs be confined to the moral sphere. It is, however, satisfactory to note that the Joint Committee has rejected the Grand Committee, and recommended the constitution of the Council of State as a true revising chamber, which seems to be free from the defects of the former and curtails our apprehensions. The Joint Committee has offered useful counsel with regard to the selection of the President of the Indian Legislature.

It is rightly advised that great deliberation should be exercised in selecting for this office one who, apart from being a man of acknowledged ability, should also possess experience of parliamentary principles and procedure. Provincial Governors are invested with the power to dismiss ministers, which, in other words, means that the ministers will be subject to executive pressure, which may prove an impediment in the way of the realization of legitimate and beneficial aims which they may have in view. It will also give rise to a belief in the country that the possibility of the Indians availing themselves of the modest share allowed to them in the Provincial Councils has been curtailed to a certain extent in this way. Then, who does not know that Bombay, Bengal and Madras are the advanced provinces of India, and that they are certainly ahead of certain other provinces in the fields of education, commerce and political activity? Would it not evoke their resentment when they find that they get nothing more than commerce, industry and education 'transferred subjects', although they are, without the least doubt, entitled to much more. To allow provincial legislatures responsible control only over commerce, industry and less important subjects is decidedly a disappointment for India. When we realize that we have no 'fiscal autonomy', which is the essence of our demands regarding economic control, without which commerce and industry must needs remain in a static and lifeless condition, we can hardly entertain any hope of developing our commerce and industry. With reference to the subject of education, no opinion can be formed regarding some of the reservations hinted at in the Joint Committee's Report until they are before us in a definite form. But I hope, as authoritatively stated in reliable circles, education will be a completely 'transferred subject'. A good step seems to have been taken in respect to the question of franchise. The Joint Committee has liberalized the principle of franchise by recognizing the demands of the depressed classes. But Indian leaders are unable to understand why the rulers and subjects of Native States are put on the same footing as British Indian subjects in regard to the right of vote and election, and it is difficult for them to extend a warm welcome to this innovation. The Joint Committee does not appear generous in not applying the principle of enfranchisement to women as a whole, although its adoption is left to the

choice of different provinces. It can, however, be safely asserted that the right has not been altogether overlooked. It would have been advisable to select some provinces for the operation of the right, after it had been even partially recognized by the Joint Committee.

It would be a great injustice to declare those convicted for more than six months ineligible for election for five years. Unless a reservation is made in favour of those who are convicted of offences relating to the State, such as S. 124A, we will be deprived of some of the best men of our country, who have been the victims (from time to time) of executive blunders.

I regret to say that the Bill fixes the period of our political schooling at 10 years, which, compared with other courses of instruction, appears to be long and tedious, especially because we are left in a state of uncertainty. At the conclusion of this period, supposing the Parliamentary Committee does no more than make immaterial recommendations, at the end of 10 years, it would not be possible to predict the number of decades for which India may have to wait for the attainment of complete self-government. This uncertainty could be disposed of by adhering to the Congress-League Scheme. Unless there is a definite promise that India will get self-government within 15 or 20 years, it is futile to expect India for ever to continue to value the modest gift of the Reform Scheme. The appointment of a Parliamentary Standing Committee for advising the Government on important Indian matters is satisfactory inasmuch as it promises to rescue India from the cold indifference which has been her lot so far. It signifies that a welcome beginning of the process of realizing India's importance is being made. It is now essential for India to have a permanent organization in London to co-operate with the Parliamentary Committee when necessary, and to place Indian aspirations before Britain more prominently. It would be quite appropriate to entrust this task to the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and the London Branch of the Muslim League, but it is necessary to consider the ways of making them more useful. At present it will be our duty to devote special attention to the rules which are going to be appended to the Reform Act. If we fail to devote to this task the time which it deserves, the few benefits now accruing to us may also dwindle. However, looking at the Reforms as a whole, we should welcome them as the first stone of the foundation of self-government. We must not allow the occurrences of the Punjab, and the question of Turkey, to prevent us from taking that interest in them which as Indians it is our duty to do. Although we are not likely to forget the deep agony caused by the occurrences of the Punjab and the events relating to the holy places, the Khilafat and Turkey, we should, while continuing our constitutional struggle, make a united effort to make the Reforms successful, as on that will depend our future development.

## Hindu-Muslim Unity

The secret of the success, not merely of the Reform Scheme, but of all the work which is being done by Indians in India and abroad, lies in Hindu-Muslim unity. There is no need to look back, as both these communities have now fully realized that unity alone can be the firm foundation of India's real improvement and future progress. Although war is rightly regarded as a calamity, the share the World War (now happily ended) has had in forging the links of unity between these two great communities, entitles us to say that the War has bequeathed India a legacy which is likely to prove the key to the success of the national self-realization of India. I must, however, confess that there are certain matters which at times come in the way of the full realization of this blessing. Those who are inspired by a genuine desire to serve their country cannot be affected by any differences of race or creed, which are the same to-day as they were before. Hindu-Muslim relations, however, appear to be infinitely more satisfactory than they have been in past years. The question of Government appointments is no longer capable of engaging our attention to any appreciable degree, and although political rights were the subject of much controversy between them before, the Congress-League Compact of 1916 went a very long way to settle that matter. Such other matters as the League and the Congress may still require to have an understanding about will, I am sure, be easily settled between them on some appropriate occasion.

I shall, therefore, address myself to the one question which has an importance quite its own, and which is none other than

the preservation of cows. We have, for some time past, been indulging in indirect allusions and vague hints, and to my mind it is high time that this question was dealt with in clear and specific terms with a view to reaching a satisfactory conclusion. Some of the methods which some of our Hindu brethren have at times permitted themselves to adopt for the attainment of their object have, in certain instances, undoubtedly proved highly objectionable, and naturally tending to defeat the very purpose aimed at. But to-day, when both Hindus and Muslims are marching together through a new era, when various differences are gradually, but surely, being transformed into varied phases of unity, the possibility of the resumption of such fruitless efforts is becoming remote. In fact, we are now inspired by that spirit of patriotism which is sure to prove the key to the solution, not merely of the question of the preservation of cows, but also to the final settlement of all other differences. When two sections begin to co-operate in a spirit of loving comradeship, sharing one another's burdens, the inevitable result follows and their differences, passing through various phases of mutual toleration, finally merge in a community of interest, and the very differences are transformed into the surest basis of united endeavours.

Our Hindu compatriots have, for some time past, been making genuine efforts to meet us more than half-way, and deserve our sincerest gratitude for their goodwill. It is, indeed, a testimony to their keen realization of the needs of nation-building. It therefore behaves us, as inheritors of a noble creed, to reciprocate their amiable regard with greater warmth and goodwill to demonstrate that our faith teaches us that every good act deserves a better return. Our Hindu brethren enthusiastically and spontaneously observed the Khilafat day with us, and in closing their business to share our sorrow, they evinced remarkably large sympathies. They cheerfully bore great commercial loss only to prove their sincere regard for our sentiments in regard to a matter which was exclusively religious, and could claim their interest in no other way. Can these sincere demonstrations of friendly regard and goodwill go for nothing? Most certainly not; nor can they possibly fail to evoke deserving responses from a people not dead to all noble feeling. Again, what but the promotion of commendable reciprocity and co-operation in exclusive religious matters can be a surer guarantee of India's future welfare and progress? Indeed, this is the only point on which we are without the least hesitation unanimously agreed. The matter which is entirely for Muslims to decide is what practical step they are going to take to demonstrate their appreciation of this principle, to reassure their Hindu brethren. Not a soul among Musalmans would hesitate to vouchsafe the necessary assurance. In fact, they should enthusiastically respond to such a call, and do whatever they legitimately can to consummate such an object. They should, in so far as it lies in their power, refrain from acts calculated to wound the susceptibilities of their compatriots.

We are, and should be, fully cognizant of the fact that cow killing seriously annoys our fellow-countrymen. But before holding out any assurance to them, we must first see in what light our religion views this question. We must also determine the extent to which qurbani is enjoined upon us—irrespective, of course, of the slaughter of cows. According to Islam, qurbani, or sacrificial offering, is a Sunnati-Muwakkidah (a practice observed by the Prophet and emphatically enjoined on his followers) which Musalmans, as Musalmans, so long as they can afford it, must observe. Now, it is a matter of choice to fulfil this observance by sacrificing camel, sheep, goat or cow, which simply means that any of these animals can be fit offerings. Crores of Indian Muslims must be strangers to be slaughter of a camel for the fulfilment of this observance; but none of them can possibly be accused of the slightest religious omission. On the contrary, Musalmans of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Tripoli and Asiatic Turkey have been faithful to this observance without ever having slaughtered a cow; and I am confident no erudite Mufti can maintain that these Musalmans have failed to observe the Sunnat (practice of the Prophet) or have been guilty of any religious shortcoming. If any Musalman dares to call a religiously legitimate act illegitimate, he certainly commits a sin.

I consider it appropriate at this stage to recount some of the ahadees (religious traditions) according to which the sacrifice of animals other than the cow is entitled to preference. For instance, Ummi-Salmah (the Holy Prophet's venerable wife) says that the Prophet once observed "if any of you sees the crescent

heralding the month of Zil Haj and desires to sacrifice a goat..." which obviously indicates that by tradition Arabs were in the habit of sacrificing goats. According to another, our Prophet said that of all sacrificial animals, the sheep was preferable; if we reserve sheep alone for the offering, we will be complying with this tradition. However I would refrain from expatiating on the religious aspect of this subject as, properly speaking, it relates to the domain of the doctors of theology. If having regard to all these circumstances, Musalmans devoted their attention to this subject, of their own accord, and elected to sacrifice animals other than the cow, they would have the proud privilege of being regarded as the first to take the initial step towards ensuring the internal peace of the country, and they would in this way also be repaying the debt of gratitude, under which they have recently been laid by their Hindu compatriots. I earnestly appeal to my Muslim brothers, to consider calmly what I have said about this question, and if they arrive at the conclusion at which I have arrived, it will be up to them to show what value they attach to the great principle of unity, and what practical response they are ready to make (with particular reference to religious susceptibilities) to the forward step already taken by the Hindus in the direction of that goal. If I am asked to specify the practical steps to be taken in this direction, I would recommend that the Muslim residents of Kashi, Ayudhia, Mathura and Bindraban (the sacred places of the Hindus) should begin the operation of the principle enunciated above, and efforts should simultaneously be directed to the propagation of the same idea in other places.

I must confess that it is a question which belongs to the vast and heterogenous population of 70 million Musalmans scattered all over India, and our efforts will take time to bear fruit, but this consideration should not discourage us from making an immediate beginning. I am also of opinion that unless some organized institution is entrusted with the propaganda, we must despair of any practical achievement in this respect. The Muslim League, of all the institutions, is by far the most suited for this purpose; and I hope it will offer itself for the sacred work and perform it with the wisdom and zeal which it deserves. I also hope the Muslim League will receive adequate and willing co-operation from the zealous members of the Khilafat Com-

mittees. In the first place, I trust that my views on this subject will evoke no adverse criticism from any quarter; but in view of the fact that the Muslim community, like all other communities of the world, is composed of men of varied ways of thinking, I shall not mind any onslaught, for I am conscious that my humble suggestions spring from the depth of honesty and are not from any motive to please or annoy anyone.

## The Khilafat, Holy Places and the Ottoman Empire

Gentlemen, I now propose to deal with a question whose importance cannot be exaggerated. Although Indian Muslims have expressed their views fairly and fully on various occasions, it is my special privilege and duty, as the President of the League, to survey the entire question of the Khilafat, the holy places and the Ottoman Empire. In order to let the responsible ministers and the people of Great Britain have the occasion to realize the real bearings and importance of this question, we must clearly state the truth regarding the relations existing between Turkey and the Musalmans of the world and the Indian Muslims.

Islam is not merely a faith, but a system which knows no colour nor race. It teaches its followers the wholesome lesson of Muslim brotherhood, which secures every proselyte, hailing from England, America or Africa, that equality of treatment which is the imperishable heritage of Musalmans. The ordering of such a peerless socio-religious system creates inviolable bonds between one Muslim and another. It is not a mere collection of ritual and other religious observances, but is so deeply rooted in organic ethics that any attempt to detach it from politics would amount to laying the foundation of a system wholly unlike it. According to our faith, the Prophet of Arabia, who is an example of perfection to all, presented this system as an ideal for the world, and when Providence, in His boundless Wisdom, took him away from us at the conclusion of his spiritual mission, his worthy followers worked for the success of his teaching in a manner to which the chronicles written by friends and foes, and the vastness of the circle of the followers of Islam, bear adequate witness. I, however, do not feel the necessity of tracing the entire origin and development of the Khilafat at this stage; for the curious can find ample material in books of history. I shall content myself with affirming that to-day it is the descendants of Osman the Great (the Ottomans) who by common acceptation are invested with the responsibility of Khilafat (spiritual sovereignty), and on account of which the entire population of the Muslim world has, ever since the day Khilafat developed on Ottoman sovereigns, owed them that spiritual allegiance which has manifested itself to-day in the acute unrest among Musalmans all the world over. The Ottoman sovereigns have for a long time been the custodians of the holy places of Islam, protecting them against non-Muslim usurpation. It is, therefore, only natural for Musalmans to wish to see the Ottoman Empire sufficiently powerful to be able to guard the holy places against the nefarious designs of covetous or adventurous aliens. Turkey has, in her career in history, been the shield of Islam, having for centuries shed Turkish blood in defence of Musalmans in various battlefields, and has, therefore, been specially endeared to Muslims of the world.

These are some of the salient reasons which explain the painful anxiety with which the Muslim world is awaiting the last word of the Peace Conference in regard to the Ottoman Empire. The Indian Muslims, who have been under British rule for more than a century, and who have on several occasions furnished undeniable proof of their practical loyalty to the British Crown, were impaled upon the horns of a most painful dilemma when war came to be declared on Turkey. They wanted to be single-minded; but while, on the one hand, they had the soundest religious scruples against going to war with or helping any one against Turkey, on the other, the adoption of a neutral position was calculated to expose them to the charge of shirking the fundamental duty they owed to their own State. Lord Hardinge, the ex-Viceroy of India, realizing the acuteness of the Indian Musalman's predicament, made the famous announcement regarding the protection of the holy places with which we are all adequately familiar, and which went a long way to placate and reassure the Indian Muslim. We then relied on the assurance that the war between England and Turkey had nothing to do with religion, and regarded the above-stated announcement as a pledge that no attempt would be made to deprive Turkey of her custody of the holy places, and determined to help the British with men and money. Giving our first thought to the allegiance we owed to the Crown, we not merely fought against the Turks, but offered all the pecuniary assistance we possibly could for the successful prosecution of the War. Musalmans did not play so great a part in the European theatres of the War, as in the battlefields of Syria and Mesopotamia. They fought shoulder to shoulder with the British and Australian soldiers in the famous Dardanelles campaign against the Sultan of Turkey, in defence of the British Crown, and took prominent part in the service which others were rendering to the Empire. In Syria especially, of all sections of Indians, Musalmans seem to have been most in evidence, a fact admitted by responsible persons. The Indian Musalmans, who have ever been earnestly desirous to see the improvement of Turko-British relations, are painfully aware that in spite of their devout hopes to the contrary, the treatment of the Turks by British statesmen has almost invariably been detrimental to the former's interests.

## Anglo-Turkish Relations

Casting a glance at the history of the period of Anglo-Turkish alliance we first find that the vast and fertile country of Egypt passed from the real suzerainty of the Turks into the virtual possession of England, after the island of Cyprus had been ceded to England, in return for her securing lenient terms for Turkey in the Treaty of Steffano following the Russo-Turkish War of 1877. The conclusion of the Treaty Berlin led the Prime Minister of Italy to address the English Premier regarding Italy's designs on Tripoli, when the latter replied that the right opportunity had not then arrived; for "the quarry should be pursued when lame or wounded." In 1911, long after this exchange of views. Italy invaded Tripoli and the Turks wanted to send their troops through Egypt to resist Italy's brigandage. This procedure, however, the friendly Britain successfully vetoed. On the outbreak of the last Balkan War, Mr. Asquith, the late Premier, enunciated the principle that whatever the result of the war, it should not effect the boundaries of the belligerent countries. Later on, when the tables seemed to be turning and the Turks had, owing to disorganization, to retreat, the same upright Premier was pleased to observe that the victor could not be deprived of the fruits of his conquest. In connection with the same war, the armistice was concluded just before the Turks' possession of Adrianople, when the delegates of the belligerents met under the presidency of Sir Edward, now Viscount Grey (the ex-Foreign Secretary of Britain), who fully exerted his influence to secure Adrianople for the Bulgars, a demand the Turks would not concede. Then Anwar Pasha, followed by a large number of troops, proceeded to rescue the beseiged Turkish division, with the result that Adrianople fell into Turkish hands. But Turkey's old and faithful ally Britain continued to insist on the evacuation of Adrianople.

The unnamable atrocities the Greeks and Bulgars perpetrated on Macedonian Musalmans during the Balkan war were such as to horrify any civilized people, and M. Pierre Loti, the famous French writer, profoundly moved by them reduced them to a poignantly pathetic and immortal narrative. No voice, however, was raised on behalf of England against these atrocities, and no hand was stretched to succour the victims. In fact the indifference displayed on this occasion tended to encourage the appalling intentions of the Balkan tyrants.

Again, it is common knowledge that Mr. Gladstone did not merely lack sympathy for the Turks, but devoted life-long endeavours to the extinction of European Turkey, and all his utterances regarding the Turks were hard-hearted and brimming with prejudice. Nor is Viscount Grey, his faithful disciple, free from his accusation, for he too has exercised his powers to the detriment of the Turks. Although British statesmen's hostile attitude against the only recognized Muslim Powers seems to have been more or less consistent, the Indian Musalmans made another effort to let bygones be bygones, and placed ready reliance on the present Premier's pledge, contained in his wellknown speech of January 5, 1918. He prefaced this pledge by asserting that his utterance contained, not merely the thoughts of the Government, but of the whole nation, and not merely of the nation, but "of the entire British Empire", and then proceeded to say, "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race." No pledge can be more unambiguous or more confident, nor can a clearer utterance be expected from a responsible minister of any other power. But the news which subsequently filtered down from Paris began to alter the features of this promise, and finally the well-known Sheffield speech of the Premier perpetrated its complete disfigurement, demonstrating to the world the fragile nature of so-called 'pledges and promises', which seem to be the slaves of circumstance, changing as circumstances change.

We were assured that the war would not affect the holy places, but we find almost all of them in non-Muslim hands today; and yet unsophisticated Muslims are expected to detect no violation of the promise vouchsafed to them in such a state of things. We Musalmans desire it to be distinctly understood that we regard both Mecca and Medina as being in non-Muslim hands, because the Sherif himself appears to be a creature of Christendom. The other holy places are situated in similar or even worse circumstances. Leaving these two pledges aside, we find that some of the War aims and assurances most frequently reiterated by the Allies during the period of the War were: (1) that the War was waged in defence of justice and right; (2) that it was being fought for the emancipation of backward and small nations; (3) that it was not a religious struggle, but was meant to secure, to all the peoples of the world (irrespective of colour or race), the blessings of justice and freedom; (4) that it was undertaken to end tyranny and aggression and to terminate the usurpation of the rights of others; (5) that the vanquished were not to be dealt with severely, but would have their legitimate rights duly considered, and (6) that there were to be no territorial annexations!

Now it is the moral responsibility of those who propounded these aims and vouchsafed these assurances to explain to the world their real meaning as they now appear in the light of current events. Let them explain which of their pledges or aims has been satisfied or violated by permitting Greece to occupy Smyrna and its neighbouring districts and by equipping France, England and Italy with authority to hold sway in Syria, Mesopotamia and Adalia, respectively. Conscious of what they have done, they are in a better position to expound to the world the spirit which has characterized their treatment of the Ottoman Empire and Muslim rights, and they alone can state whether Muslim nationalities have suffered aggression and oppression or not. Will they be so good as to explain to the people of this

world, in unequivocal terms, which nationalities have been selected (irrespective of race or creed) for the fulfilment of their War aims and assurances? Whether they decide to justify themselves or not, let the world realize the truth of it all. It is to be profoundly deplored that England's responsible ministers appear determined to impair the credit which she should do all to maintain in Asia. The Asiatics, too, now seem prepared to give such specious promises the credit they deserve. Where, indeed, are the famous 'Fourteen Points' of President Wilson, which the Turks and others accepted as basic principles, which led first to the welcome armistice and then to the conclusion of hostilities? Why has the paragraph referring to Turkey, which repudiated the annexation of territory and promised "secure sovereignty" to the Ottoman Empire over its Turkish possessions, now become a dead letter? What has become of the "principle of selfdetermination"? Let those who read and relied on this principle also persue the proceedings of the National Association of the Syrians, clamouring for freedom, whose voices fall on deaf ears. The majority of the Syrian population is vociferously demanding the preservation of its liberty, but tender regard for French ambition required that Syria should be delivered up to France. Is it anything but an undisguised travesty of the principle of self-determination?

The pathetic narrative of the infamous treatment meted out to the Turks does not end here, for they were subjected to trying ordeals even during the period of armistice. Pressure was brought to bear on them after the cessation of hostilities to evacuate Holy Medina, with the object of handing it over to Husain, the Sherif. Thus they were forcibly deprived of the last vestige of sovereignty over the Holy Land, and the treacherous Greeks were suffered to land their troops at Smyrna and occupy neighbouring districts about the same time. Considering that the Turk had surrendered their arms, and their troops had been demobilized, the Greeks met with no resistance whatsoever in achieving their nefarious end, but were encouraged to perpetrate appalling atrocities.

The Khilafat-ul-Muslimeen afterwards recounted this situation with poignant anguish in the course of an interview he granted to a European journalist. His Imperial Majesty said: "Why should the faults of the Government be expiated through

massacring, sacking and raping thousands of peaceful inhabitants in Asia Minor by Hellenic troops and Greek hands, whose atrocities are well known to you? The cities are burnt, thousands of people are killed unjustly, and with the greatest ferocity. The excitement and despair amongst my people are very great. It looks as though a new war is raging already. But the terms of the armistice indirectly protect the Greeks, with whom we are not at war, and deprives us of every possibility of defending ourselves against their crimes. At the same time the armistice disarms us. Our troops are demobilized. Before things get worse, the Powers must put an end to this butchery."

What hard-hearted Musalman can read these words of the Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen without being visibly moved; and what human being can help being deeply touched by reading the graphic description of the tragic plight of His Imperial Majesty's innocent subjects. The reprisals the Turks visited upon insurgent Armenians are magnified and termed 'atrocities' and are widely circulated in Europe to excite indignation and horror against the Turks; but if the Turks themselves are the victims of barbarous atrocities by Greeks and Armenians, the philanthropic champions of humanity close their ears against their shrieks of agony. Are we to regard this as the criterion of the superior civilization which Europe seems to be proudly presenting as an ideal to the world?

Is this an illustration of the sublime love of humanity of which the cultured nations complacently boast? Time and again we are confidently assured that religious prejudice does not weigh with Europe. But the trend of events proves the contrary. Turkey has not committed the slightest breach of the terms of the armistice, and yet she has been subjected to the kind of treatment detailed above, whereas perfidious Italy has defiantly trampled under foot the decision of the Peace Conference regarding Fiume, and still her violent affront is patiently tolerated. Again Rumania, a much smaller State than Italy, in spite of being guilty of unmitigated brigandage in Hungary, has consistently treated the demands of the Council as unworthy of notice, thus behaving with unbridled defiance of international obligations. But her audacious recalcitrance is met with dignified toleration, possibly because she is a Christian state. Emphatic claims are being put forward for the mandatory control of Turkish

provinces; but faithless and backward Bulgaria is considered fit not merely to enjoy full freedom, but to have an 'outlet to the Sea', although she, too, threw in her lot with Germany and fought against the Allies alongside of the Turks (without the admittedly clean methods of the latter). Nor is this all to complete the melancholy tale of religious prejudice against the Turks, for there are still other events which drive the point home. The Premier, while decorating General Allenby with an order commemorating the conquest of Palestine, preferred to call the Palestinian campaign a 'crusade' reviving the more or less forgotten and centuries-old memories of a series of religious hostilities between the Christians and the Muslims. The Prime Minister's resuscitation of this obsolescent term implies that the Powers of Christendom have not yet allowed the old memories to abate; and it is a mistake to regard the ancient series of crusades as terminated, since in winning the latest crusade, General Allenby, the Richard I of his time, has rendered Christendom that distinguished service which even his royal predecessor failed to accomplish.

Can we ask the Minister, who has rescued the centuries old term 'crusade' from oblivion, if according to him the Indian Muslims and unfortunate Arabs bled and died on the Syrian battlefield to win a battle, which this second Richard I won with the help of troops, two-thirds of which were Muslim, to be called a crusade afterwards? Let these ministers remember that their present policy, and such flagrant indiscretions as the one just described are not merely a subtle source of pain to the 75 million Musalmans of India, but are calculated to sow the seeds of a potential estrangement throughout the Muslim world, which if suffered to grow may not prove conducive to calm contemplation of the undesirable results likely to follow.

In spite of all this the Indian Muslims have not swerved from the path of duty, and have remained firmly loyal. It is confidently hoped that they will in future continue to display the patience they have so far shown, and unflinchingly adhere to their primary civic duty. But how is the Government discharging the responsibilities with which it is burdened on behalf of the Musalmans? Let us consider the concrete acts which answer this query.

## Muslims and the Paris Peace Conference

The Peace Conference, which undertook the grave duty of pronouncing a final decision regarding not merely some Muslim peoples, but virtually regarding the entire Muslim world, proceeded with its onerous work without consulting a single Muslim representative. It was not considered necessary to observe the elementary principle of hearing the party, the question of whose life and death had to be decided, and it has not yet been considered proper to admit a Muslim representative to the Conference with which rests the pronouncement of the final verdict on Islam.

We are cognizant that His Highness the Maharaia of Bikaner and Mr. Montagu represented the Indian Muslim wishes to the best of their ability before the Peace Conference, and we are deeply grateful to both of them. But may we know what objection there could possibly be to the selection of a Muslim representative? And why, indeed, was so modest and legitimate a demand of Indian Muslims relegated to the scrapheap? The request made to the Prime Minister for receiving a deputation to present the views of Indian Muslims met with a cold reception. for the Premier was not ready to waste his precious time in listening to such useless matters. In the end memorialization was resorted to, although without securing any satisfactory assurance. We are thankful to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford for the reference he made to this subject in his opening address to the Imperial Council, in its September Session of 1919, when he assured the Indian Muslims that he had done his best to represent the feelings and views of Indian Muslims to the Secretary of State. We must also thankfully acknowledge His Excellency's allusion to the Indian Musalman's acute anxiety regarding the question of Turkey, contained in the speech he made last November 24 at Madras. He said "I realize to the full and sympathize most deeply with the anxiety felt by all Muslims in India regarding the result of the negotiation of peace with Turkey. Knowing how strong those feelings are, I took measures to secure that their views should be represented fully to the Home Government and to the authorities assembled at the Peace Conference. Special Muslim representatives were delegated to Paris to attend the Peace Conference; and whatever may be the result of these negotiations, and this must depend on factors which affect interests other than those of India or England, Indian Muslims may rest assured that their feelings have been fully represented. You may have noticed that Mr. Bonar Law, speaking in the House of Commons on November 3, said that the British Government was fully aware of the interest of Indian Mohammedans in the future of Turkey, and that they would give, as they had already given, full weight and consideration to their views."

We, however, find no word either in His Excellency's or in Mr. Bonar Law's utterances which may allay the anxiety we feel. In fact no responsible representative of His Majesty, either here or in England, has yet permitted himself to breathe a word which may even sayour of the assurance we Musalmans of India are awaiting with bated breath. We are fully aware that the result of the peace negotiation with Turkey depends on factors which affect interests other than those of Britain, nor are we blind to French or Italian interests, of which the former seem to figure prominently in the considerations likely to determine England's attitude. We are, at the same time, tolerably certain that England's will be the decisive voice in the final settlement with Turkey; and therefore we are constrained to regard what may follow these negotiations as the result of England's strength or weakness. If England realized the true significance and friendly feelings of more than 300 million Muslims of the world, as against the comparatively paltry economic advantages to be derived from Mesopotamia, she would display less solicitude for the interests of France and Italy, and secure a just and honourable settlement with Turkey, ushering in a wholly new era.

We are sincerely thankful to Mr. Montagu for undertaking the responsibility of correctly interpreting our views to the Peace Conference. In one of his speeches he was good enough to observe that he and his colleagues (Lord Sinha and H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner) insisted before the Council of the Four that nothing short of a just settlement on the basis of nationality would satisfy the Muslims, nor was any other settlement possible. That indeed, would satisfy the Musalmans, but surely a "settlement on the basis of nationality" cannot possibly imply that England and France should become the rulers of Arabia under the specious pretext of holding a 'mandate', a

newfangled invention bequeathed by the late War. Nor can that principle be said to have been respected by exposing Smyrna to the tyranny of the Greeks. The Muslims will be satisfied only when independence (in the true sense of the term) is secured to the Arabs and other Turkish subjects by assigning Turkey the mandate to administer their provinces, subject to the supervision of a League of Nations not swaved by more than one vote of each country. The Muslims know that the right to hold a mandate (if mandatory government is at all necessary) in any of the lands previously under Ottoman rule primarily belongs to Turkey, because the people inhabiting these lands are predominantly Muslim in faith, and no non-Muslim Power can under any pretext have the right to hold sway over them. The Musalmans cannot be expected to forget that these lands have been the cradle of Islam, where the holy places are situated, and where no non-Muslim can ever have even the semblance of the right of mandatory or any other rule. Trampling upon Muslim sentiments in this respect would mean creating not transitory but perennial unrest in the entire Muslim world, which would otherwise mean the deliberate awakening of unfriendly feelings in an otherwise unobtrusive people.

## Muslim and Non-Muslim Conception of the Khilafat

In the speech already referred to, we find Mr. Montagu assuring his Muslim fellow-subjects that no word had been used during the discussions at Paris, officially or otherwise, to show that any one was foolish enough to contemplate meddling with the question of the Khilafat, which was purely for the Musalmans to determine. Nor did he think the holy places, or any sacred building, were at the time in any danger of interference. The first portion of this utterance is far from reassuring to the Mohammedans. We are not appealing to any one to refrain from interfering with that aspect of the question which is a matter of faith; for we know all the powers of earth are not puissant enough to change the religious convictions of any people. I can imagine no one to be so foolish as to ground his appeal to Britain on so obvious a misconception. On the contrary, our representations are based on the ground that temporal power is the chief factor of the Khilafat, which, it is feared,

will be destroyed by dismembering the Ottoman Empire as contemplated. The Khilafat must not be reduced to the position of His Holiness the Pope at Rome, with his influence extending to spiritual confines only. And again, I am unable to understand the import of the second portion of his assurance regarding the immunity of the holy places. Who, indeed, to-day is the real ruler of Hijaz (where Mecca and Medina, the cities of the Prophet, are situated) behind Husain the Sherif, and who is holding and administering Baitul-Muqqadas (Holy Jerusalem), Karbala, Najaf-i-Ashraf, Kazmain-Sharifain, Baghdad and other places, in fact the whole of Jazirat-ul-Arab (the entire region where the holy places are situated)? If the occupation of the holy places by non-Muslims does not spell danger for them, it is difficult to assign any meaning to the word.

## Appreciation for Support of Some Englishmen

It would be rank ingratitude if we failed to acknowledge the eminent services rendered to Islam by some of the high-souled Englishmen who have proved that England is not destitute of men ready to espouse any cause based on righteousness and justice. In this connection, the names of Mr. Marmaduke Pick-thall, Captain Aubrey Herbert, Sir Theodore Morrison and Professor E. G. Browne are worthy of special mention, and the fair and sympathetic attitude of Mr. C. F. Andrews and some other Britishers entitles them to our thanks. I may, at this stage, take the liberty of reproducing below some valuable excerpts from a speech Mr. Pickthall recently delivered dealing with this difficult Muslim problem. He said:

"They say the Turkish Empire has always been abominably misgoverned. Well, I know Turkey pretty well, and I declare that there was less discontent per head of the population in the Turkish Empire even in the worst of times than there has been in the British Empire at any time in my remembrance." In reference to Armenian massacres, he says, "The talk of horrid massacres from time to time. These massacres have never been on one side only. They were due to the seditious propaganda organized by the powers of Europe—chiefly Russia. And I say that any state, even the most civilized, subjected to the kind of treatment Turkey has received from Russia and other European

Powers for a century would show precisely the same symptoms as Turkey has shown. You cannot trust claws into a living frame without convulsions."

Then, dealing with the charge that the Turks were pro-German, he states in categorical terms: "In 1913, the Young Turks wished that England should assume the instructorship of the whole Ottoman Empire, the army included, for 10 years. Their object was, of course, to get protection against the designs of other European Powers during a period of reconstruction and reform. The mere suggestion was refused." He continues, "The men, like Enver Pasha, who had voted for the suggestion as a forlorn hope, said; You see they dare not act alone. England has become the tail of Russia. She has sunk to the position of a third class power. The only chance which now remains to us is Germany." Further he says: "The pro-British part of the Committee (of Union and Progress)—the majority were disappointed, but still persisted. They kept whittling down the offer, seeking to make it acceptable till it amounted to no more than a request that England would provide a certain number of Inspectors for Armenia, to superintend the reforms which the Turks were trying to push forward in those provinces against the whole force of Tsarist intrigue. The force of that intrigue in eastern Anatolia all through 1913-14 amounted to a state of war. The Tsarist agents were using all the means at their disposal, and they had much larger means than the poor Turks possessed, to discredit the Turkish Government. They tried to work up wholesale massacres of Muslims and Armenians quite indifferently—massacres which were to serve as a pretext for the Russian occupation of the country—massacres which the Turks did all they could do to prevent! Western Europe could not be brought to believe that Russian intrigue was what it was—so barefaced, so ruthless—and the Young Turks thought that if they could get Englishmen in charge of those provinces, England at any rate would be bound to know and believe. England was bound to help them in Armenia by the terms of the Cyprus Convention. Well, that request was granted, as we all believed. It was refused months later. Surely if these English Inspectors had been sent to Eastern Anatolia, if England had not turned up a 'Scrap of Paper', the last Armenian massacres would not have taken place." A clear consideration of all these matters

leads to the one inference which has been embodied in the foregoing words.

#### Persia and the Anglo-Persian Agreement

The plight of Turkey was nearly enough to break the hearts of Indian Muslims, for whom news of the Anglo-Persian Agreement (calculated, in our opinion, to seal the doom of another Muslim Power) proved to be the last straw on the load of Indian Muslim anxiety.

Persia in her palmy days was a source of culture and enlightenment to Indian Muslims, and they are deeply indebted to her. With respect to the lines along which their social, traditional and literary development has proceeded, the Indian Musalmans cannot help entertaining a grateful regard for, and calling Persia their 'kind, old teacher'. I have already said that brotherhood (or the fundamental relationship which knits together the entire Muslim family of the world) is the cardinal principle of Islam, and therefore moved by feelings which suffuse the consciousness of the Musalmans (as a result of the intense realization of that teaching), they cannot help being gratified or grieved, as the case may be, at the preservation and prosperity or the decay and extinction of Muslim States. These feelings and sentiments, springing from the fundamentals of Islam, remain unaffected by unessential differences of various persuasions. We, therefore, observe that the Shia section of Musalmans, whose views regarding the essentials of the Khilafat question do not coincide with those of the Sunnis, are as intensely interested in the preservation of the Sultan's temporal power as they could possibly be in the welfare of Iran (Persia); and the entire Sunni population has as tender a feeling for Persia as any living Shia can possibly have.

Whether it be the Musalmans of Turkey or of Persia, both Sunnis and Shias and all other followers of Islam, are equally interested in and own spiritual kinship with them, and that is why Indian Muslims are deeply affected by the agreement recently concluded between the British Government and Iran. The latter seems to have been the object of the former's attentions, on account of her (Persia) being a neighbour of India, and those attentions have long been materializing in form of a definite policy. Persia has for years been the object of English and Russian

in Persia was strategic and ineluctable necessity dictated by foresight in regard to the defence of India, on the one hand, and the provision against the enemy descending by way of Persia on the advanced troops in Mesopotamia, on the other, I fear that securing the relinquishment of Persia's claim can hardly be based on fairness.

In fine, the complex problems connected with Turkey's present plight, and the virtual extinction of Persia's freedom. are some of the most fruitful and potent causes of the present unrest throughout the Muslim world, which, in my humble opinion, does not derive sustenance from sources of a temporary nature, because it lies down in the depth of faith, and its temporary abatement should not be treated as a sign of its complete subsit dence. It has, as we are all aware, brought the Khilafat Committee into temporary existence to voice the true Muslim feelings and to secure the just treatment of Turkey and the preservation of the integrity of Persian independence. It is hoped that they will continue to respect the ethical duty imposed upon them as subjects of the Government, whose protection they enjoy, while banishing all hesitancy and timidity in giving fearless expression to their views—all within constitutional limits—during this crisis and after it. May the Khilafat Committee succeed in achieving what they have come into existence for, and may it not be found necessary to perpetuate or prolong its existence.

## Muslim Abstention from Peace Celebrations

Gentlemen, allow me here to say a few words regarding the abstention of Muslims from the official peace celebrations. The Muslims of India, along with other Indians, would willingly and enthusiastically have participated in the celebration, whatever its form, if the cessation of the war concluded in favour of the Allies had brought real peace and tranquility in its train. But at a time when the only surviving Muslim Power appeared to be in imminent peril of being absorbed and the Muslim holy places had been weaned from Muslim custody, their abstention from the celebration could hardly be viewed as unjustified. Their religion forbade any participation in such a rejoicing; and whenever there is any conflict between the command of their faith and the wishes of officials, their first duty will be to obey the former, which no earthly consideration can possibly override.

## Gratefulness to Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi

In this respect we Musalmans are deeply grateful to the Hindus for sharing our sorrow with sincere willingness, and giving enthusiastic expression to their sympathetic feelings. The abstention of Hindus from peace celebrations (which included the suspension of business for some time in the evening for three or four days, and co-operating with Musalmans in observing the directions issued by the Anti-Peace-Celebrations Publicity Board) out of regard, among other things, for Muslim sentiments, has made a deep impression on the Musalmans; and I trust the spirit which has achieved this result will continue to operate in the interest of preserving the impression created. At the same time, I confidently trust that in future the Musalmans will cooperate willingly with their fellow-countrymen in all matters which may be of special and exclusive interest to the latter. I cannot at this stage help mentioning the revered name of Mahatma Gandhi, an acknowledged leader of our country, whose active sympathy, springing as it did from the depths of unalloyed sincerity and a correct conception of righteous action, has won him the grateful and reverential affection of all Musalmans of India. If thankfulness can be expressed in words, let me in the name of the Indian Muslim community thank the Hindus and Mahatma Gandhi from the bottom of my heart.

## Renewed Plea for Internees

Permit me, now, to say a word about the unfortunate Muslim and other internees, whose sufferings in exile have not known abatement in spite of the termination of the War. It seems as if the question of the release of our *Peshwa* (revered guide), Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hussain, and our brothers, Mr. Mohammad Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, has ceased to engage the attention of the Government. The Muslmans, after having done what was possible for them to do, and having failed to secure the early release of these devotees to the national cause, were hoping that after the cessation of the War, the Government would, at any early date, turn its attention to the question of releasing the internees—a hope doomed to disappointment! If, however, this listlessness of the Government continues,

it will be time for a systematic public movement to draw the attention of the Government to this question.

It is, however, devoutly hoped that such a necessity will not arise, that the Government will be found ready to reconsider the question of their release, and will terminate the painful period of their separation from us.

#### Conclusion

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am sorry to have occupied so much of your valuable time, but he singular gravity of the present crisis in the Muslim world, and the vital questions arising out of the Punjab situation compelled me to linger on the points dealt with in my address, even to the exclusion of some other important problems. I sincerely thank you for the patient hearing you have accorded me, and crave your indulgence for the omissions and shortcomings patent on the face of my humble although honest and sincere submission. I am aware that he exceptional nature of events now happening in the Muslim world has led me to dwell at length on topics of exclusively Muslim interests, but I have done so advisedly and in the confident hope that it cannot, at this time of day, lead any one to doubt the Musalmans' vivid consciousness of the solemn duty they owe to their motherland. As children of the soil, they know and fervently desire to fulfil their duty to the country of which they, in common with Hindus, Christians, Parsis and other communities, are the proud inheritors. They have, I can assure all concerned, realized to the full the solemn call of the motherland, and the sacred duty of patriotism. I am proud to declare that the time has come when the necessity for exhorting people to live up to the highest standards of patriotism is rapidly diminishing; for the mysterious tide of human progress is pushing its sweep forward, and the humblest being is becoming conscious of how to live and die for higher ideals. For India the unseen future holds a magnificence and splendour compared with which the most glorious grandeur of her past will be but small. Let all hands of men as well as of women join to unveil that vision.1

## SUBSEQUENT SITTINGS

Next day, December 30, the League resumed its sitting, and the Secretary, Syed Zahur Ahmed, read the annual report, which was passed.

The revised draft constitution of the League was then taken into consideration and slight changes introduced. The next two or three resolutions were then passed, and at that stage Mr. Mohammad Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali arrived at the meeting. At once the huge gathering stood up on their feet and greeted their beloved leaders, now returned after long years of cruel internment, with a reverberating chorus of joy. For the time being, resolutions were dropped, and the great Ali Brothers were pressed to speak. They then addressed the meeting, and the audience was moved to tears.

The League then adjourned and met again next day to pass the remaining resolutions. After the usual thanksgivings, the Session came to a close.<sup>1</sup>

#### RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SESSION

#### LOYALTY TO THE THRONE

The All-India Muslim League tenders its homage to the person and throne of His Majesty the King Emperor, and assures him of the steadfast and continued loyalty of the Musalman community of India. (From the Chair)

## CONDOLENCE I (Sheikh Mohammad Umar)

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of the deep loss which the community has sustained by the sad and untimely death of the late Sheikh Mohammad Umar, Bar-at-Law, of Amritsar, and Secretary, Anjumani-Taraqqi-i-Talim Musalman, Amritsar. (From the Chair)

## CONDOLENCE II (Nawab Syed Mohammad)

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its

1. The Indian Annual Register, op. cit.

sense of deep grief at the sad and untimely demise of the late Nawab Syed Mohammad of Madras. (From the Chair)

#### SECRETARY'S REPORT

That the Report of the Honorary Secretary be adopted. (Proposed by Dr. M.A. Ansari and seconded by Mr. Shaukat Ali)

#### CONDUCT WITH SINDH OFFICIALS

This Session of the All-India Muslim League, while thanking H.E. the Governor of Bombay for announcing in Council the strict neutrality of the Government in religious matters, and in further issuing a public warning to that effect, strongly urges the necessity of a sifting inquiry by H.E.'s Government into the complaints of improper conduct of certain Sindh Officials in connection with the Khilafat question. (Proposed by Agha Mohammed Safdar, seconded by Moulvi Mohammed Akram Khan, and supported by Malik Lal Mohammed).

#### SAFEGUARDS FOR MUSLIM COMMUNITY

In view of the strong desire of Muslim Community to have definite provisions for the protection of its interests, this League urges upon the Government that the following safeguards be adopted in the forthcoming reforms:

- (a) Musalmans should be adequately represented in the public services of the country.
- (b) Musalmans should have representation on Government Universities in the same proportion as the representation accorded to Musalmans on the Legislative Council in the province concerned may be.
- (c) The Urdu language and Persian characters should be maintained in courts and public offices in those provinces where they are in vogue, and Urdu should be employed as the medium of primary education in the aforesaid provinces.
- (d) Musalmans should be afforded facilities, protection and help in the observance and performance of their religious rites, ceremonies and usages without any restriction. (Proposed by

Mr. Masud-ul-Hasan, seconded by Mr. Fazlur Rahman, supported by Mr. Noor Mohammed and Syed Jalib)

#### **NEGOTIATIONS WITH CONGRESS**

The All-India Muslim League resolves that the All-India Congress Committee be asked to appoint a Committee, at an early date, to confer with a committee of the Council of the League, in order to arrive at an understanding on questions arising out of the Reform Act, 1919, and the demand for complete Responsible Government. (Proposed by Syed Zahur Ahmad, seconded by Dr. M.A. Ansari)

#### PRESS ACT

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep-seated belief that the new era ushered in by the gracious Royal Proclamation cannot bear fruit unless and until full liberty of thought and expression is granted to the people of India, and the various restrictions placed on that liberty, by the manner in which the Press Act has been and is being administered and the various other obstacles placed upon Indian journalism in general and Muslim journalists in particular, are immediately removed. (Proposed by Syed Jalib and seconded by Choudhri Ghulam Haider Khan)

#### **COW SACRIFICE**

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that with a view to reciprocating the good feelings shown towards the Musalmans by their Hindu brethren and to strengthening the growing unity between them, Musalmans of India should, on the occasion of the Bakrid festival, substitute, as far as possible, the sacrifice of other animals in place of cows. (Proposed by Dr. M.A. Ansari and seconded by Mr. Tasadduq Ahmad Khan)

#### SEPARATE REPRESENTATION

That the All-India Muslim League, voicing the Muslim public opinion, adheres to the principle of separate representation for the Muslim community, and strongly urges upon Government the immediate necessity of applying the said principle to local bodies in provinces where it has not yet been applied. (From the Chair)

#### REPEAL OF ACTS

That this meeting of the All-India Muslim League urges on the attention of the Government of India the imperative necessity of repealing the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, and the Rowlatt Act. (From the Chair)

#### **ACT OF 1919**

The All-India Muslim League, representing 80 million Musalman subjects of His Imperial Majesty, King George V, Emperor of India, expresses its sense of gratitude for the spirits in which the Royal Proclamation has been addressed to the princes and people of India on the occasion of giving Royal assent to the Government of India Act, 1919.

The League trusts that the rights of the Indian people to direct their own affairs and safeguard their interests, without which the progress of the country cannot be consummated, will be secured ere long under His Majesty's loving sympathy, and earnestly joins in His Majesty's prayer that India may grow to the fulness of political freedom in the near future.

Further the League feels confident that the royal act of clemency in granting general amnesty to political prisoners and detenues would go far to remove "the bitterness existing between the people and those responsible for the Government of the country".

And lastly, the League assures His Imperial Majesty of the cordial and hearty welcome which the people of India would accord to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, during his visit to their country in the coming winter. (From the Chair)

#### **PUNJAB DISTURBANCES**

In view of the fact that the enquiry in the Punjab disturbances is yet pending, this meeting of the All-India Muslim League

refrains from expressing its opinion in the matter at this stage, but cannot help drawing the attention of the British Parliament to the shocking disclosures made by General Dyer in the evidence before the Hunter Committee in the hope that Parliament will take early steps to see that justice and the British reputation for fairness are fully vindicated. (Proposed by Syed Raza Ali and seconded by Mr. Mumtaz Husain)

#### **GENERAL DYER**

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that in view of the admission made by General Dyer in his statement before the Hunter Committee, he is not fit to remain in command and should be immediately relieved of his duty as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him.

This meeting of the League is further of opinion that the entire policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer is under enquiry and, in view also of the fact that he approved of General Dyer's cold-blooded and calculated massacre in the Jallianwala Bagh, he should be relieved of his connection with the Army Commission as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him. (Proposed by Mr. Abul Kasim, seconded by Moulvi Mohammed Yaqub, and supported by Moulvi A. Deen)

#### RECALL OF LORD CHELMSFORD

This meeting of All-India Muslim League is of opinion that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford has forfited the confidence of all sections of the Indian population, and that he should immediately be recalled from India. (Proposed by Mr. Mumtaz Husain and seconded by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman)

#### **KHILAFAT**

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League expresses its deep disappointment at the disregard shown by the British Government to the repeated representations made by Indian Musalmans, through their representatives in England and India, regarding the question of Khilafat, the holy places and Jazirat-ul-Arab, and feels constrained to express that no settlement contemplating the dismemberment of Turkey would ever satisfy

the Indian Musalmans, but keep them in a state of perpetual dissatisfaction and discontent, for the grave consequences of which they shall not be responsible. Under these circumstances, the Musalmans would be fully justified to carry on all the possible methods of constitutional agitation open to them, including a boycott of the British Army, if it is likely to be used outside India for Imperial and anti-Islamic purposes. (Proposed by Peer Syed Mohammad Afzal Shah, Sajjadanashin of Jalalpur Shareef, seconded by Moulana Muhammad Fakhir, and supported by Moulana Hasrat Mohani)

#### HOMAGE TO KHALIFA

This meeting of the All-India Muslim League shares with all the Muslim world the belief that His Imperial Ottoman Majesty Sultan Waheed-ud-Deen Mohammad is the recognized Khalifa of Islam, and places on record its deep-seated and unshakable devotion to the sacred person of His Imperial Majesty as successor of the Prophet and the head of Islam. This meeting further resolves that a message conveying the spiritual homage of the Musalmans of India be transmitted to the Khalifa through proper channels. (Proposed by Maulana Sanaullah and seconded by Mr. Abul Qasim)

#### EGYPTIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The All-India Muslim League expresses its deep sympathy with the political aspirations of the nationalists of Egypt to get the principle of self-determination applied to their country in accordance with the terms of the Peace Conference, and is grieved at the methods adopted to thwart their ambitions. (Proposed by Mr. A. Majid and seconded by Choudhri Khaliquzzaman)

#### USE OF INDIAN GOODS ONLY

In the opinion of the All-India Muslim League, the time has come when the Indian Muslims should make a determination to use only such piece goods as are manufactured in India. (Proposed by Moulana Hasrat Mohani and seconded by Dr. Abdul Kareem)

#### ROYAL PROCLAMATION

In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the gracious Proclamation of His Majesty the King Emperor, and that the persons in the Punjab tried by the Martial Law Commissioners, the summary courts, the area officers and the tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act, the detenus and deportees, have not been released, this meeting of All-India Muslim League expresses its earnest hope and trusts that the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal command. (From the Chair)

#### FULL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

While fully appreciating the labours of the Right Hon'ble Samuel Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, in connection with the Government of India Act 1919, the All-India Muslim League deeply regrets that full responsible Government, for which India is fit, has been withheld, both in the Central and in the Provincial Government, and that the principle of self-determination has not been applied to her in accordance with her demands.

It therefore considers the Reforms inadequate and unsatisfactory, and trusts Parliament will establish full responsible Government in India at the earliest opportunity. In the meantime, the League calls upon Indians to demonstrate their capacity for complete self-government by availing themselves of such opportunity as is now offered to them in the reforms recently enacted, which the League recognizes to be a definite step towards the goal of full responsible Government. (Proposed by Mr. Barkat Ali and seconded by Dr. M.A. Ansari)

#### AMENDMENTS TO THE LEAGUE CONSTITUTION & RULES

That the following amendments be made in the Constitution and Rules of the League:

- (a) In Section 2 (b), add 'religious' after 'political'.
- (b) For Section 3 (a), substitute the following: A Musalman is a resident of British India or of any of the feudatory

States of India or of any other part of the British Empire provided that in the last case he has not been out of India continuously for five years.

- (c) In Section 3 (c), omit 'Literate (but)'.
- (d) In Section 5, for the existing proviso substitute the following: viz., Provided that the applicant shows sufficient cause as to why he is not a member of a Provincial Muslim League.
- (e) For Section 7, substitute the following: If the subscription of a member be in arrears for over a year, the Honorary Secretary shall give him notice to pay, and if he fails to pay within a month after such notice, he shall be liable to have his name removed from the list of members by a resolution to that effect passed by the Council of the League.
  - (f) In Section 9, for '12 to 20' substitute '20 to 50'.
- (g) At the end of Section 10, add: "Provided that no person shall hold an office of the League for more than two terms consecutively.
  - (h) In Section 12, rule 1, substitute '300' for '150'.
- (i) In Section 12, rule 2, double all the figures, and subdivide the figure against Central Provinces and Berar as follows: C.P. 5, Berar 3.
- (j) In Section 13, substitute '12' for '20', and for the second sentence thereof substitute the following: If the subscription of a member be in arrears for over a year, the Honorary Secretary shall give him notice to pay, and if fails to pay within a month after such notice, he shall be liable to have his name removed from the list of members by a resolution to that effect passed by the Council of the League.
- (k) The following Section shall be added, viz. Section 40: The delegates of all affiliated bodies shall be entitled to attend, take part and vote at annual meetings of the League as if they were members, on payment of a fee of Rs. 10 each.
- (1) Add the following proviso to Section 20: provided further that the above proviso and the requirement of a quorum shall not apply to adjourned meeting.
  - (m) In Section 25, add 'delegates' after 'received from'.
- (n) At the end of Section 37, add the following proviso. Provided that all appointments carrying a salary of over Rs. 50 a month shall be subject to the sanction of the Council.
- (o) The following Section shall be added—Section 41: At

each Annual Meeting a Subjects Committee to revise and adopt the resolutions to be put forward for its consideration, shall be formed so as to include all the members of the Council, and the representatives elected by the members of the League who are not members of the Council and the delegates of each Province jointly, provided that the number of such elected representatives for any province shall not exceed one-half of the maximum number fixed for the Council from that Province.

- 23. That the following office bearers be elected:
- (a) President: Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Bar-at-Law, Bombay.
- (b) Honorary Secretary: Syed Zahur Ahmad, Vakil, High Court, Lucknow.
- (c) Honorary Joint Secretary: Choudhri Khaliquzzaman, Vakil, High Court, Lucknow, and Mr. Masud-ul-Hasan, Bar-at-Law, Moradabad.<sup>1</sup>

The Text of the Resolutions Passed at the Twelfth Session. Pamphlet Printed by K.C. Banerjee at the Anglo Oriental Press, Lucknew, 1920.

## Chapter 5

### ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

#### EXTRAORDINARY SESSION

Calcutta, September 7, 1920

The All-India Muslim League commenced its special session in Calcutta on the ground floor of the Town Hall at 9 o'clock on Tuesday morning, September 7, 1920. The hall was decorated with flags and foliage. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the League, occupied the Chair. The attendance was very large, the hall being quite full. Three mottos spanned the breadth of the hall, bearing, in bold white letters on a red background, the following inscriptions: 'Remember Jallianwala Bagh,' 'Be true to your religion' and 'Liberty is man's birthright'. Among those on the platform were Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. Jinnah, Mrs. Yakub Hussain, Lala Laipat Rai, Mr. M.K. Gandhi, Mr. Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Moulana Akram Khan, Mr. Fazlul Hug, Mr Erfan Ali, Swami Sradhananda, Mr. Ramamurti, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Rambhui Dutt Chaudhuri, Mr. Duni Chand, Mr. C. Vijaya Raghavachariyar, Lala Gridhari Lal, Dr. S. Kitchlew, Syed Ali Nabi, Mr. Jamunadas Dwarkadas and Pundit Gokaran Nath Misser.

On either side of the presidential table, stood a Khaki-clad volunteer with drawn, sword, but to the evident relief of those nearest to them, the swords were sheathed before the meeting began. The audience took exception to the flags of the Allies which, amongst others, flaunted in the meeting hall. Mr. Shaukat Ali pointed out that the decoration of the hall had been entrusted to a contractor who had hung these flags, and the Secretary of the League, being very busy, had not noticed them; but after the morning's sitting was over the flags in question would be removed.

The proceedings opened with a recitation from the Quran, after which Hakim Moulana Abdul Rauf, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the audience, speaking in Urdu. The President, who was garlanded amidst cheers, then addressed the assembly.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH

I have been called upon to preside over the Special Session of the Muslim League by virtue of its Constitution, which does not permit the election of a President except in the case of an annual session. The responsibility, therefore, of placing the grave aspects of the present situation before you has fallen to me as the President of the League. I am not going to tire you with weary details. We have met here principally to consider the situation that has arisen owing to the studied and persistent policy of the Government since the signing of the Armistice. First came the Rowlatt Bill-accompanied by the Puniab atrocities—and then came the spoliation of the Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat. The one attacks our liberty, the other our faith. Now, every country has two principal and vital functions to perform—one to assert its voice in international policy, and the other to maintain internally the highest ideals of justice and humanity. But one must have one's own administration in one's own hands. As we stand in the matters international, India's voice is represented through His Majesty the King of England's Government, although nominally we happened to have two Indians who were supposed to represent us, they were neither the chosen nor the accredited representatives of India. The result was that notwithstanding the unanimous opinion of the Musalmans, and in breach of the Prime Minister's solemn pledges, unchivalrous and outrageous terms have been imposed upon Turkey and the Ottoman Empire has served for plunder and been broken up by the Allies under the guise of Mandates. This, thank God, has at last convinced us, one and all, that we can no longer abide our trust either in the Government of India or in the Government of His Majesty the King of England to represent India in matters international.

The Indian press is flooded by accounts of occurrences in the Colonies which show but too well how India is sacrificed to the

individual interests of these Englishmen who have settled in these Colonies which India's manpower and India's work power have built.

And now let us turn to the Punjab. That Star Chamber Legislation named after the notorious Chairman of the Rowlatt Committee was launched by the Government of Lord Chelmsford, and it resulted in those 'celebrated crimes' which neither the words of men nor the tears of women can wash away. "An error of judgment", they call it. If that is the last word, I agree with them—an error of judgment it is and they shall have to pay for it, if not to-day then to-morrow. One thing there is which is indisputable, and that is that this Government must go and give place to a completely responsible Government. Meetings of the Congress and the Muslim League will not effect this. We shall have to think out some course more effective than passing resolutions of disapproval to be forwarded to the Secretary of State for India. And we shall surely find a way, even as France and Italy did-and the new-born Egypt has. We are not going to rest content until we have attained the fullest political freedom in our own country. Mr. Gandhi has placed his programme of non-co-operation, supported by the authority of the Khilafat Conference, before the country. It is now for you to consider whether or not you approve of its principle; and approving of its principle, whether or not you approve of its details. The operations of this scheme will strike at the individual in each of you, and therefore it rests with you alone to measure your strength and to weigh the pros and the cons of the question before you arrive at a decision. But once you have decided to march, let there be no retreat under any circumstances.

In the meanwhile, there sits in Olympian Simla a self-satisfied Viceroy who alternately offers his sympathies to us unfortunate Musalmans and regrets Mahatma Gandhi's "foolish of all foolish schemes", being fortified with a 'character' from His Majesty's Government sent in a recent Despatch from 'Home'—the word Home is in inverted commas. This is the 'changed angle of vision' on which we heard such high-sounding phrases during those critical stages of the war when India's blood and India's gold was sought and unfortunately given—given to break Turkey and buy the fetters of the Rowlatt Legislation.

One degrading measure upon another, disappointment upon

disappointment, and injury upon injury, can lead a people to only one end. It led Russia to Bolshevism. It has led Ireland to Sinn Feinism. May it lead India to freedom. The unsatisfactory character of the 'Reforms' evolved by the timidity of Mr. Montagu and the prejudice of Lord Chelmsford, marred by its own rules and regulations, and worked under the influence of Lord Chelmsford's Government, offers us, if may quote the words of a well-known author, "license for liberty, and license does not compensate for liberty". We may have Indians as Lieutenant-Governors and Governors and, for the matter of that, Viceroys. That is license, but that is not liberty. What we want is true political freedom of the people, not posts and positions in Government. Secondly, the unusual haste displayed in the passing of the Rowlatt Act before the new Council, and contrary to universal opinion, only goes to illustrate the policy of the Government. And when, in the Punjab, this universal opposition against the Rowlatt Act manifested itself through constitutional methods, it fell to the lot of the Lieutenant-Governor to dishonestly characterize it as "open rebellion". Only his administrative genius could have conjured up a vision of 'open rebellion' in a country whose people have been brutally unarmed, and only his cowardly spirit could have requisitioned the application of martial law, secure in his knowledge that, weaponless, there could be no retaliation. Martial law was introduced; the manner and circumstances of its proclamation and its administration was calculated to destroy political freedom, political life, not only in the Punjab but throughout India, by striking terror into the hearts of its people. The majority report of the Hunter Committee is one more flagrant and disgraceful instance that there can be no justice when there is a conflict between an Englishman and an Indian. The Government of India, with its keen sense of humour and characteristic modesty, proceeds to forward a resolution in its despatch to the Secretary of State commending its conduct, blind to the fact that they were in the position of an accused passing judgment.

Now, let us turn to the great "error of judgment", the judicious finding of the Cabinet which itself is no less an error of judgment and that was duly wired to us by Reuter. To follow up events in sequence, I must mention the Parliamentary debate which forgot the Punjab and discussed general Dyer. Of course

Mr. Montagu hadn't the time to put India's case before the House, being far too busy offering personal explanations. And then the blue and brainless blood of England, to their crowning glory, carried the infamous resolution of Lord Finlay.

And what of the sacred land of the Crescent and Star and the blue and golden Bosphorus—its capital seized and the Khalifa virtually a prisoner, its territories overrurn by Allied troops—groaning under an imposition of impossible terms. It is a death warrant, not a treaty.

These are the enormities crying aloud, and we have met today face to face with a dangerous and most unprecedented situation. The solution is not easy and the difficulties are great. But I cannot ask the people to submit to wrong after wrong. Yet I would still ask the Government not to drive the people of India to desperation, or else there is no other course left open to the people except to inaugurate the policy of non-co-operation, though not necessarily the programme of Mr. Gandhi.

I do not wish to detain you any more, but before I sit down I will say this, remember that united we stand, divided we fall -and throughout your discussion I beg of you not to lose sight of that. I am certain that every member of the Muslim League will rise to that high sense of duty which he owes to his community and his country; and in the course of our deliberations and discussion—whatever the differences of opinion may be—. we must give credit to each other that each in his own way is doing his best for his motherland and for his home and for his country. In that spirit, I would urge upon you to proceed with your deliberations, and I have no doubt that the collective wisdom, the united wisdom, of the best intellect of the Musalmans will not fail to find a solution of the question which we consider, from a purely Musalman point of view, a matter of life and death, namely, the Khilafat question. I have no doubt that with over 70 millions of Musalmans, led by the best intellect and brains of the community, success is assured.1

<sup>1.</sup> The Indian Annual Register, 1920, Part III, pp. 217-221.

# Chapter 6

## ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

#### THIRTEENTH SESSION

Nagpur, December 30-31, 1920

The Thirteenth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League commenced on December 30, 1920, at Nagpur.

Dr. M.A. Ansari, the President of the Thirteenth Session, delivered a detailed speech, in the course of which he expressed sympathy with the sufferings of Ireland and Egypt, and discussed the question of the Khilafat threadbare. The devices of the Allied Governments, the Treaty of Severes, the effect of the treaty on the Muslim world—all these questions were dealt with at considerable length. He also discussed the Khilafat Delegation's work in various Allied countries in Europe. He dwelt upon the Punjab question, and severely criticized the Despatch of the Government of India. He then proceeded to discuss other aspects of the situation in India.

# PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF DR. ANSARI (EXTRACT)

The Khilafat and the Punjab questions naturally bring one to a consideration of the methods by which these wrongs should be redressed and their repetition made impossible. It is not only the question of the Khilafat or the Punjab, the repressive legislation or the shameful treatment of Indians in different parts of the British Empire, but it is the spirit behind the individual actions which has to be fought and conquered. To any one who tries to look deeper, it becomes obvious that these specific actions are the natural outcome of the notion of superiority of

the West over the East, the greed and lust of power, the desire of exploitation of the weaker nations for the benefit of the stronger, and the determination of the Western nations to perpetuate the bondage and slavery of Asiatic people. It is, therefore, not only a question of India's honour and freedom, but of a great struggle for the emancipation of all the enslaved Asiatic people from the thraldom of the West. In the foregoing observations. I have endeavoured to show that all the talk about liberation of the weaker nations from an oppressive voke, the right to freedom of subject nationalities and the principle of selfdetermination indulged in by the Allied statesmen have been a delusion and a snare. The question then arises whether we in India are going to do anything to discipline and organize ourselves in order to gain our rights, or are we going to continue the old policy of mendicancy, petitioning others to grant us our inherent rights.

#### Non-Co-operation

So far as the Musalmans are concerned the principle of non-co-operation is not a new idea; rather it is a clear and definite injunction of the divine *Shariat* which the Musalmans of India had in their forgetfulness consigned to oblivion. At the commencement, some members of the Khilafat Committee and some of the leading Muslim divines brought this matter before the public; and when the question was carefully discussed, as regards the application of this principle, it was decided that the present times furnish all the circumstances and the conditions laid down in the Muslim *Shariat*. It has therefore become binding that we should practise non-co-operation against the opponents of Islam.

Mahatma Gandhi's far-sighted mind saw, in this Muslim religious principle, an effective method of wide application, well suited to the present political requirements of the country and entirely in conformity with the principle of Satyagraha. His whole-hearted and single-minded advocacy of this principle resulted in its adoption by all the great political organizations representing the views of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of this country. Non-co-operation is based on the obvious truth that no Government can carry on the administration

of a country without the active co-operation or passive acquiescence of the people inhabiting that country. And if the Government of the country be unjust and heedless of the rights and liberties of the people, the only peaceful way of reforming the recalcitrant Government is to cease co-operation with it.

The consideration of this principle from the ethical point of view need not detain us very long. In order to have any wrong done to a people redressed, it is not enough that a few individuals should be cognizant of the wrong: the entire people, or at least a large majority of them, must feel the wrong. Then again the mere fact of feeling a wrong does not absolve you from your moral duty; you must refuse to help the wrong-doer in perpetuating the wrong, and by creating a very strong public opinion, you must make the repetition of that wrong impossible.

As regards the religious aspect of this principle, I shall only discuss it briefly from the Muslim point of view. The Muslim Shariat enjoins tark-i-mawalat, or the abandonment of friendship (which means no connection of love, service or help), with those non-Muslims who are enemies at war with Islam and Muslim countries. Again the Holy Quran imperatively demands that Musalmans should behave righteously, affectionately and in a friendly manner towards all those non-Muslims who are neither at war with Muslims nor are they assailants intending to invade or occupy their territories. "Allah does not forbid you respecting those who have not made war against you on account of (your) religion, and have not driven you forth from your homes, that you show them kindness and deal with them justly: surely, Allah loves the doers of justice. Allah only forbids you respecting those who made war upon you on account of (your) religion, and drove you forth from your homes and backed up (others) in your expulsion, that you make friends with them and whoever makes friends with them: these are the unjust." (Quran: Sura-i-Mumtahanah 60: 8-9) And Allah says: "Oh you who believe! Do not take my enemy and your enemy for friends. Would you offer them love while they deny what has come to you of the truth?" (Quran: Sura-i-Mumtahanah-60:1).

It is not necessary to lay stress on the fact that non-co-operation is not only a political or a moral necessity to a Musalman, it is a religious obligation and hence a graver responsibility attaches to him in carrying it out.

## Survey of Progress

A brief survey of the progress of non-co-operation during the last three months would be helpful in forming an estimate of its widespread acceptance and the steady manner in which it is spreading.

The boycott of Councils by the nationalists has been complete. The electors have also given a very clear verdict against the so-called Reformed Councils. The exact figures are not yet available, only rough estimate can be made. In a vast majority of the constituencies, the percentage of electors who recorded their votes was about 10; in a small number, between 10 and 25; and in only a few, above 25. No account of explanation would convinee the world that so far as the people of India are concerned, they would care to have anything to do with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

The response which the young people of India have given has been very substantial and most encouraging, and this in spite of the difficulties and obstacles which have been placed in their way by the educational staff and authorities.

I cannot help feeling proud of the fact that the students of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarn, gave a lead in this matter. You have all heard how that august assembly of the Trustees of the M.A.O. College, gathered in an informal meeting at Aligarn, gave scant hearing to the call of their religion, in which was also involved the cause of their country's honour and freedom. You know how the feeble voice of those who invited them as a matter of conscience to give up the Government grant-in-aid, to disaffiliate their College from the Government University and to nationalize it fell on deaf ears. You are aware in what an insolent and overbearing manner the Government-bidden, packed majority rejected our demand and condemned our action. Then followed the insufferable high-handedness of the college authorities, who stopped the food, watersupply, sanitary arrangements and medical aid of the non-cooperating students. And lastly, the culminating act of the infuriated, panic-stricken authorities was to turn out the student from the college with the help of the police force.

All the while, intimidation, persuation, social and moral pressure were being brought to bear on these students. But they

stood firm and behaved with marvellous patience and fortitude. They left the college peacefully and quietly to take up their abode in the new quarters of the National Muslim University.1 Ever since then a campaign of calumnies and vilification has been deliberately carried on against the Principal, his supporters and the students of the new institution. The Aligarh College authorities have descended in their rage to the lowest depth, and have thrown away all decency and decorum to the winds. The columns of the Aligarh Institute Gazette have been opened to the vilest abuse and all the available English and vernacular dailies are requisitioned for this propaganda of invective, calumny and scandal. But with the help of the band of those staunch, sturdy and strong minded young students, the newly inaugurated National Muslim University has gone on daily adding to its number, until six bungalows have now been rented to accommodate the students who have joined the University. We have no fear for the future. We have full faith that our University will go forward on its march of progress, and one day, God willing, the old institution, being purged of all its evils, will merge into the new.

The sister National University at Ahmedabad, with Mahatma Gandhi its Chancellor and that noble and brave man, Mr. A.T. Gidwani, as the Principal, will keep the torch of learning alight in Gujrat, illuminating the darkness of the institutions where knowledge is only a concomitant of moral and mental slavery.

The Khalsa College, the Islamia College of Lahore, and the Hindu University students are putting up a brave fight. Our best wishes are with them in their efforts to break the fetters which still enslave them.

Our sincere congratulations and good wishes are offered to the Board of Management and students of the Nadwat-ul-Ulema at Lucknow, for the way in which they have refused the Government grant.

As for the national schools, so many are daily coming into existence all over the country that it is difficult at present to furnish a complete list. There is a great future for education on national lines; and if non-co-operation does nothing more than remove the evils of the present system of education, it shall have

fully justified its inception.

Swadeshi goods have received a great impetus from the movement of non-co-operation. Everywhere larger and larger numbers of people are taking to wearing cloth manufactured in India. We do not have reliable data to give exact figures, but the opening of Swadeshi stores and emporia all over the country is a sure index to the increased use of Indian goods. Though handspun yarn and handlooms are still in their infancy, it is not too much to hope that there is a sure future for this branch of Indian industry.

The response of the lawyers, one feels constrained to admit, has been very poor. The number of those who have given up their practice is probably the largest in the Madras Presidency and the least in Bengal. Arbitration courts are in the process of formation in a number of big centres. Speaking for Delhi, although we have not yet fully organized our courts, the number of cases already disposed of is nearly one hundred.

There have been a fair number of renunciations of titles and honorary posts. Considering the class of people who generally hold them, this number is not discouraging.

## Criticisms of Non-co-operation

So far criticisms against non-co-operation have been made from three groups of people, viz., the Moderates, the European and Anglo-Indian papers, and Government officials...

Those who call the programme of non-co-operation destructive do not seem to have carefully read the programme. If they had, they would have seen that there is construction going on simultaneously with destruction: for instance, with the boycott of the Councils, there is simultaneously the education of the electors regarding their demand for full Swaraj; with the withdrawal of students from schools and colleges, there is the establishment of national colleges and schools. So far as the teaching institutions are concerned, the aim is to nationalize the existing institutions (vide the Nadwat-ul-Ulema College, Lucknow); and it is only when the authorities refuse to give up the Government grant-in-aid that the need of withdrawing students from them and opening new institutions is felt. Hence the responsibility of destroying existing institutions is not entirely on the shoulders of non-co-operators, but also of those who refuse to give up the

Government grant-in-aid—although in many cases, they admit the evils arising from the grants. Similarly in the case of lawyers, the suspension of their practice in Government courts will be followed by the formation of arbitration courts where a number of them may find work. Moreover, the critics forget that nonco-operation is not an end in itself, but simply a means to attain Swaraj, which surely is the most constructive of all constructive things.

It is forgotten by the critics that non-co-operation is non-violent, and the very fact of its eschewing violence of every kind shows that it is not based on hatred or enmity against any individual. Not only does it (non-co operation), include the preaching and practice of non-violence, but the non-co-operator is strictly enjoined to make it his personal concern to consider the life, honour and property of every man, English or Indian, sacred and inviolable. It is fully realized by non-co-operators that any violence would end in the utter failure of this method of achieving Swaraj. Whatever bitterness exists is the result of the Government's action regarding the Punjab and the Khilafat. It can fairly be claimed that non-co-operation has had the effect of lessening the bitterness and directing the thoughts and energies of the people towards elf-discipline, self-scrifice and organization. Sacrifice, not hatred, is the basis of non-co-operation.

It has been demonstrated, both during the Punjab disturbances and at other times, that if the masses have been controlled and diverted from violence and fury, it is by means of satyagraha and the non-co-operation movement. It is the fashion of the opponents of non-co-operation to describe every act of lawlessness as the result of non-co-operation. Facts prove just the contrary. Non-co-operation appeals to the finest instincts of the people, whether they are educated or ignorant. It preaches law and order, it preaches self-discipline and self-sacrifice, it preaches non-violence.

The very fact that the money (received by educational institutions) is called 'Government grant-in-aid' and is given and accepted as a bounty from the Government shows that, although the money comes from the taxpayer's pocket, it is given as a gift from the Government to the people. It becomes all the more degrading that money collected from the people is used by the Government for imposing irksome conditions and restrictions

on the people. Can it be truthfully said that this money is used as freely, and without any let or hindrance, as the money received as a contribution from people at large? Can these institutions, while receiving the Government grants-in-aid, stop meddlesome inspectors of schools from visiting these institutions and generally misdirecting their work? Can these institutions use textbooks of their own choosing, or invite any one to lecture to the boys on the economic slavery of India or any such subject? It is clear that by giving this pittance the Government controls the institutions fully and completely, though the money may be our own; and if anything is fatal to the free growth of our educational institutions, it is Government control, whose admitted aim is to denationalize Indians and make slaves and clerks of them.

Another criticism pre-supposes that the Councils confer some real benefit on the people. Past experience and the constitutions governing the new Councils prove otherwise. The Councils have no control over the army, the navy, foreign relations, the Civil Service, the Imperial Educational Service, the Indian Medical Service, finance, fiscal policy, and indeed on anything that really matters regarding the government of the country. The Governors and the Viceroy have still got unlimited powers of veto. What would be the use then of going to these Councils and wasting time in useless debates?

#### The Government Attitude

At first the attitude of the Government was that of ridicule. Every epithet that could show the movement in a bad light was used. Nothing could be more futile or ill-advised. It was said that the movement was bound to fail by reason of its intrinsic inanity. The nature of this visionary scheme was unpractical. It was the most foolish of all foolish schemes. But the ridicule did not kill this movement, and the Government had to assume a less contemptuous way of dealing with the situation. A solemn effort was made to rally the supporters of Government. The Moderates were asked to organize themselves to destroy this movement; otherwise it was threatened that repression would be started. In spite of the efforts of the faithful Moderates, this inane movement did not die; and as the efforts 'to laugh out'

the movement missed the mark, ridicule by Government and inane efforts of the Moderates soon changed to words and deeds full of gravity, and the mighty Government felt constrained to resort to coercion, the last weapon in its armoury. Repression, which was started by the prosecution of a number of people, has now given place to gagging large and important sections of the Indian people by the application of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act of 1911, part of the Criminal Law Amendment of 1908, to politically advanced areas. Nor is this all, for worse things still appear to be in store for this 'laughable' movement. After all, if it was only a contemptible fly, which it was supposed to be, where is the necessity of killing it with a sledge hammer used with the force of a giant?

#### Conclusion

So far I have dealt with facts familiar to all, and covered what is well-known ground. But may I, without intending to weary you, add a few more words? There appears to be a kind of deadlock between the bureaucracy and the people of this land, from the point of the view of the Government, and all because India has awakened, after age-long slumber, to a keen sense of self-respect, self-reliance and self-organization; because India is now determined not to submit to any 'secondary position' in matters which are primarily her and her children's concern. She has awakened to a strong sense of present thraldom and helotry—and also of her legitimate heritage of freedom. The bureaucrat is still thinking in the obsolete terms of governing with the mailed fist covered by the velvet glove, because he cannot reconcile himself to the perfectly valid claims of self-respecting India, and continues to dream sweet dreams of gaining vet another lease of autocratic life—for exploiting the rich resources of our country and the noble and self-effacing nature of our poor intimidated countrymen. The deadlock is inevitable, because while we have ceased to think in terms of slavery, the heartless bureaucratic machinery, incapable of imagination, continues to work as before we refused to be exploited; and the Government devises cunning plans to ensure us, to coax, cajole or coerce us into submission. But they forget that we are no longer inspired by any but the highest ideal of complete Swaraj, which leaves no room for any bargains for seats on legislative bodies or transferred subjects.

So long as we do not have plenary powers to control, guide and change the entire government of our country ... to suit the interests of the largest number of our countrymen, why must our friends continue to din into our ears the virtues of the 'advance' the new conditions mark? So long as they do not divest themselves of the mentality which cannot cease to talk of 'advances and concessions', there is no hope of the deadlock coming to an end. To us, however, who are determined to redeem our birthright at any cost, excepting violence, the state of affairs described as a deadlock marks the beginning of our selforganizing efforts. The Government have forfeited our confidence by violating their pledges, eulogizing tyrants, and supporting perpetrators of inhuman atrocities and other exhibitions of a sad want of morality. The feeling of distrust has permeated the masses not only of India, but of the whole East, as borne out by what the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Kamalist Turks, the Persian nationalists, the Chinese and last, but not the least, the Japanese have at different times, and independently of one another, said in non-official or semi-official organs of opinion. This also appears to be the opinion of even such a partisan as Sir Valentine Chirol.

To win the co-operation of India, there is nothing for our alien friends but first to disabuse their minds of (ideas of) domination, race-supremacy and kindred evils, secondly to do ample penance for past wrongs—such as the dismemberment and subjugation of the Khalifa's temporal and spiritual empire, and the massacre of Jallianwala—and lastly to recognize, in unmistakable terms and in actual practice, the sovereignty of the people of India.

As regards the suggestion about a conference of leaders of public opinion, it may be said that in the present state of high tension in the country no good purpose can be served by attempting any rapproachement before there has been a complete vindication of the people's honours and sovereignty. No one can say that the wanton blows that are being dealt at the self-organizing efforts of honest patriots can ever result in any pacification. There is no trace of any willingness ont he part of Government or certain important sections of anti-Indian Europeans

(the consideration of whose views seems to weigh so much with the bureaucrats) to descend from the clouds—there appears to be a good deal too much of the 'pride of power'.

#### RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SESSION

#### CONDOLENCE I (Maulana Mahmudul Hasan)

The All-India Muslim League deeply deplores the sad demise of the late Sheikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan Sahib of Deoband, whose sacrifices and selfless devotion in the cause of Islam and the country had endeared him to the community, and whose fearless and unequivocal exposition of the Shariat at the most critical period of the Muslim history, patient sufferings in the far off prison of Malta in the cause of religion, and simplicity and purity of life, have left a great legacy to Muslim India; and the League offers its heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family of the Maulana, and prays that God will give him rest in heaven. (From the Chair)

#### CONDOLENCE II (Mr. Mumtaz Husain)

The All-India Muslim League expresses its deep sorrow on the sudden demise of Mr. Mumtaz Husain, Bar-at-Law, of Lucknow, who had endeared himself to the Muslim community by his untiring zeal for the cause of the Khilafat and in whom the country has lost an able advocate, an honest patriot and a devoted worker; and the League expresses its sympathy with the bereaved family. (From the Chair)

#### NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION

- (a) The All-India Muslim League reaffirms the resolution passed at its Special Session in Calcutta regarding non-violent non-co-operation.
- (b) The League places on record its satisfaction at the progress the non-co-operation movement has made generally, and in particular, at the boycott of the Councils by the nationalists and at the refusal to exercise their right of voting by the vast majority of the electors of the various constituencies established

under the Reform Scheme; and in view of unmistakable attitude of the electors, the League calls upon those who have secured seats on the various Councils, in direct opposition to the will of the electors, to resign their seats; and in the case of those who fail to do so, the League advises the electors to have no political connection whatsoever with the so-called representatives.

- (c) The League also expresses its sense of appreciation for the purpose made to the call of duty by the youth of India; and while emphasizing the absolute necessity of the immediate severance of all connection with Government or Government-aided colleges and schools, calls upon the owners and trustees of all the educational institutions to forthwith give up Government aid and disaffiliate themselves from Government-recognized universities; and the League, at the same time, requests parents and guardians to withdraw their sons and wards from Government-aided or controlled institutions, without any further delay; and it also calls upon adult students to withdraw from such institutions.
- (d) The League further urges upon the lawyers and the litigants to immediately boycott Government courts and to establish, encourage and popularize arbitration courts.
- (e) Lastly the League exhorts the people of India to encourage Indian industries by the exclusive use of Swadeshi goods and by establishing home industries.

(Proposed by Hakim Ajmal Khan, seconded by Tasadduq Ahmed Khan Sherwani, supported by Maulana Azad Subhani and Moulvi Shamsuddin Ahmed)

#### **COW SACRIFICE**

While reaffirming the resolution passed by the League at the Amritsar Session regarding the cow sacrifice, and exhorting the Musalmans of India to continue unabated their earnest efforts in that direction, the All-India Muslim League appeals to its Hindu brethren to refrain from securing legislative or other compulsory measures which it fears would only add to the difficulties of the situation.

#### AMENDMENTS TO RULES

That Rule 2 of the All-India Muslim League be amended so as to read as follows:

The objects of the All-India Muslim League shall be:

- (a) the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means;
- (b) to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans;
- (c) to promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India;
- (d) to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other countries.

(Proposed by Moulana Mohammad Ali, seconded by Mr. Mohammad Husain, supported by Mr. Khaliquzzaman, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Moulvi Majeed Bakhsh)

#### KHILAFAT DELEGATION IN EUROPE

The All-India Muslim League expresses its deep sense of appreciation at the work done by the Khilafat Delegation in Europe under the intrepid and able leadership of Moulana Mohammad Ali, than whom a more courageous, outspoken and withal moderate and correct interpreter of the Muslim obligations and Indian sentiments could not be found. (From the Chair)

#### ESHER COMMITTEE REPORT

Having regard to the fact that the Esher Committee Report has unmistakably expressed the capitalistic and imperialistic designs of the British statesmen by suggesting the utilization of Indian manhood for the aggressive policy of British conquests, the All-India Muslim League exhorts the people to save their soldiery from moral degradation by increasing their effort for the attainment of Swaraj at the earliest possible date. (Proposed by Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and seconded by Abdul Bari Mohammad Saqi)

#### **EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

The All-India Muslim League, while disapproving the action of the trustees of those educational institutions which have not given up Government aid and have not disaffiltiated themselves from the Government Universities, places on record its appreciation of the whole-hearted response to the call of duty made by the Nadvat-ul-Ulema at considerable financial sacrifice, setting a noble example for other institutions to follow. (From the Chair)

#### SEDITIOUS MEETINGS ACT

In view of the numerous prosecutions of national workers by the Government, the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to various places in the Punjab and Delhi, and the suppression of volunteer organizations, the All-India Muslim League feels confident that the determination of the people of India would continue undaunted to pursue the path marked out for the emancipation of their country. (Proposed by Mr. Mohammad Habib Shah and seconded by Agha Mohammad Safdar)

#### TECHNICAL EDUCATION

The All-India Muslim League advises the owners, trustees and managing boards of all Muslim educational institutions, religious or otherwise, to immediately start technical classes with a view to encouraging home industries, particularly weaving and spinning. (Proposed by Moulana Hasrat Mohani and seconded by Mr. Moazzam Ali)

#### **NEIGHBOURING STATES**

In view of the fact that the Indian National Congress, the All-India Muslim League, the Sikh League, the Khilafat Conference, and other public bodies have declared their determination to attain Swaraj, and in view of the fact that the alliance of neighbouring states with Great Britain is conceived, not as a plan for the protection of Indians, but for strengthening the British hold on India, and in view of the fact that Indians

have no quarrel with Afghanistan, and inasmuch as Great Britain has been able, mainly through her Empire in India, to disrupt the dominions of the Khilafat, the All-India Muslim League begs respectfully to advise His Majesty Ghazi Amir Aman Ullah Khan, the independent ruler of Afghanistan, to reject any advance on the part of the Government of India, for a treaty of alliance with Great Britain.

Further, in view of the further fact that this League is confident that neither the Afghan nation nor their Government has any designs on the independent existence of the people of India, this League hopes that both the nations will cultivate friendly relations between themselves and learn to rely upon each other's goodwill. (Proposed by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, seconded by Mr. Khaliquzzaman, and supported by Moulvi Nazir Ahmed Khojandi)

## NATIONAL MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

The All-India Muslim League heartily welcomes the establishment of the National Muslim University<sup>1</sup> at Aligarh, and congratulates Principal Mohammad Ali upon his intrepid leadership, and his students upon the invincible courage displayed in the performance of their duty in the face of great provocations and hardships; and the League calls upon the public to give the University their best moral and material support. (Proposed by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and seconded by Moulvi Abdul Kadir Siddiqi)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> Jamia Millia Islamia (later moved to Delhi).

<sup>2.</sup> Official Report of Resolutions. Anglo-Oriental Press, Lucknow, 1920.

# Chapter 7

# ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

#### FOURTEENTH SESSION

Ahmedabad, December 30, 1921

The Fourteenth Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Ahmedabad on December 30, 1921, under the presidency of Moulana Hasrat Mohani, in a specially erected pandal. The attendance was large. Mr. Abbas Tayabji, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, traced the history of the Muslim League, and concluded that after the great help of the Hindus on the Khilafat question, and after finding that the League and the Congress had the same object in view, he thought the League should cease to be a separate and distinct body.

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MAULANA HASRAT MOHANI

After the welcome address, Maulana Hasrat Mohani delivered his presidential Address in Urdu, of which the following is the English translation.

Gentlemen, while thanking you for electing me to preside over this session of the All-India Muslim League, I wish to say in all sincerity that the importance of this session of the League, in which the fate of Hindustan is to be decided, required the choice of a person abler than myself, such as Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. Kitchlew or Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, to preside over its deliberations; but, unfortunately, the Government has forcibly taken away the first two gentlemen from us. I expressed my inability to accept the responsibility. Consequently, as the proverb goes, "if thou dost not accept it willingly, it will be forced on thee", this great duty was placed on my

weak shoulders. I wish to discharge it to the best of my ability. Success is in the hand of God.

# The Aims of the League

The present condition of the League appears to be very weak indeed; but this does not in the least derogate from its real importance, for it was the All-India Muslim League which actually realized the first and the most essential condition of Indian independence. Hindu-Muslim unity; and now that it has been achieved, it is the duty of the League to maintain it also. Besides, it is on the platform of the League that all sections of political opinion amongst the Musalmans, extremists or moderates, have so far been, and in future, too, will probably be, brought together. Before going into the causes of the weakness of the League, it will be better to enumerate the aims and objects of the League. These are (1) the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means; (2) to protect and advance the political, religious and other rights and interests of the Indian Musalmans; (3) to promote friendship and union between the Musalmans and other communities of India: (4) to maintain and strengthen brotherly relations between the Musalmans of India and those of other countries.

The first of these is also known to be the creed of the Congress. Therefore, so long as the word Swaraj is not defined in consonance with Muslim desire, and the means for its attainment are not amplified, it is only natural that Muslim interests in the League should be meagre. The third object, Hindu-Muslim unity, is the common object both of the League and Congress. The fourth object, the unity of the Muslim world, which has been, along with other questions, connected with the Khilafat, has been specially taken up by the Khilafat Committee. There remains only the second object, that is the protection of the special interests of the Musalmans. As to this, so long as a much greater and more important object, that is, the attainment of Swarai still remains unachieved, people would rather direct their united efforts against the common enemy than look after their special interests. They will be attended to when the time comes for it. As if these causes were not sufficient in themselves to decrease the influence of the League, its rules and regulations

were, unfortunately, so framed that, while public opinion has developed at a rapid pace, most members of the League have not moved an inch from their first position. As a result, the League remains nothing more than an old calendar. It is very necessary to remove the causes of the weakness of the League and to remove them immediately; for in proportion as we approach nearer and nearer to the goal of *Swaraj*, the need of the League will be felt more and more, because questions of special Muslim rights will rise again with greater importance when India is free.

Our first duty, therefore, should be to reduce the fee for the membership of the League and thus increase its members, who will choose their League representatives every year. The members to the Council of the Provincial and the All-India Muslim Leagues should be chosen, as in the case of the Congress, every year.

# An Indian Republic or a United States of India

But the most pressing necessity of all is a change in the first object of the League to suit changed Muslim conditions. Everyone of us knows that the word Swaraj has been definitely left vague and undefined in the creed of Congress. The object of it has been that, if the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs are settled on the lines of our demands, that Swaraj within the British Empire will be considered sufficient; otherwise efforts will be directed towards the attainment of complete independence. But, gentlemen, from the Muslim point of view, it is not enough that we should stand for complete independence alone. It is necessary to decide upon the form that it should take; and in my opinion it can only be an Indian Republic or on the lines of a United States of India.

Besides this, the term 'peaceful', which defines and restricts the scope of the legitimate means for the attainment of Swaraj in the Congress creed, is opposed to the nature and religious aspirations of the Musalmans. Therefore, in the creed of the League, the words 'possible' and 'proper' should be substituted for the words 'legitimate' and 'peaceful'. I will explain the matter in detail. The Musalmans should understand clearly that they derive a two-fold advantage from the establishment of an

India Republic: firstly, the general benefit which they will undoubtedly share along with their Indian brethren as citizens of a common State; secondly, the special advantage which the Musalmans will derive from it is that, with every decline in the prestige and power of the British Empire, which to-day is the worst enemy of Muslim countries, the Muslim world will get breathing time and opportunity to improve its condition. Gentlemen, in spite of the present Hindu-Muslim unity, many serious misunderstandings and suspicions still exist between these two great communities of Hindustan, and it is of primary importance that we should grasp the true nature of these misunderstandings. The Hindus have a lurking suspicion that given an opportunity, the Musalmans will either invite their co-religionists from outside to invade India or would, at least, help them in case they invaded to plunder and devastate Hindustan. These misunderstandings are so deep-rooted and widespread that, so far as my knowledge goes, no Indian statesman has escaped them, except the late Lokamanya Tilak. On the other hand, the Musalmans suspect that on the achievement of selfgovernment, the Hindus will acquire greater political powers and will use their numerical superiority to crush the Musalmans. Gentleman, it is quite clear that these misunderstandings can only be overcome by a conciliatory discussion and mutual and intimate understanding; and it is an essential condition of this mutual understanding that the third party should not come between them.

# Hindus and Muslims

The generality of Musalmans, with few exceptions, are afraid of the numerical superiority of the Hindus, and are absolutely opposed to an ordinary reform scheme as a substitute for complete independence. The primary reason for this is that in a merely reformed, as contrasted with an independent government, they will be under a double suspicion: first, a subjection to the Government of India, which will be common to Hindus and Musalmans; secondly, a rejection by a Hindu majority, which they will have to face in every department of Government. On the other hand, if the danger of the English power is removed, the Musalmans will only have the Hindu majority to fear. For-

tunately this fear is such that it will be automatically removed with the establishment of the Indian Republic; for while the Musalmans, as a whole, are in a minority in India, yet nature has provided a compensation in the fact that the Musalmans are not in a minority in all provinces. In some provinces, such as Kashmir, the Punjab, Sind, Bengal and Assam, the Musalmans are more numerous than the Hindus. This Muslim majority will be an assurance that in the United States of India, the Hindu majority in Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces will not be allowed to overstep the limits of moderation against the Musalmans. Similarly, so long as a completely liberated India does not come into the hands of the Hindus and Musalmans themselves, the Hindus will always be suspicious that, in case of a foreign invasion, the Musalmans would aid their co-religionist invaders; but on the establishment of the Indian Republic, which will be shared in common by Musalmans and Hindus, there will be no possibility of such a suspicion, for no Musalman would desire that the power of even a Muslim foreigner should be established over his country.

# The Mopla Rebellion

Gentlemen, I have just stated it as a necessary condition of the Hindu-Muslim compromise that the third party, the English, should not be allowed to step in between us. Otherwise, all our affairs will fall into disorder. Its best example is before you in the shape of the Mopla incident. You are probably aware that Hindu India has an open and direct complaint against the Moplas, and an indirect complaint against all of us, that the Moplas are plundering and spoiling their innocent Hindu neighbours; but possibly you are not aware that the Moplas justify their action on the ground that, at such a critical juncture, when they are engaged in a war against the English, their neighbours not only do not help them or observe neutrality, but aid and assist the English in every possible way. They can, no doubt, contend that, while they are fighting a defensive war for the sake of their religion and have left their homes, property and belongings, and taken refuge in hills and jungles, it is unfair to characterize as plunder their commandeering of money, provisions and other necessaries for their troops from the English or their supporters. Both are right in their complaints; but so far as my investigation goes, the cause of this mutual recrimination can be traced to the interference of the third party. It happens thus: whenever any English detachment suddenly appears in a locality and kills or captures the Mopla inhabitants of the place, remour somehow spreads in the neighbourhood that the Hindu inhabitants of the place had invited the English army for their protection, with the result that after the departure of the English troops, the neighbouring Moplas do not hesitate to retaliate, and consider the money and other belongings of the Hindus as lawful spoils of war taken from those who have aided and abetted the enemy. Where no such events have occurred, the Moplas and Hindus even now live peacefully side by side; Moplas do not commit any excesses against the Hindus, while the Hindus do not hesitate in helping the Moplas to the best of their ability.

### A National Parliament

I have wandered far from my purpose. I meant to emphasize that, in the first clause dealing with the aims and objects of the League, the word Swaraj should be defined as complete independence in the cause of an Indian republic. Otherwise, there is a danger that in the presence of a third party, self-government within the British Empire, instead of being beneficial, might actually prove injurious. The second amendment necessary is that the methods for the attainment of Swaraj should be amplified. In the place of 'peaceful' and 'legitimate' means 'possible' and 'proper' should be permitted. Thus, on the one hand, the opportunity of joining the League will be given to those who do not honestly believe in non-co-operation as the sole path of salvation, recognizing the possibility of other methods and adopting them also. On the other hand, the amendment will remove the complaint of those who believe that non-co-operation cannot, under any circumstances, remain peaceful to the last, and who, while subscribing to the creed of the Congress, and to the first clause of the section dealing with the objects of the League, as a matter of policy and expediency, refuse to admit it as a faith for all times and circumstances—or to remain non-violent even in intention.

Gentlemen, there are only two possible means of replacing one government by another. One is the destruction of an existing government by the sword and the establishment of another in its place—a method which has been followed in the world thus far. The second alternative is to sever all connections with the present government, and to set up a better organized government parallel to it, and to improve and develop it till the old order is dissolved and the new takes its place. Friends, to achieve this object, we must immediately set up, on a separate and permanent foundation, our courts, schools, arts, industries, army, police—and a national parliament. Non-violent non-cooperation can only help to paralyse government, it cannot maintain it. The question now is, can such a parallel government be established only through non-violent non-co-operation-of course, provided the rival government does not interfere with its establishment—a condition which is obviously impossible. The rival government will certainly interfere. We might contend that we will proceed on with our work silently and quietly and in spite of governmental interference, as is being done at present. A stage will, however, be reached ultimately, when action on peaceful lines will become absolutely impossible; and then we shall be forced to admit that a parallel government can be started, but not continue to the last through peaceful means.

# Governmental Policy

Examples of Government repression are before your eyes. First, it attempted, through the Karachi trials, to prevent the Musalmans from openly proclaiming the articles of their faith. When the people, undaunted by this decision of the Government, preached throughout the length and breadth of India that it was unlawful to serve in the army, the Government slowly overlooked these activities, fearing that a mere repetition of the Karachi resolution might lead to disaffection in the Army. And in order to divert the attention of the people from these activities, it suddenly, but deliberately declared the enrolment of volunteers unlawful, so that it might get an opportunity of striking at the non-co-operators. Like moths that gather to sacrifice their lives around a lighted candle, the advocates of civil disobedience swarmed forward to break this declaration of Lord

Reading and cheerfully went to jail in their thousands. This is undoubtedly an example of self-sacrifice and self-effacement which will rightly move Mahatma Gandhi to ecstasy; but we detect another truth hidden in this demonstration of happiness and joy. It reveals to our eyes the last stages of both the repression of the Government and the patience of the people. The people are, no doubt, prepared gladly to bear and suffer the hardships of a few days of imprisonment; but on the declaration of martial law, the non-violent non-co-operation movement will prove totally insufficient and useless. Amongst the Musalmans, at least, there will hardly be found a man who will be prepared to sacrifice his life uselessly. A man can only have one of two feelings in his heart when faced by the barrel of a gun: either to seek refuge in flight or to take advantage of the law of self-preservation and despatch the adversary to hell. The third alternative of cheerfully yielding up one's life to the enemy, and considering it to be the one real success, will remain confined to Mahatma Gandhi and some of his adherents and fellow-thinkers. I, on my part, fear that in general the reply to martial law will be what is commonly called guerilla warfare ... The responsibility lies with the representatives of the Musalmans.

Consequently, as representatives of the Musalmans, the members of the All-India Muslim League should consider it their duty either to refrain from adopting non-co-operation as their creed, or to free it from the limitation of keeping it either violent or non-violent; for it is not in our power to keep non-co-operation peaceful or otherwise. So long as the Government confines itself to the use of chains and fetters, non-co-operation can remain as peaceful as it is to-day; but if things go further and the Government has recourse to gallows or machine guns, it will be impossible for the movement to remain non-violent.

# The Duty of Muslims

At this stage, some people would like to ask how it is that, while the Hindus are content to adopt non-violent non-co-operation as the means for attaining independence, the Musalmans are anxious to go a step further. The answer is that the liberation of Hindustan is as much a political duty of a Musalman as that of a Hindu. Owing to the question of the Khilafat, it has

become a Musalman's religious duty as well.

In this connection, I should like to say just one word. The glories of Ghazi Mustapha Kemal Pasha and the conclusion of the recent Franco-Turkish Treaty might create an idea in some people's minds that the evacuation of Smyrna by the Greeks is certain, and the restoration of Thrace to the Turks, if not certain, is within the bounds of possibility. Consequently, they might entertain the hope that the struggle in the Near East is coming to a close. I want to warn all such people that the claims of the Musalmans of India are founded more on religious than political principles. So long as the Jazirat-ul-Arab (including Palestine and Mesopotamia) are not absolutely freed from non-Muslim influence, and so long as the political and military power of the Khilafat is not fully restored, the Musalmans of India cannot suspend their activities and efforts.

### Muslim Demands

As regards the Khilafat, the Muslim demands are these: (1) that in pursuance of the promise of Mr. Llyod George, Thrace and Smyrna, along with the city of Symrna (Izmir), should remain under purely Turkish control, so that the political status of the Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen which is essential for the Khilafat, should suffer no diminution; (2) all non-Turkish control should be removed from Constantinople, the shores of Marmora and the Dardanelles, in order that the Khilafat at Constantinople may not be under non-Muslim control, which is essential for the Khilafat; (3) all naval and military restrictions imposed on the Khilafat should be removed, as otherwise, the Khalifa would have no power to enforce his orders: (4) the Jazirat-ul-Arab, including the Hedjaz, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, should be free from all non-Muslim influence, and not be under British mandate; as it was the death-bed injunction of the Prophet. It should be noted that in the fourth demand, we wish the English to give up their mandate over Mesopotamia and Palestine, and to remove their influence from the Hedjaz. As to the questions of whether the Arabs will acknowledge the Sherif of Mecca or the Sultan of Turkey as their Khalifa. or whether the Arab Government of Hediaz, Mesopotamia and Palestine will be independent or under the suzerainty of the

Khalifa, these will be decided by the Musalmans. We do not want non-Muslim advice and assistance.

# A Congress-League Compact

In my opinion, gentlemen, the most pressing necessity of Hindustan is the immediate conclusion of a definite compact between the Congress and the League. The Congress should not enter into any negotiations with the Government concerning Swaraj (1) until the minimum Muslim demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied: (2) on the other hand, the Muslims should definitely bind themselves to assurance that, even though their demands with regard to the Khilafat are satisfied, the Musalmans of India will stand to the last by the side of their Hindu brethern for the attainment and preservation of Indian independence. Such a compact is all the more necessary because there are signs that the enemies of Indian independence—and we have to confess with regret that a number of deceitful Indians are working with the foreigners—are concentrating all their efforts on wrecking Hindu-Muslim unity and creating distrust and misunderstanding between the two communities. On the one hand, the Musalmans are being enticed by false hopes with regard to the Khilafat question. On the other, some showy toys of political concession are being prepared as a gift for the Hindus, even before the stipulated period of 10 years. It is intended that in their simplicity, the Musalmans should consider the return of Smyrna, etc., as the satisfaction of their Khilafat demands, and slacken their efforts for the attainment of Swaraj; while the Hindus should be misled into taking a further instalment of reforms for Swaraj itself, or at least, its precursor, and begin to consider the Khilafat an irrevelant question. There can be only one solution for all these problems. Hindus and Musalmans. after mutual consultation, should have Indian independence declared by Mahatma Gandhi, so that in future the English may have no possibility of deceiving, nor India of being deceived. After the declaration of independence, the Congress and the League will have only one object left: that is the preservation of Swaraj. January 1, 1922, is the best date for the purpose, because we would thus have fulfilled the promise that we made to attain Swaraj within this year—and the people of India will achieve success in the eyes of God and man.

#### RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SESSION

# PROVINCIAL BRANCHES OF LEAGUE

This Session of the All-India Muslim League considers it necessary that the activities of the League should be extended by the formation of Provincial and District Leagues wherever they do not exist and by the infusion of more life and usefulness into them in those Provinces and districts were they do exist. (From the Chair)

## LOYALTY TO KHALIFA

This Session of the All-India Muslim League humbly tenders the assurance of its unshakable earnest faith to the Porte of the Khalifa, His Majesty Ghazi Sultan Mohammad Wahiduddin VI, the Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen and Khadim-ul-Harmain-ish-Shareefain and resolves that this loyal assurance be communicated to His Majesty the Khalifa. (From the Chair)

#### FELICITATIONS TO KEMAL PASHA

This Session of the All-India Muslim League heartily congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha upon the success which he has won in the Greco-Turkish war, in recognition of the magnificent service rendered by him to Islam, and prays that the Almighty God may grant him a long life and may continue to make his activities more and more fruitful in the interests of the Islamic world. (From the Chair)

# FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO ANGORA

This Session of the All-India Muslim League considers that having regard to the exigencies of the situation and to the urgent needs of the Angora Government, it is imperative that all possible financial assistance should be rendered to it by the Indian Musalmans, and that for this purpose, it is necessary that the latter should concentrate their attention for the time being on this object, and members of the League should everywhere cooperate with the Khilafat Committee organizations in making such collections. (From the Chair)

#### MOPLA UNREST

Having regard to the fact that no independent and impartial statements relating to the Mopla troubles have yet been published, that the Muslim public, not being prepared to accept the accuracy of the accounts issued from Government sources. look with horror and resentment upon the severe sentences, including sentences of death, passed upon the Moplas by the Military Courts, in spite of the fact that thousands of them were killed and wounded in the military operations directed against them, and that particular horror and dismay have been created by the railway train incident that resulted in the death of 70 Mopla prisoners by suffocation, among Muslim circles that regard the Government officers in Malabar responsible, for such barbarous conduct, with contempt, this Session of the All-India Muslim League appoints a committee of the following members, viz., M. Mushir Husain Kidwai (Barabanki), G.M. Bhurgri (Sindh), Hon, Sved Raza Ali (Allahabad), Abbas S. Tyabji (Gujrat), and Moulvi Syed Murtaza (Trichinopoly), with power to add to their number, for the purpose of making an enquiry into the causes and incidents of the Mopla troubles by investigations on the spot in Malabar. This Session of the League also expresses its regret at the misconduct of Moplas who may have caused any trouble to the Hindus without just cause. (Proposed by Khwaja Abdul Rahman Ghazi and seconded by Sardar Ali Saheb, Maulana Azad Subhani, S. Abbas Tyabii, Moulvi Syed Murtaza)

#### BABA GURDAT SINGH

This Session of the All-India Muslim League heartily congratulates Shreeman Baba Gurdat Singhji, the great organizer of the Sri Guru Nanak Steamer, who willingly surrendered himself, after seven years' fruitless search by the Government, as a sacrifice for the nation, and also congratulates the other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religious rights and liberty, and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji's arrest and on other occasions, in spite of great provocation by the police and the Military. (From the Chair)

#### SWADESHI GOODS

This Session of the All-India Muslim League calls upon all those Muslims who do not believe in full non-co-operation or in the principles of non-co-operation, but who still insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs and upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj, to popularize carding, handspinning and hand-weaving, and for that end to preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments. (From the Chair)

#### COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

Note: The following resolution was rejected in the Subjects Committee, but the President of the Session permitted its discussion on the condition that no votes were taken thereon and the resolution was taken as rejected, as it was rejected in the Subjects Committee:

Whereas the persistent course of action on the part of the British Government in the past has left no ground for the assurance that the Islamic world or the Jazirat-ul-Arab shall be preserved from non-Muslim political predominance, thereby making the safety of the Khilafat, as it should be according to religious requirements, precarious so long as British Imperialism lasts, and whereas the latter also renders the full development and prosperity of India impossible, it is therefore necessary to make an attempt to put an end to British Imperialism, and there is only one right method of doing so, viz., that the Indian Musalmans, should, in co-operation with other communities, seek complete independence for India; this is the view which the Musalmans take of the demand for Swaraj, and they sincerely hope and expect that other communities shall take the same view of it. (Proposed by Maulana Azad Subhani; seconded by Moulvi Fazlur Rahman; opposed by Syed Raza All)1

<sup>11.</sup> Official Text of the Resolutions, compiled by Syed Zahur Ahmad.
Printed at the Students Commercial House, Lucknow, 1922,

# Chapter 8

# ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

## FIFTEENTH SESSION

Lucknow, March 31-April 1, 1923

### FIRST SITTING

The Fifteenth Session of the All-India Muslim League commenced at Lucknow on March 31, 1923. The business of the day was restricted to speeches by Lt. Shaikh Shahid Hussain, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Mr. Bhurgri, the President of the League.

In the course of his address, Lt. Shaikh Shahid Hussain said: "The Khilafat question has been solved, not by futile appeals. nor by costly deputations, but by the trusty sword of the keepers of the Khilafat, the Turkish nation led by the glorious hero of Islam, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha<sup>1</sup>, thus saving Islam from accepting favours or being under obligations to Europe." In regard to the transference of the Khilafat, he said, "Professor Margoliuth, in a recent publication sarcastically remarks that, while during the war the Muslims were laying down the proposition that the temporal and the spiritual power must remain united according to the Shariat in the person of the Khalifa, and were accusing the Allies of attempting to destroy it, after the war the National Assembly of Angora (Ankara) adopts the policy of dividing the temporal and the spiritual power of the Sultan Khalifa. If the news is true, then the National Assembly of Angora has to justify its action according to the Shariat before the Muslim world. We are not in any way bound to accept any

Who after completing his defeat of Greek occupying forces in Anatolia by 1922, had secured an honourable peace at the Lausanne Conference in 1923, which abolished the unacceptable Treaty of Sevres and the Capitulations.

such measure contrary to our religious commandments. As far as I understand from the fatwa of Muslim jurists, the spiritual and temporal power of the Khalifa cannot be separated. There can be no second pope in Islam. At the same time, a Khalifa cannot be an autocrat. I am sure of one thing, that if out of sheer disgust at the action of the ex-Sultan, or owing to the necessities of diplomacy during the peace negotiations, they have been misled into this action, the defenders of the Khilafat will soon rectify the error, when it is pointed out to them by competent Muslim authorities. It is the duty of our Ulema to make this point clear that the Shariat laws cannot be tempered with. The Angora National Assembly will put itself right by restoring to the new Khalifa the rights conferred on him by the Shora. As I said, it is a domestic matter and its solution does not appear to me to be a difficult one."

# Hindu-Muslim Unity

Lt. Shahid next passed on to the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. In his opinion, there had been some progress in the direction of Hindu-Muslim unity for which credit was due to some selfless workers. He added, "The soreness created in elections to various public bodies has been removed to a great extent by separate communal representation. The far-seeing policy of the Muslim League which was so much suspected at the beginning has justified itself. In the apparent disunion, we see the goal to final unity. During the transition period, one ought not to be surprised if it is not all plain-sailing. This state of affairs is likely to continue till the country has advanced to a pitch where it will break these artificial bonds of its own accord. You, distinguished brethren, in your wisdom, will have to devote your attention to its solution. But brethren, if you agree with me, then till that happy time comes, the safest and the surest guarantee of the progress of the country lies in individual and communal advancement."

# PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. BHURGRI

The address of Mr. Bhurgri, the President of the All-India Muslim League, is a long speech in six sections, beginning with a

note of hope that a more or less workable Turkish peace treaty is in sight. The address is divided into two parts, one dealing with the Turkish and the Khilafat questions, and the other with the internal affairs of India.

At the outset, Mr. Bhurgri paid a tribute to the founders of the Khilafat Committee in India and their successors in office. for the splendid services they had rendered to the cause of Islam. Reviewing the British attitude towards Muslims in regard to the Greco-Turkish conflict, he said, "Though the Musalmans have known no peace of mind ever since the Tripolitan war, they have never seen darker days than during the ministry of the ex-Premier Lloyd George, who had been, as he himself admitted. largely responsible for the Greek occupation of Smyrna. He could never see or learn the wisdom and necessity of stopping the butchery and devastation systematically carried on by the Greeks in Anatolia. He spurned the Muslim appeals for better understanding with Turkey, and all he could think was that 'the Mediterranean is vital to Britain; we want the friendship of the Greek people, a people whose friendship is vital to us. They will multiply and wax strong. They are a people of vital intelligence, of energy, and they have shown they have courage.' In support of Mr. Venizelos' theory of a Greek majority in Thrace and Smyrna, he did not hesitate to employ his argument of these being 'Greek Mohammedans'. Musalmans by religion, but of Greek nationality who should be linked to Greece."

Mr. Bhurgri next mentioned how the sudden Turkish onslaught on Smyrna and Izmir gave rise to Mr. Lloyd George's memorable manifesto, whereby resentment against the Musalmans, in general, and the Turks, in particular, was sought to be created in Europe and the British Dominions. The manifesto, after alluding to the possibility of 'the entire loss of the whole results of the victory over Turkey in the late war' appealed for forces to guard the freedom of the Straits, and to prevent violent and hostile Turkish aggression.

# The Draft Treaty

Continuing, Mr. Bhurgri said: "We in India hoped that with the disappearance of Mr. Lloyd George, Britain would turn a new leaf in its foreign policy towards Turkey. But the proceed-

ings of the Lausanne Conference are not of a happy nature. It will only be to the good of England if she shows a friendly gesture to Turkey even at this eleventh hour. The draft treaty presented to the Turks is a sorry document. It still has most of the faults of the obnoxious Treaty of Sevres and the Turks cannot be expected to accept it. Though the question of boundaries has been more or less settled, the Capitulations. the Straits, the question of minorities, and the economic clauses are a stumbling block in the securing of real peace in the Near East. The Capitulations have been largely instrumental in arresting the progress and development of Turkey. Originally, they were concessions made by the free will and graciousness of the Turkish sovereigns. Now, however, they have assumed a dangerous shape. Though it is declared that the Capitulations are abolished in principle, yet what is substituted in their place in the draft treaty is no remedy for the miserable political and economic plight of Turkey. If in the Turkish demand for the complete abolition of the Capitulations, the attitude of Lord Curzon has been hostile, it is not less so even with regard to the question of the Straits."

# Question of the Straits

"Mr. Lloyd George was never tired of proclaiming British and world interests in the Straits of Dardanelles. And Lord Curzon, too, is proceeding with this question much in the same spirit. Let me at once say that no once would be against the permanent freedom of the Straits, but that is a very different thing from their strategical freedom. The dismantling of the fortifications (though already completed by the Allies) and the free movement of warships between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea would be a source of permanent danger to the Black Sea States, and we are not surprised at Russia's stout opposition to such a scheme. The economic freedom of the Straits, the Turks would gladly guarantee; and they have, in fact, throughout the entire past, scrupulously avoided restricting it even in times of national danger. To say that the Straits have an international character

The agreements by which foreign residents in Turkey were yet outside Turkish jurisdiction.

is really confusing the issue. If the proposition were carried to its logical conclusion, every waterway, big or small, has a more or less international character. After all, the English interest in the Straits of Dardanelles is of very small percentage compared to that of Rumania, Russia and other riparian Powers.

"If we pass on to the question of minorities, there are many questions awaiting a humanitarian solution; and one despairs of the prospect of permanent peace in the Near East. The salvation of these minorities lies not in floating them still further, nor in the creation of national home for them, nor in wringing out forced and unworkable guarantees for them—but in advising them to live peacefully with their neighbours. So long as they do believe that they have foreign protection, even when engaged in treason against their country—as they were during the last war—there would be no lasting peace in Turkey, and this question would always continue to crop up, as did the other questions before it, which were only settled by the successive diminution of Turkish possessions. If like us, they are to have separate and communal representation in their Government, Turkey, I am sure, would not grudge granting it."

Continuing, Mr. Bhurgri said that since the days when Lord Kitchener was sent out to Egypt to preserve the neutrality of Egypt in the Turko-Italian War, the foreign policy of England towards Muslim countries represented an unsympathetic, and on some well-known occasions a hostile, attitude. If Muslim countries were weak to-day. Britain, in spite of the recent expansion of her dominions, was decidedly weaker. "Her prestige and moral weight are shaken in the East as they were never shaken before. In the Middle East, where English statesmen counted their greatest gain, there is the greatest loss, and the entire Middle East will sooner or later be lost to them."

# British Activities in Mesopotamia

Referring to British activities in Mesopotamia Mr. Bhurgri quoted Colonels Repington and Lawrence, and said that the Arabs rebelled against the Turks during the War not because the Turkish Government was notably bad, but because they wanted independence. They did not risk their lives in battle to become British subjects or French citizens. Promises of inde-

pendence were made to the Arabs, though Mr. Churchill later on denied any promise of handing Mesopotamia back to the Arabs. "In regard to these problems in the Near East and Arabia", said Mr. Bhurgri, "the views of Turks, Arabs and Indians are wholly identical. All are only interested in securing the Arabs the right of self-determination and freedom from non-Muslim control. But will England consent to it? Speaking frankly, I do not yet see any sign of it. So we Musalmans must see these countries freed from the mandates which are crippling them, and must stand by these people in their struggle."

# League of Oriental Nations

Mr. Bhurgri went on to say, "Signs are not wanting of such a federation of States—a real League of Nations—coming into being: Kabul, Tehran, and Angora have entered into a solemn pact of brotherhood. The people of the so-called mandated territories will join it the moment they come into their own. And the day Japan and China make up their differences, they, too, would come into the movement and be leading nations in the struggle. Some people think the idea of a League of Oriental Nations to be a dream; but when I notice the aggression of Europe against Asia and Africa, the behaviour of the White races towards the Coloured peoples, and the colour prejudice in some of the Western countries. I clearly see the early realization of this dream. Asia for the Asians has already gained possession of the heart of this Continent, and so has Africa for the Africans; and silently—it may be slowly, the maker and unmaker of nations is working out His will. India's place is undoubtedly in that brotherhood; and I feel confident that it will one day, by reason of her size, population and resources, have a very honoured place in it."

In regard to the question of the Khalifa, Mr. Bhurgri said, "If the Angora Government ever comes to take a wrong step in religious matters, Musalmans themselves will not allow it to go unchallenged and uncontested... the election of the Khalifa is in accordance with the best traditions of Islam, and it was by election that Muslims have had the best of the Khalifas. In addition to his election, the present Khalifat-ul-Muslimeen enjoys his exalted office by the free consent of the Muslim world.

The deposition, and even the flight of ex-Sultan Wahiduddin, would have caused no comment, had it not been for the fact that, at the present moment, birds of the same feather have flocked in Hedjaz, and it has created an impression." Saying that apparently developments were afoot to 'transfer' the Khilafat to ex-Sherif Hussain at the time of the forthcoming Haj, Mr. Bhurgri added, "As the ex-Sherif and the ex-Khalifa are the proteges of England, I would be failing in my duty if I did not utter a solemn warning against any such foolish and unpaying proceedings."

## Indian Problems

The President next passed to problems currently confronting India. He said, "British rule in India has worked both for good and evil, and has had its due share of merits and demerits. In any case, it has come to stay, whether we regard it as a necessary evil or as a heavenly blessing. We cannot at present eradicate it without endangering our own existence—and let due notice be taken of this. But it is neither indelible nor eternal." Mr. Bhurgri laid the blame for this present tension of feeling in India at the door of short-sighted British statesmen in India and in England. Criticizing the policy of Government after the introduction of the reforms, he referred to the arrests of nonco-operators and "to the systematic persecution and torture of many of the political prisoners inside the jails, and to the inhuman treatment of them as common depraved felons, such as is unheard of in any other civilized country." He had a word of praise for the U.P. Government for granting amnesty to political prisoners. Mr. Bhurgri strongly condemned the appointment of the Services Commission; and next passed on to the Indianization of the Army and other Services. He said that India being a man power country, in contrast to money-powered England, the former could not afford to imitate the latter's most expensive military organization.

Dealing with the question of Indians abroad, he said "our countrymen in Kenya are threatened with violence, and it is high time that we should devise ways and means of properly safeguarding their interests, person and property from the depradations of the 'white man's burden'. The root cause of the

problem, however, lies, in my opinion, in the race-hatred of the white against the coloured, of Europe versus Asia.

Suggesting remedies for these evils, Mr. Bhurgri said, "there are three things which the Government of India can and must do without any loss of time to achieve the desired end. These are: (1) urging upon the appointment now, instead of after 10 vears, as originally stipulated, of the Statutory Commission to examine the working of the Reformed Constitution, especially with reference to the following: (a) relation between Simla and Whitehall, (b) the extent and direction in which the Constitution should be amended so as to make the Government of India responsible in a greater degree to the people, and what powers should be developed further on the Central Legislature, (c) the demand for full provincial autonomy; (2) taking immediate definite steps to grapple with the most vexing questions of the day by formulating, in consultation with representatives of the people, substantial and genuine schemes and stages (a) for the Indianization of the Army and equipment for Indians in India. (b) for the Indianization of Services, (c) for grant of complete fiscal autonomy. (d) for the abandonment of the present growing military burdens, (e) for safeguarding the interests and status of Indians abroad, (3) granting a general amnesty to many thousands of political prisoners who are now rotting in jails, either for their misguided zeal, or as innocent victims of repression and suppression."

Coming on to the question of the reformed Councils in the framework of a four-anna franchise Constitution, Mr. Bhurgri said, "I am convinced that the new Constitution affords a strong weapon in our hands, if only we could wield it by presenting a united front against the common menace of the wave of reactionalism which is now passing through Simla and Whitehall. Further, these Councils provide ample opportunities and sure means of fostering Hindu-Muslim unity by handling all intercommunal and even national legislation and problems with care, consideration, sympathy and frequent consultations between the leaders of various communities for which the Councils afford the best meeting ground. The reformed Councils also afford the best available means for carrying out schemes of mass education, and a system of propaganda among, and education of, the electorate on the burning topics of the day." In regard to com-

munal representation, he said that it was an unavoidable evil to be used as necessary and to the minimum extent.

In conclusion, Mr. Bhurgri made a fervent appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity and religious toleration.

# An Abrupt Adjournment

The Fifteenth Session of the Muslim League came to an abrupt and unexpected close on April 1, when it was adjourned sine die. The circumstances that led to this were as follows. In the night of March 31, there was a prolonged meeting of the Subjects Committee to consider Dr. Ansari's resolution, which urged the establishment of a national pact on certain lines to ensure unity and harmony among the various communities and sects in India. This resolution was accepted by the Subjects Committee. Mr. Jinnah's resolution recommending entry into Councils, and striving for the attainment of Dominion Status proved a stumbling block. Dr. Ansari and other leading nonco-operators vigorously opposed the motion. For five solid hours, the Subjects Committee wrestled with this issue. On Sunday, April 1, at midday, when votes were called for, and when many members of the Committee had left for lunch, Mr. Jinnah's motion was rejected by 12 to 9 votes. It was uncertain what would have been the fate of the motion in the open meeting of the League. The parties were evenly balanced. There was considerable excitement; and the meeting of the League was postponed from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. At 3 p.m. again it was decided to postpone the meeting, this time till 5 p.m. Proceedings did then commence at 5 p.m., and two resolutions were passed. The third resolution pressed by Mr. Raza Ali was under discussion, when Mr. Zahur Ahmed, a non-co-operating barrister of Allahabad, raised an objection on the ground of the quorum. pointing out that though the hall was full, there was not the requisite number of bona fide members of the League. The President upheld the objection, and adjourned the Session sine die.

#### RESOLUTION

The following is the resolution unanimously passed by the Subjects Committee of the Fifteenth Session:

#### UNITY AMONG VARIOUS COMMUNITIES

Whereas it is necessary that complete unity should be maintained among the various communities and sects inhabiting India, and whereas this unity and solidarity is essential for the attainment of our goal, and whereas complete unity and understanding are not possible without full faith and trust in the fairness and justice of the various communities in their relations with each other, this Session of the All-India Muslim League resolves that, in order to fulfil these objects, a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed hereby to collaborate with similar committees to be appointed by the Indian National Congress, the Khilafat Committee, the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, the Hindu Mahasabha, and other representative bodies of the various communities in order to prepare and bring about an Indian National Pact on the lines indicated hereinafter.

- (a) Safeguarding the right of different communities especially of the minorities, fixing up the proportion of representation of the various communities in all the Councils, municipal bodies, local boards, Panchayats, universities, and the services, the small minorities to get representation in excess of their population, these to be given from the Hindu and Muslim members.
- (b) Perfect freedom in religious observance of various sects inhabiting India. Complete respect for all religions and religious observances and susceptibilities of various sects by other sects. This freedom would include the right of preaching and spreading the various religions, provided no force, intimidation, coercion or any other unfair means are adopted.
- (c) Settlement of questions leading to differences and conflict, e.g., cow preservation, Dussehra, Mohurrum, Rathyatra processions, Sikh Diwans, music before mosques and shrines and the recognition of Hindustani (Urdu or Hindi) as the official language of India with Persian and Devnagari scripts; arbitration boards to be appointed in each province and each district to prevent communal friction and to arbitrate in case of disputes.

It is further resolved that the people of India should participate in the formation of a Federation of Eastern countries with the object of mutual help, in the matter of trade and commerce, to free themselves from the economic exploitation and domination by Europe, and with a view to enlarge and support Oriental Culture and generally to maintain good and friendly relations between the various nationalities all over the East.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1.</sup> The Indian Annual Register, 1923, Vol. I, Section 2, pp. 929-936.

# Chapter 9

# ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

FIFTEENTH SESSION (Continued)

Lahore, May 24-25, 1924

## FIRST SITTING

The adjourned Fifteenth Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at 8:30 a.m. on May 24 at the Globe Theatre in Lahore. Mr. Jinnah presided. The hall was packed with members, delegates and visitors. A large number of Khilafatists and Congressmen were present, including Maulana Mohammad Ali, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Mr. Asaf Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, Raisahib Hans Raj, Mr. Shuaib Qureshi, Mr. Moazzam Ali, Mr. Mushir Hussain Kidwai, Dr. Satyapal, Lala Goverdhan Das, Mr. Zahur Ahmad, Moulvi Abdul Qadir, Mian Fazle Husain, Dr. Mirza Yakub Beg, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Moulvi Syed Mubaza, Mr. Abdul Qasim, and Lala Duni Chand.

After a recitation from the Holy Quran, Agha Mohammed Safdar, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his welcome address in Urdu. In the course of this, he referred to the strained Hindu-Muslim relations in the Punjab, and regretted that fighting was nowhere so severe as in this unfortunate Province, which had become a regular theatre of war, and that the incidents had surprised the other provinces. The Muslims demanded the right to sit in the Councils, committees, district boards and universities, and to share seats in proportion to their population, which the Hindus resented. Mr. Safdar urged tolerance and requested that all places of worship should be respected and protected. All religious differences could be wiped away, if the Hindus and Muslims once realized that no religion allowed indiscriminate destruction of man, and that all religions preached self-control and toleration.

Referring to the Khilafat, he said that it was a mistake to give the title to Sultans of the Hedjaz, Egypt, or Morocco, or the Amir of Afghanistan, without due consideration. There was a moral force attached to the word 'Khilafat', which a powerful antagonistic hand could use to determine Muslim interest. It was essential that the Khilafat should not be vested in a powerless Islamic kingdom, lest a foreign power use it for its own ends.

Concluding, Mr. Safdar said the Muslims and Hindus were joint owners of this part of the world, and must live as good neighbours. Friendship amongst themselves and peace with others should be their golden principle. The Muslim League and the Khilafat Committee should be amalgamated. In matters relating to the Khilafat and Muslims living in other countries, it would be the duty of the Khilafat; and a matter of communal rights should form part of the League programme.

# PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MR. M.A. JINNAH

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the President, then delivered his address. In his opening remarks, Mr. Jinnah said, "Since 1920, owing to the most extraordinary and exceptional events which occurred one after the other, starting with the passing of the Rowlatt Bill, the tragedy of the Punjab and the horrors of Amritsar, the Treaty of Sevres and the Khilafat agitation, the policy and the programme of non-co-operation enunciated and formulated by Mahatma Gandhi was the order of the day. The League was not able and not willing to keep abreast with the movement started and first approved of at the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress, and confirmed by the Nagpur Session of December, 1920; and had perforce, in view of a very powerful volume of public opinion that rallied round Mr. Gandhi's policy and programme, to go into the background.

"Since the commencement of 1923, it was realized and admitted that the triple boycott was a failure, and that the mass Civil Disobedience could not be undertaken successfully in the near future. Bardoli, even, was declared, by Mr. Gandhi, as not ready for mass Civil Disobedience; and even prior to his prosecution and conviction, Mr. Gandhi had to resort to what is known as the Bardoli or Constructive Programme. Long before

that, the triple boycott of law courts, schools and colleges, and Councils, had failed. The lawyers, barring few exceptions, did not pay much heed to Mr. Gandhi's call, and the students, after a first rush of an impulsive character, realized that it was a mistake. Gaya witnessed a struggle in the Congress camp; and Mr. Das finally laid the foundations of what has subsequently become and is now known as the Swaraj Party, favouring Council entry. Boycott of Councils, as desired by Mahatma Gandhi, was far from being effective or useful. Council seats in the country were filled up; the Khilafat organization, which was carried on, could not claim any better position; and being the handmaid of the Indian National Congress, it pursued practically the same policy and programme—and it succeeded no more or better in giving effect to the programme which it had set up for itself.

"The Swaraj Party, eventually, at the Special Session of the Indian National Congress at Delhi in September, 1923, prevailed upon and obtained the verdict of the Indian National Congress to permit those who wished to enter the Legislature, to do so. Whatever may have been the resultant good or evil. I think you will agree with me that we must at this moment make use of the good, and forget and discard the evil. It is in this spirit that I wish that we should proceed with our future work. Many mistakes have been made, blunders have been committed, a great deal of harm has been done; but there has come out of it a great deal of good also. The result of the struggle of the last three years has this to our credit that there is an open movement for the achievement of Swaraj for India. There is a fearless and persistent demand that steps must be taken for the immediate establishment of dominion Responsible Government in India. The ordinary man in the street has found his political consciousness, and realized that self-respect and the honour of the country demand that the government of the country should not be in the hands of any one except the people of the country.

"But while that demand is a just one, and the sentiment only natural and requiring every encouragement, we must not forget that one essential requisite condition to achieve Swaraj is political unity between the Hindus and the Mohammedans; for the advent of foreign rule, and its continuance in India, is primarily due to the fact that the people of India, particularly the Hindus and Mohammedans, are not united and do not suffici-

ently trust each other. The domination by the bureaucracy will continue so long as the Hindus and Mohammedans do not come to a settlement. I am almost inclined to say that India will get Dominion Responsible Government the day the Hindus and Mohammedans are united. Swaraj is an almost interchangeable term with Hindu-Muslim unity. If we wish to be free people, let us unite; but if we wish to continue slaves of bureaucracy, let us fight amongst ourselves and gratify petty vanity over petty matters, Englishmen being our arbiters.

After the conclusion of Mr. Jinnah's address, the Subjects Committee was elected, and the meeting adjourned until the next day.<sup>1</sup>

### SECOND SITTING

The All-India Muslim League resumed its sitting at 8 a.m. on May 25 at the Globe Theatre. Mr. Jinnah Presided. The attendance was again large, and the hall was packed.

After a racitation from the Quran, the following resolution was put from the Chair, and was unanimously passed, the whole audience standing up to do so:

### RESOLUTIONS

CONDOLENCE (Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri)

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad and untimely death of the Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Bhurgri, and feels that in him the Musalmans of India have lost one of the greatest patriots, politicians and disinterested servants of the community, and desires that this expression of sorrow on behalf of the community may be conveyed to his family.

Sheikh Abdul Qadir, then moved and Sheikh Neyaz Mohammad seconded the following resolution:

 Noman, Mohammed Muslim India, Law General Press, Allahabad, 1942, pp. 219-221.

# CONSTITUTION FOR FREE INDIA

Whereas the speedy attainment of Swaraj is one of the declared objects of the All-India Muslim League, and whereas it is now generally felt that the conception of Swaraj should be translated into the realm of concrete politics and become a factor in the daily life of the Indian people, the All-India Muslim League hereby resolves that in any scheme of a constitution for India that may ultimately be agreed upon and accepted by the people, the following shall constitute its basic and fundamental principles:

- (a) The existing provinces of India shall all be united under a common government on a federal basis so that each province shall have full and complete provincial autonomy, the functions of the central government being confined to such matters only as are of general and common concern.
- (b) Any territorial redistribution that might at any time become necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority of population in the Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F. Province.
- (c) The basis of representation in the Legislature and in all other elected bodies shall be population, except that very small minorities may be given representation in excess of their numerical proportion in those cases in which they would remain entirely unrepresented in the absence of such exceptional treatment, subject however to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality.
- (d) Full religious liberty, i.e., liberty of belief, worship, observances, propaganda, association, and education shall be guaranteed to all communities.
- (e) The idea of joint electorates with a specified number of seats being unacceptable to Indian Muslims, on the ground of its being a fruitful source of discord and disunion and also of being wholly inadequate to achieve the object of effective representation of various communal groups, the representation of the latter shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of joint electorates.
- (f) No bill or resolution or any part thereof affecting any community, which question is to be determined by the members

of that community in the elected body concerned, shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if threefourths of the members of that community in that particular body oppose such bill or resolution or part thereof.

The resolution was first put to the meeting in parts, and the Preamble and Clauses (a), (d) and (f) were adopted without further discussion.

Maulana Mohammad Ali adversely criticized the language and import of Clause (b), but it was put to the vote and carried.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad moved an amendment to substitute the following for Clause (c) of the proposed resolution: "The mode of representation in the Legislature and in all other elected bodies shall guarantee adequate and effective representation to minorities in every province, subject, however, to the essential proviso that no majority shall be reduced to a minority or even to an equality."

The amendment was seconded by Mian Shahnewaz and supported by Moulvi Mohammad Yakub, Chaudhri Shahabuddin, Moulvi Abul Qasim and Mian Fazle Husain. It was opposed by Ghazi Abdul Rahman, Choudhri Khaliquzzaman and Maulana Mohammad Ali. On a division being taken, the amendment was carried by a majority of 126 to 83.

An amendment proposed by Mr. Asaf Ali and seconded by Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai and another proposed by Syed Habib Shah and seconded by Maulana Mohammad Ali to alter Clause (e) were both put to the vote and lost.

The whole resolution as amended by Dr. Ziauddin was then put to the vote and carried.

The sitting was thereafter adjourned to 3 p.m.

### THIRD SITTING

The following resolutions were taken up in the afternoon sitting and adopted without any opposition:

#### SCHEME OF REFORMS

In the opinion of the All-India Muslim League, the reforms granted by the Government of India Act 1919 are

#### CONCILIATORY BOARDS

Whereas inter-communal unity is extremely necessary for gaining Swaraj, and whereas conditions, political and religious, unfortunately exist in the country, on account of which a recrudescence of inter-communal differences takes place every now and then, and it is most desirable that means should be adopted to meet such cases, the League resolves that Conciliatory Boards, consisting of representatives of all communities, be constituted in different districts with a Central Board in the capital of each province, (1) to settle all matters likely to create communal differences, and (2) to deal with all cases of conflict, and investigate and enquire into acts of aggression on the part of any particular community. (From the Chair)

### SOCIAL UPLIFT OF MUSLIMS

The All-India Muslim League deplores the present scandalous state of disorganization existing among Muslims in all spheres of life, which not only prevents all healthy interchange of ideas and co-operation for the good of the Community, but also seriously handicaps the Muslims in shouldering their proper share of responsibility in the national struggle for progress and self-government; the League, therefore, urges the extreme desirability of concerted action every where with a view to secure internal solidarity among the Musalmans of India and resolves that a committee be formed to carry out a programme of political, social and economic development with particular reference to the following items:

- (1) to popularize the League and establish its Provincial, District, Tehsil, Pargana, and Village branches throughout India:
  - (2) to collect funds for the League;
- (3) to call upon and co-operate with the Muslim Educational Conference in India in establishing elementary schools in every village and utilising the village mosques and *imams* for this purpose wherever feasible;
- (4) to promote female education among the Musalmans and to establish schools for the purpose in villages and towns;
  - (5) to encourage adult education;

- (6) to organize the Muslim Boy Scouts movement:
- (7) to encourage the use of Khadder and Swadeshi goods;
- (8) to encourage and help the establishment of Muslim banks in the country. (From the Chair)

#### TOILING MASSES OF INDIA

With a view to better the economic and political conditions of the workers and peasants of India, the All-India Muslim League considers it most essential that the organization of the workers and peasants be taken in hand, and a movement be immediately started on the lines chalked out by the All-India Congress Committee in this connection, in order to achieve these objects; the League therefore resolves that a Committee of five members be appointed by the Council of the League to meet the Committee appointed by All-India Congress Committee for this purpose to draw up a practical programme for the organization of workers and peasants of India. (From the Chair)

#### WAKF ACT

This League urges all the Provincial Governments generally, and the U.P. Government particularly, to enforce the Wakf Act of 1923 in their respective provinces, and further resolves that Provincial Leagues be called upon to appoint Provincial Committees to look to the proper administration of the Wakfs in each province. (From the Chair)

### REPRESENTATION IN PUBLIC SERVICES

That a committee be appointed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League to consider the grievances of the Musalmans in the matter of their representation in the public services of the country, and to submit its report to the League before its annual session with suggestions as to the ways and means whereby the Muslims may be assured their proper and legitimate place in the administration of the country. (Proposed by Mr. Magbul Mahmud and seconded by Syed Mohsin Shah)

#### PLIGHT OF KASHMIRI PEOPLE

That the All-India Muslim League greatly deplores the continued unsympathetic and indifferent attitude of the Kashmir Darbar towards the political and educational needs and aspirations of the Musalmans of Kashmir State, and resolves that in view of the grave situation existing in Kashmir, a special subcommittee of the All-India Muslim League be formed to find out ways and means for uplifting the poor and down-trodden Musalman community of that State, and to bring home the Kashmir Darbar the paramount necessity of providing special facilities of educating the Musalmans of the State, and ameliorating their present helpless condition, and to give the Musalmans of Kashmir, who form 95 per cent of the population of the State, their rightful place in the public services and in the administration of the State. (Proposed by Pir Tajuddin and seconded by Mr. Mohammad Sadiq)

## RE-ELECTION OF OFFICE-BEARERS

That the President (Mr. M.A Jinnah), the Honorary Secretary (Syed Zahur Ahmad) and the Honorary Joint Secretaries (Choudhri Khaliquzzaman and Mr. Masudul Hasan), and other office bearers whose terms of office have expired, be reelected for a further term of three years. (Proposed by Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai and seconded by Shaikh Abdul Qadir)

The Session was closed after votes of thanks, with a concluding speech of the President, followed by a general prayer for the success of the League.<sup>1</sup>

Brief Minutes of the Adjourned 15th Session of the All-India Muslim League held at Lahore on the 24th and 25th May, 1924. Printed at the Students Commercial House, Lucknow.

# Chapter 10

# ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

## SIXTEENTH SESSION

Bombay, December 30-31, 1924

The Sixteenth Session of the All-India Muslim League opened in Bombay on December 30, 1924, at 11 a.m. in the big hall of the Globe Cinema Theatre.

The attendance of members was unusually large and representative of Muslim opinion of all shades. In addition to members of the League, the following were amongst the distinguished visitors present on the dais: Dr. Annie Besant, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. V.J. Patel, Mr. Joseph Baptiste, Mr. N.V. Gokhale, Mr. T.G. Goswami, Mr. H.S.L. Polak, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. P. Joseph, Mr. Justice Suleman, Major Nawab Mumtaz Yaruddoula Bahadur, Khan Bahadur Ghulam Hussain Hedayatullah, Mr. A.M.K. Dehlavi.

The proceedings commenced with a recitation from the Holy Quran, after which Mr. Sheriff Deoji Canji, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address of welcome.

The President of the Session, Syed Riza Ali, then directed the Secretary to read the messages of sympathy which had been received. When this had been done, Syed Riza Ali read his Presidential Address.

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SYED RIZA ALI

Fellow-members, ladies and gentlemen, let me tender you my most sincere thanks for the signal honour you have conferred upon me by asking me to preside over your deliberations. To be called upon to take this chair is an honour of which the occupant may always feel justly proud. The situation, which we have met to consider, however, is so overwhelmingly complicated that

as I stand before you today, it is not so much the proud position to which you have raised me, great as it is, as the heavy responsibility which it imposes upon me that occupies my mind. When I recall the conditions under which the leaders of our community decided to hold the historic 1915 Session of the League in Bombay, pass in review the rapid developments witnessed by the League at Delhi in 1918, and at Amritsar in 1919. and compare the situation as it was at Ahmedabad in 1921 with the disruptive forces that are at work on all sides to-day. I feel unworthy of the great honour I have received at your hands. The sky is dark with clouds and the waves are beating high; and believe me I use no mere conventional language when I say that, instead of having an indifferent seaman like myself to assist you in this storm, I wish your boat were piloted by a mariner of the knowledge and experience of His Highness the Aga Khan or the Right Honourable Syed Ameer Ali. Perilous as the voyage is, I venture to make a start relying on your sympathy and support. And if our hearts are stout and our resolve unshakable. God will give us strength enough to get to the shore in safety.

The short period that has elapsed since we met at Lahore last May, has witnessed many casualties in the ranks of distinguished Indians, Muslim and Hindu. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, the well-known Musalman philanthropist and baronet, is no more. He took an honourable share in many movements for the uplift of his community, and has left a most worthy example to be followed by his wealthy co-religionists. His indefatigable industry and remarkable business capacity were rewarded with huge wealth, of which he made more laudable use. In his prosperity, he never forgot his less fortunate countrymen, and his princely benefactions have earned his memory the deep gratitude of his community and country. He has died in the fulness of years and honours, leaving a noble heritage for his illustrious sons.

You will no longer see the cheerful face of Shaikh Shahid Husain of Oudh, a prominent Muslim Leaguer from the United Provinces and a senior member of the Local Council. Almost the last public service he performed was the long journey to Lahore to attend the meetings of the League. Another old supporter of the League, borne down on the flood of existence, was

Nawab Abdul Majid. He was ever ready to support a movement calculated to improve the condition of our community, Bi Amman was a unique figure in the arena of Indian politics. With piety and deep religious fervour, she combined a capacity for political work which was truly remarkable. The Khilafat movement brought her on the public platform, and those who have listened to her speeches and she was by no means unfamiliar to Bombay—cannot forget the earnestness of her words, which produced a deep impression on her audiences. She was a practical social reformer, whose example, along with that of Mrs. Hasrat Mohani, has relaxed the rigour of the purdah system prevailing in Northern India. We offer our sympathy to her distinguished sons, Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mohammad Ali, and other members of her family.

In Sir Asutosh Mukerji, the country has lost an eminent jurist, a most distinguished judge, and one of the foremost workers in the cause of higher education. The late Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu always exerted his influence for the extension of the field of self-government. The country and his own influence for the extension of the field of self-government. The country and his own province would have greatly profited by his steadying influence in the Bengal Government had he been spared to us. Dr. Subramania Iyer was one of the pioneers of the Congress movement and did valuable political work before he was appointed a judge of the Madras High Court. He was one of the ablest judges of his day and officiated as Chief Justice several times.

Beyond our own country we mourn the loss of one who, though not of India, loved her with the patriotic fervour of an Indian. The roll of illustrious Englishmen who devoted themselves to the uplift of our country—Elphinstone, Munro, Canning, Ripon, Minto, Morley and Hardinge—entitles the British nation to look back with pride on the record of the achievements of these just and broad-minded men. But to Edwin Samuel Montagu history will assign a unique position. He came into power at a most critical time in the history of his country, and in few weeks, was able to make the historic announcement of August 20, 1917. It is true that the British people were well disposed towards Indian aspiration about this time, but how far they would have been actually prepared to go is an unknown

factor. It is a matter of common knowledge now that had there been a less enthusiastic, less courageous and less skillful champion of our cause, the Government of India Act of 1919 would have been passed in that year; and, what is more, when enacted, it would have been much illiberal and unsatisfactory statute than it is. Nor were his services to our religion less valuable. His influence in the Cabinet was on the wane towards the last 18 months of his office; but we must gratefully acknowledge that never did he cease to press the Indian Muslim view-point on His Majesty's Government. In the end, this ostensibly cost him his office, though the true causes were vastly different. The fact is that his opponents never forgave him for his wholehearted, ardent and unremitting advocacy of the India cause. In their obituary comments, the press in England has called him 'a true friend of India'. While the description is accurate so far as it goes, it is by no means a full description. Let Englishmen remember that a true friend of India as Mr. Montagu undoubtedly was, he was a truer friend of his own country. It has to be confessed with a heavy heart that in India, owing to unforeseen causes, his services were not apprised at their true value while he was at Whitehall. Whether the country will perpetuate his memory, by raising statues in his honour, remains to be seen. But one thing, on your behalf as also mine, I can certainly say. Mr. Montagu's memory will be cherished in every patriotic Indian heart with undying gratitude and imperishable affection.

## The English Political Parties

The subjects with which you would expect me to deal in this address are big, difficult and controversial. The last three have seen three successive general elections in England. The Conservative Party has come into power with a huge majority, and there is every likelihood of its remaining in power for the next five years. As a result of the study of the British party system, there had arisen in our countrymen a tendency, which became distinctly noticeable by the early eighties to treat the Liberals as friendly and the Conservatives as hostile to Indian hopes and aspirations. The terms in which references were made to India by some distinguished Liberals were certainly

more pleasing to us. The fact, however, remains that, judged by the test of results, it is extremely difficult to dogmatize that India owes more to one party than to another. The Act of 1892, which contained the germ of the elective principle in a microscopic form, was given to us by a Conservative Government. True, we received the somewhat liberal measure of reforms in 1909 from a Liberal Ministry. But it was not so much the sensitive conscience of Gladstone's followers as the strong personality of 'honest John', to which the lion's share of the credit must go. Things were greatly changed by 1918, under the shadow of the Great War; and there was a general disposition in England to recognize the valuable services that were being rendered by our country in every theatre of the war. Here again it is to be noted that, in spite of the general goodwill prevalent towards us at that time, its practical manifestation would not have taken the form it actually did, but for the noble efforts of the late lamented Mr. Montagu. Further, the Government which introduced the Bill in 1919 was a coalition government, and it was only passed after an agreement had been arrived at amongst all the political parties, to enact it in the shape given to it by the Joint Select Committee of both Houses, on which sat the representations of all schools of political thought. The record of the Labour Government is too fresh in our minds to be recalled. We concede that the Labour party was in office, not in power; even so, we cannot forget that it did not feel disposed to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the question of a further advance. In the light of these events, covering a period of more than 30 years, is it right, is it prudent, is it politic for us to indentify ourselves with any one of the British parties, and thereby alienate the sympathies of the others? The attitude of those parties towards us may be a fact of which we should be ready to take note. But it would be a mistake to pin our faith to the traditions of any of them. In the past, we have suffered more from England's neglect of our country than perhaps from any other cause.

The India office was known to be such a parochial place that it had no attraction for an English politician of the first rank. For a longtime, our destinies used to be committed to the charge of indifferent politicians of the stamp of Lord George Hamilton and Mr. Brodric (now Lord Middleton)—with the

possible exception of Lord Salisbury. Mr. Morley was the first politician of the front rank who chose the India office for the scene of his labours. Under the Coalition Ministry, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, a distinguished conservative, administered the Indian affairs at Whitehall; and, brief though his tenure of office was, it was satisfactory in results. His championship of the Indian cause against Lancashire over the cotton excise duties, and his initiation of a scheme of political reforms shortly before his resignation, are gratefully remembered in India. There is only one conclusion to be drawn from these premises. While we cannot be indifferent to the rise and fall of the political parties in England, experience shows that the presence of mediocre politicians at the India office has proved infinitely more injurious to our interests than the pressure brought to bear upon any Government in Parliament by a number of members interested in frustrating India's onward march. We should therefore welcome Lord Birkenhead, one of the most brilliant men of the Conservative party, as the Secretary of State for India. In 1907, Morley described him as "a very clever Tory lawyer, rising hope of his party and not at all a bad fellow". To indulge in political prophecies is futile. But I venture to say that if, instead of trying to west anything from him by threats of civil disobedience, we settle down to constructive work, the future may not be as barren of results as it looks to-day.

# A Common Programme for Different Approaches to Swaraj

One cannot be too careful in surveying the events of the past 18 months. Momentous decisions have been taken by the Government and by important political parties of our country. Strife has raised its head to set community against community. The repetition of flamboyant platitudes from numerous platforms has made confusion worse confounded. What is wanted is an accurate description of the situation without any attempt to exaggerate or to minimize. The collapse of the non-co-operation movement has been followed by consequences which its promoters did not and could not foresee. Not only have communal disturbances brought to the surface the inner working of the minds of considerable sections of the population, but the leaders of public opinion, divided into a number of parties, have been

unable to secure unanimity for a common programme to be put before the country. According to some, India can only attain her political emancipation through the spinning wheel. Others believe that it will come by stopping the working of the machinerv set up by the Government of India Act. Then others take the view that the best method is to work or stop the machinery as it my suit us. Again, others are convinced that true wisdom lies in working it, such as it is to the best of our ability. In addition to these, there are minor political groups, too numerous to mention. All this reminds me of what a writer said about the Spanish character some years ago. He said that if seven Spaniards were to form a political association, it would soon split into three with one independent. It is to be recognized that we are passing through a period of transition, and some of our difficulties are inherent in the situation. No sane man can object to the existence of political parties with a definite, workable programme in these go-ahead times. But if they are to work in cooperation with one another, they must have something in common in their programme, and I ask; is their nothing on which all parties are agreed? Is there any party worth the name that has not set before itself the goal of Swarai or self-government? Hardly ever during the last 100 years was there a matter on which public opinion declared itself half so strongly or unanimously as it has on this question. To us it is the question of questions and the problem of problems. The differences, important though they at times may be, between race and race, creed and creed, class and class, are at once overshadowed by this overpowering manifestation of India's will. And yet the irony of fate is that so far we have been unable to separate the essential from the accidental, the changing from the immutable. The display of energy on our part in prodigious. Compared with its volume, however, the effect must continue to be disappointingly small, so long as we do not make up our mind to distinguish matters of principle from matters of procedure. For, except methods to be pursued, procedure to be followed, there is no vital difference between the no-changer and the Liberal, the obstructionist Swarajist and the Independent. After all, non-cooperation in its broadest and most-orthodox form, obstruction with its varying moods, and constitutional agitation with its somewhat cheerless prospects, are only a means to the end, and

not the end in itself. Our end is the attainment of Swarai. Prudence and experience point to the absolute necessity of the various political parties drawing up by common agreement, a national programme which can be worked by all. It need not be a very elaborate scheme. The fewer the points on which concerted action is to be taken, the greater will be the facility in working it out. But two conditions ought not be transgressed. In the first place, the programme should not ignore stern realities. Secondly, the methods to be employed should be practical. This would leave every party free to act as it likes with regard to the measures not included in the national programme. Objections, some of them of a weighty character, can be urged against this proposal. It may be said that in the absence of a fusion of parties, their meeting together for a particular purpose will deprive them of that enthusiasm, vigour, complete understanding and mutual confidence which are the life-blood of a political organization. I must regretfully confess that, in the absence of any willingness in the existing parties to modify their political creeds. I have no better solution to offer.

## Constitutional Progress

The circumstances under which the Government of India Act was passed in 1919 need not be recounted. There was a serious split in the political parties of the country over the Scheme of Reforms. The Bill, though improved by the Joint Select Committee, failed to give satisfaction. One party openly rejected it in toto. The other party, though fully alive to its imperfections. decided to give it a trial, reserving to itself the right to seek its revision at the earliest possible opportunity. In September 1921, the Legislative Assembly, a body which, in the words of Sir William Vincent, had 'done much to justify the demand,' gave expression to the views of those who had decided to co-operate with the Government, by demanding the transfer, from the beginning of 1924, of all subjects to the control of the ministers in the provinces, the introduction of responsibility in the Central Government with regard to all matters, except Army, Navy, Foreign and Political Departments, and in 1930 the grant of full Dominion self-government. A long and lively discussion followed, in which three members of the Executive

Council participated; and ultimately the resolution, amended as below, was passed with the consent of the Government members headed by Sir William Vincent: "That this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that he should convey to the Secretary of State for India the view of this Assembly that the progress made by India on the path of responsible government warrants a re-examination and revision of the constitution at an earlier date than 1929."

In fact, about that time, it was not seriously disputed in official circles that, given tranquility and a somewhat longer experience of the working of the constitution, its revision would be undertaken. The first speech addressed by Lord Reading to the Indian Legislature, after his assumption of his high office. pointed in the same direction. On September 3, 1921, His Excellency said: "I know that you are sitting here under a constitution which has never been presented otherwise than for the purposes of the transitional stage. There are resolutions that will come before you during the sittings of your Assembly urging your advance along the road of constitutional progress. I am carefully watching and studying the working of this new machinery, and I am satisfied that, in the short time in which it has already existed, you have not yet sufficiently tested its perfections, if you are ready to admit that it has any, also its imperfections, which no doubt you have already to some extent discovered. It is a human machine with human imperfections. I am prone to the caution of age and, therefore, will wait until I have had a little more opportunity of judging before I pronounce my conclusions." (The italics are mine)

By this time Lord Reading has had ample experience of the working of the Constitution. The evidence before the Reforms Enquiry Committee has aroused the greatest interest in its labours. It is unfortunate that the leader of the Swaraj party in the Assembly was unable to accept the Government's invitation to serve on the Committee. Its report has been submitted and is anxiously awaited by the public. The news that it is not unanimous, and that the Committee is almost evenly divided on vital issues in sufficiently dispiriting. But the ambiguous language used by Lord Reading in a recent speech, at the annual dinner of the European Association at Calcutta, has created general disappointment. His Excellency seems to have been considerably

impressed by the complications, and perplexities of the present situation. His complaint that many Indian politicians and leaders of thought have withheld that measure of co-operation which the authors of the Government of India Act expected to receive, cannot be easily refuted. But is it not a fact that the halting, hesitating provisions of the Act are themselves responsible to no small extent for this result? I am not one of those who think that the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme was unworthy of England to give or of India to receive. It marked a considerable advance upon the Minto-Morley reforms of 1909. In fact, the problem with which the Government of India and His Majesty's Government are faced to-day is nothing as compared with the momentous issue decided in 1919. For, whereas in that year the greatest and most important question of principle with regard to the goal of British policy in India was settled, the sole issue that arises at present is whether it is not expedient to enter upon the second stage of the journey.

With great respect to Lord Reading, I venture to point out that nobody has proposed the adoption of a new policy to His Maiesty's Government. The policy is there, clearly enunciated in the preamble to the Act. What is advocated is merely a quickening of the pace; and the strongest argument in support of it is that in the mids of the deplorable dissensions that have of late divided community from community, creed from creed and class from class, all the warring elements are agreed as to the supreme necessity of an onward move. A still more significant feature is that though the failure of the non-co-operation movement has in other respects, brought reaction in its train, it has not in any way affected the desire for political emancipation. If anything, it has made the desire more acute than it was ever before. The talk of the Congress constitution being interpreted in such a way as to include breaking away from the British Empire, is no more than a counsel of despair. Similarly, the increase of political crime in Bengal marks the mad despair of the rising youth with the present constitution. It is urged that those who believe in the cult of the bomb and the pistol have not declared that their goal is Swaraj. They are, it is alleged, opposed to all government. The best method of ascertaining their ideals would be for Lord Lytton, or some other high official, to have a frank talk on politics with some of the prominent men among those who have been lately deprived of their liberty. They may be quite innocent for aught we know; but if the Government feels justified in treating them as members of a gang organized for political crime, let it not refuse to acquaint itself with their political aspirations. In short, this is a most psychological moment for Lord Reading and Lord Birkenhead to act courageously. As Lord Minto observed on a historic occasion, the really strong man is he who is not afraid of being called week. And now that the Government has taken strong measures to suppress violent crime in Bengal, nobody can charge it with yielding to violence, if it shows a spirit of concession and conciliation.

In his Calcutta speech, Lord Reading remarked: "My experience in India has taught me that there is a wealth of real loyalty and trust in the British Government which animates vast numbers of the people of India". How strong India's faith in British justice is, was demonstrated not only in the European War, but in no less a degree in 1920-21, when, in spite of a tempting vision conjured up by non-co-operation, large sections of her population came forward to work the constitution, hand in hand, with the Government. At no time since the early days of British rule has India dishonoured a cheque drawn by England on India's goodwill, intelligent co-operation and ready help. Is it too much to hope that business-like England will not refuse to go into the accounts and pay the balance to India in this hour of her pressing and embarrassing need.

# The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance and Regulation III of 1918

The promulgation of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance has given rise to a fierce controversy. In the statement appended to the Ordinance, Lord Reading appealed for the support and co-operation of all those who were opposed to anarchy and violent crime. Whatever you may think of the measure itself, I have no doubt that you emphatically condemn any campaign for the destruction of home, life and property. Those engaged in it do not, unfortunately, realize the great disservice they are doing to the cause of Indian liberty. No government can afford to be indifferent to the spread of anarchical forces. If a Swarajist government were confronted with a similar

situation, its clearest duty would be to deal with the enemies of the public peace. It is my firm belief that manifestations of intellectual distemper are a great danger in the path of our future progress, and that insidious and corrupting influences are the real enemies of our motherland. The Government, in my judgement, are entitled to our support in all reasonable measures they take to meet the situation.

This brings me to an examination of the action recently taken by the Government of Bengal and the Governor-General. Regulation III of 1818 was made at a time when there was little peace or security in the land. Ambitious chieftains were carving up the remains of the Mughal Empire to provide principalities for themselves; adventurous spirits allied themselves with the rising British power and espoused the cause of its rivals by turns, and the resultant confusion was so threatening to the maintenance and consolidation of British rule that the semimilitary situation rendered the promulgation of the Ordinance inevitable. Where, it may pertinently be asked, is the justification for allowing their archaic regulation, thoroughly inconsistent with the spirit of the modern times, to remain on our statute-book? Its continuance becomes more unjustifiable in view of the provisions of Section 72 of the Government of India Act. which vests the Governor-General with ample power to deal with emergencies. The committee appointed to report on repressive laws in 1921 recommended its repeal. Though the Government were unable to agree, the recommendation has received very strong support from the public. Even if the Government cannot see their way to its total extinction, the advisability of its substitution by a piece of legislation, more consonant with the spirit of the constitution, to be passed with the concurrence of the Indian Legislature, should be undertaken at an early date. In Bengal, not only action was taken under the Ordinance, but the Government of the Province simultaneously proceeded to act under the Regulation. Be it noted that the chief executive officer of the Calcutta Corporation and the two Swarajist members of the Legislative Council were arrested under the Regulation. If the claim that the Ordinance does not substitute the will of the executive for the determination of important issues by trained judges is held to be valid, it follows that there was no evidence worth the name against the victims of the Regulation or the Bengal Government would not have hesitated to submit such evidence to scrutiny by the judges to be appointed under Section 19 of the Ordinance. As one who is sincerely anxious to be fair to the authorities, I must say that no case has been made out for the Bengal Government in connection with their action under the Regulation.

The case of the Ordinance stands on a somewhat different footing. It cannot be said here that the Government has been actuated by a desire to burke all judicial enquiry. The Ordinance sets up special tribunals, introduces a different set of procedure and curtails and, in some cases, takes away the right of His Majesty's subjects to the protection of the highest court of law in the land, the High Court. All these are encroachments on some of the most cherished and elementary rights of the subject. The greatest objection to the promulgation of extraordinary measures is that they afford an irresistible temptation to the executive to resort to summary methods and avoid going to the regular courts of law. Furthermore, the fact that, in the numerous searches made so suddenly and almost simultaneously in various districts in Bengal, no arms and ammunition are reported to have been discovered, lends weight to the objection of the critics. On the other hand, speaking for myself, I can say that it is extremely difficult to brush aside as unreliable all the evidence on which Lord Lytton felt himself justified in asking for the promulgation of, and Lord Reading, on carefully examining it, agreed to framing, the Ordinance. It is possible, though by no means probable, that Lord Lytton, who as the Under-Secretary of State for India, was known to be in sympathy with Indian aspirations, the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, who was a prominent member of the Liberal Party and the Labour Secretary of State, were all seized with panic. The fact, however, remains that Government, while pointing to the record of crimes, declared that they were unable to cope with the situation with the help of the ordinary law. It is unfortunate that, from the nature of the case, it is not possible for the Government to disclose the evidence and satisfy the public mind about the activities of each individual. While, therefore, I am unable to say that there was no justification for Lord Reading to exercise his extraordinary powers. I am convinced that the Ordinance goes too far. It gives the local government excessive

powers and does not sufficiently safeguard the rights of the individual affected. This is no place for entering upon an exhaustive discussion; but the qualifications of the commissioners and the judges, the authority by which they are to be appointed, the committing to custody in jail of a suspect against whom preventive action may be taken, and the option to the local government to accept or reject the report made by the judges on a careful scrutiny of a suspect's case, are, among others, some of its obviously objectionable features.

## Indians and the Army

Many are the steps India has to take before she gets to her appointed goal of Swaraj. In no direction, however, is her equipment less satisfactory than in the matter of defence. In a remarkable speech in the Legislative Assembly, Sir William Vincent said: "If I had been a non-official member of this Assembly, the one consideration that I would have constantly pressed upon the Government would have been the development of an Indian Army officered by Indians, because on that really rests very largely the future political progress of this country." For, in spite of the grant of King's Commissions to our countrymen on a very limited scale, what is our position in the Army? We are admitted into the other ranks of the cavalry, infantry, pioneers, sappers and miners. But the door to the tank corps and armoured car companies is still closed upon us. In the artillery, we are not admitted as gunners in the Royal Horse Artillery, field artillery or in the medium artillery. We are allowed admission as gunners only in the Pack Artillery, in the Frontier Garrison Artillery and in the Indian Coast Artillery. We are conspicuous by our absence as officers in the headquarters or in the staff of commands. We are not eligible to any King's Commissions in the ancillary services such as supply and transport, medical, veterinary, ordinance and clothing, remounts, military training and education. Our continued exclusion from the commissioned ranks of the artillery, air force, and other branches of the Fighting Services is a sad commentary on the spirit in which the Government of India Act, 1919, is being interpretted and enforced. The non-regular forces are made up of the Auxiliary Force and the Territorial Force. The former is

for the benefit of Europeans and Anglo-Indians, while the latter consists of Indians only. Here again, it is impossible to overlook the distinction that while the Auxiliary Force has most of the arms of the regular army, the Territorial Force has one arm only, namely the Infantry. The Auxiliary Force may aspire to having some of its members selected for King's Commissions; not so the members of the Territorial Force, who must remain content with Vicerov's Commissions. This description, brief as it is, will bring home to every patriotic Indian the sense of our helplessness. It is urged that process of making an efficient officer is long and laborious. While we fully appreciate the force of this criticism—though it may be parenthetically remarked that we are not responsible for our exclusion from the higher posts it is obvious that the present rate of progress will take several centuries before the Army is completely officered by Indians. A little more courage, and a little less of caution, on the Government's part is the only practicable solution of the problem.

# The Lee Commission Report

Not much need be said about the Lee Commission's Report. The circumstances under which the Commission came to be appointed are too fresh in your mind to be recapitulated. In consequence of the action taken by the Secretary of State, the Report has passed beyond the region of controversy and has become a fait accompli. It is unfortunate that, owing to the existing political tension, the many important issues arising out of its recommendations were not discussed on their merits. My personal view is that while it was, and will always be, our duty to remove the legitimate grievances of the Services, Imperial and Provincial, nothing should be done to impede the process of steady Indianization. It is also my considered view that the claim of our countrymen to receive emoluments on the same scale as are allowed in the case of Europeans is wholly untenable. (sic)

Before leaving the subject it seems advisable to make a few observations on the personnel of the Indian Civil Service. That Service has had a glorious past, and will, in the future, also have enormous powers for good and evil. As an Indian I rejoice that the element of my countrymen in it is steadily on the

increase. But I feel that if the Service is to keep up its efficiency, it is absolutely necessary that it should not consist only of those classes that have acquired an aptitude for passing examinations. The time at my disposal will not allow me to enter upon the larger question of how far competitive examinations are an unmixed blessing. There is a sharp difference of views on the subject among competent authorities. Twelve years ago, writing about the success of the men trained at Haileybury, Sir Mortimer Durang said: "It was a shortlived institution, lasting only from 1809 to 1857, but it produced some great administrators, and to this day there is some doubt whether the civilians afterwards chosen by open competition have proved equal to the Haileybury men."

Sir Alfred Lyall, who had considerable experience of both systems, expressed his opinion thus: "My great objection to the competition of civilians is that they are too like clever office men at home, very good at writing precis, and accurate in their legal functions, but without sympathy for the people whom they govern, and only liking the respectable educated native." In his book, The Indian Policy, Chesney, a close observer of the administrative system in India, says, "As to the success of this measure (the competitive system), it has beyond doubt fallen short of the expectations formed of it by the first supporters of the principle of competition—so far that it has entirely failed to attract to the Indian Service all the rising talent of the country." One thing, however, is clear enough. Independently of the considerations urged by the Muslim community in support of its claim, which must strike all impartial observers as just and strong, it is neither in the public interest, nor conducive to efficiency, that the huge administrative machinery of the Government should be run by a particular class. It is significant that no Musalman has yet been appointed to the Indian Civil Service as a result of the supplementary examination held in India. At the same time, the number of successful Muslim candidates in England is so small as to be almost negligible. It is high time to take steps to do justice to the Musalmans. They may not be adepts in the art of passing examinations, but it is agreed, on all hands, that they make excellent administrators. I would call attention to the manner in which the Government of the United Provinces has solved the problem.

Every year it fills a certain number of posts in the executive branch of its Provincial Service by holding a competitive examination. There is only one examination, but the successful candidates are placed in two lists, one Muslim and the other non-Muslim. As many men from each list are selected in order of merit as there may be vacancies available for the community concerned, provided that no candidate is chosen unless he has secured a minimum number of marks. The system, though by no means perfect, is yet the best that can be devised, looking to the peculiar condition obtaining in India. I earnestly appeal to the authorities in England, the Government of India, and various provincial governments, to examine and adopt it for making appointments to the Services under them.

## Military Expenditure

There are so many other matters that require a careful consideration. The alarming growth of military expenditure is closely bound up with the question of defence. Public opinion is fully alive to the importance of keeping our forces in a state of high efficiency. He is no lover of his country who will risk foreign aggression by unduly cutting down the expenditure (on the forces) or reducing their number. But it would be equally wrong not to cut our coat according to our cloth. As the military budget is not put to the vote of the Assembly, it is all the more necessary to keep a watchful eye upon it.

# Industrial Development

In the past our industrial development had been sorely neglected. A change, a very welcome change indeed, has been of late discernible in the policy of the Government. The country also welcomes the attitude adopted by the Swarajist party in the Legislative Assembly, and their co-operation with the Government, in passing the Steel Industry Protection Bill last June. Vastly more, however, remains to be done. The coal industry has fallen on evil days, and is unable to meet foreign competition in our own market. The paper industry has a sad tale to tell. The needs of the Indian merchant shipping are crying. Our currency and exchange problems are awaiting solution.

There is work, yes ample work, for all who have an inclination to do it. Let us not forget that Swaraj will not come to us in a day. It cannot be that we will wake up one fine morning to find it knocking at our doors. If India is to attain Swarai in the near future, her vast population, regardless of creed and caste, must set to work at once. Time and tide wait for nobody. Is it reasonable to expect that there will be a change in the laws of nature for our sake? Let us dispassionately consider the advice recently given to us by that true friend of our country. Colonel Wedgwood. He pathetically remarks: "If Labour has done nothing for India during the past year, neither has India helped her own case." This is the advice given to us by a man who is suspected of harbouring such revolutionary intentions with respect to the future progress of our country that he was considered too dangerous to be entrusted with the office of Secretary of State in the late Labour Government.

## Indians Abroad

Another cause of constant irritation and humiliation to India is the denial of equal rights of citizenship to our countrymen overseas. Lord Reading is to be congratulated upon his selection of Sir Tai Bahadur Sapru to represent India at the Imperial Conference last year. In spite of his best endeavours. we are not even able to claim that the game has ended in a draw. But there is no reason to be down-hearted; let us continue the struggle unswervingly, and hope that good pluck will, in the end, be accompanied by good luck. In this connection we must realize that the cessation of the Congress activities in England has done incalculable harm to the cause of Indian progress. Till a few years back, the Congress movement was not only represented there by a strong committee, but the British public used to be enlightened on Indian affairs through an ably conducted journal. At present, judgment goes against us by default on many an important question. It is to be sincerely hoped that the chief Indian political organizations will unite in reviving the defunct British Congress Committee, or setting up an organization on the old lines in its place. The adoption of new methods of agitation in India is not sufficient to impress the British public. That object can only be achieved by carrying on a propaganda on modern lines in England.

## Special Concerns of the Muslim Community

Now I come to topics of special interest to the Muslim community. The outstanding event of the year in the Muslim world has been the expulsion of King Husain from Mecca. He has left unwept, unhonoured and unsung. His treachery to his Sovereign in 1916, his misrule during the last six years, his overpowering love of gold, and his callousness towards the pilgrims, to whose miseries and sufferings he was supremely indifferent, had prepared for him the fate he has met at the hands of Ibne Saud. We are grateful that His Majesty's Government refused to be drawn into this domestic struggle, and did not depart from the path of neutrality.

The execution of Moulvi Niamatullah Khan at Kabul raises a question of more than temporary interest to our fellowreligionists. With the political activities, if any, of this gentleman we are not concerned. Had he been tried for and found guilty of a political offence against the State, it would have been a matter exclusively between him and the Afghan Government. But the judgment, the full text of which was published in the press, shows that on some matters of belief, his opinions were held to be inconsistent with the generally prevalent beliefs of the orthodox Muslim faith. And it is this aspect of the question which cannot be viewed with unconcern by Indian Musalmans. Without going into the merits of a delicate ecclesiastical controversy, for which I do not feel myself competent, I must say that no Muslim state is justified in countenancing a movement for taking the lives of its subjects, natural born or domiciled, in order to save their souls. If once the idea gets abroad that Muslims Governments are not prepared to allow full religious liberty to their subjects, it will weaken the world position of Islam as a great moral force.

Of late, developments of considerable importance have taken place in some Muslim countries. If I refrain from noticing them here, it is, of course, due to no lack of sympathy with our coreligionists abroad. We know our duty to our brethren in faith, be they Turkish, Afghan, Persian, Egyptian, Moroccan or of other nationalities, and have never been lukewarm, consistently with our position, in discharging it. But there is a higher duty that we owe to ourselves and to our country. The questions

that occupied our minds during the last 10 years were of an exceptional nature, inasmuch as they directly affected some of the most highly cherished tenets of our faith. But now that the Turkish problem has been solved to our satisfaction, and the Khilafat question has been recognized as a domestic affair to be settled by the Muslim world, I strongly feel that we would be less than just to ourselves if, instead of devoting our time and energy to internal problems of our motherland, we still allowed ourselves to be distracted by what was going on in distant lands. Extra-territorial patriotism is a most noble and inspiring sentiment if kept within reasonable bounds. But the moment it interferes with the discharge of our duties or the exercise of our rights as Indian Musalmans, it becomes a fruitless pursuit, a profitless devotion to a chimera.

# The League's Temporary Inactivity

Complaints, frequent complaints, have been made against the inactivity of the League. Some critics have gone to the length of saying that to all practical intents and purposes it is dead. The criticism shows a lack of appreciation of the magnitude of the Khilafat and Turkish problems which till recently had thrown all other activities into the background. It was the Khilafat Committee that was looking after these problems, and the League obviously could not tackle internal questions without coming into conflict with that body. Whatever mistakes our fellow-religionists may have made, it must be said to their credit that they concentrated all their energy and efforts on a satisfactory settlement of the post-war question in western Asia, which was inextricably blended with the dictates of our religion. With these considerations staring us in the face, can any Musalman justly blame the League for its past attitude? By launching on a policy of masterly inactivity for a time, it has served the best interests of our community and our holy religion.

Moreover, since the days of the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the community has stoutly set its face against allowing itself to be grouped into rival parties. As a minority, we have enough of our troubles. With a split in the camp we shall no longer be able to present a united front on matters affecting the vital interests of our community. Hitherto, we have been able to

prevent a split in the League. Not that all the Musalmans think exactly alike on all political questions. But its elastic constitution has served to keep the process of secession in check. Whether, in this position, the gain outweighs the loss or the loss outweighs the gain, it is for you to consider. But to a careful observer, the loss is more apparent in action, in results, in constructive work; while the gain is shown more clearly in our escape from disintegration and division. To avoid future friction, I would suggest a division of labour. I believe that if the Khilafat Committee looks after our religious interests and the League confines itself to internal questions, both bodies will find ample scope for the display of their energies.

## Congress-League Relations

From the very start the League has had to face misrepresentations from one quarter to another. You will perhaps remember that when its establishment was decided upon at Dacca, in the last week of December 1909, under the guidance of such farsighted leaders of the Muslim community as the silver-tongued Mohsin-ul-Mulk and the strong-willed Vigar-ul-Mulk, assisted by Nawab Salimullah Bahadur of Dacca-none of whom. alas, is in the land of the living to-day—, the London Times jubilantly pointed out that the coming into being of a strong Muslim political organization would not make for peace in India. Fortunately the League has belied this prophecy. The second stage of misrepresentation arrived in 1915, when a section of our own community thought that in holding the session for the first time in its life at Bombay side by side with the Congress session our object was to play second fiddle to the Congress. Fellow-members, we have outlived this criticism as well. And now towards the end of 1924, we are entering upon the third stage. A cry has been raised that in holding the League session at Bombay we are trying to separate the Musalmans from the Hindu. Let me assure our critics on your behalf that the latest accusation is as much without foundation as the two that had preceded it. The record of the public work of those who are responsible for holding the League session at Bombay-and amongst them I would especially mention my friend Mr. M.A. Jinnah, a consistently selfless worker in the cause of India's

emancipation—is a complete answer to the charge. We have our duties to the community as well as to the country. The change in circumstances since 1915, when the Congress stood undivided. in an important factor to which I would call our critics attention. We are willing and ready to give the Congress that measure of co-operation and support which is responsibly possible under the altered conditions. And this we have already done by arranging the dates in such a manner that those belonging to one body may be able to attend the meetings of the other. But those who believe that nearness in space alone can mean unity of aim and action certainly assume too much. If the two bodies are not agreed about their methods of work, they will be separate, be they ever so near to each other. While we shall do our utmost to help in bringing about an atmosphere in which all parties irrespective of caste and creed, may be able to join hands with the Congress to push on the cause of Indian liberty, we would be retarding political progress, not only of our own community, but of the country as a whole, if we allowed the League to be merged in the Congress. And here I cannot resist the temptation of placing before you a proposal which, if accepted, may altogether to away with the necessity of both bodies having their annual sessions in the same place. If the League, or its Council, every year elects about 10 or 12 of its members to formally represent the Muslim Community in the Congress, and if the rules of the latter body are so changed as to recognize their character as your accredited representatives. I believe a great many of the difficulties will be in a position to throw light, from the Muslim point of view, on such questions as may come up before the Congress. Whether it can usefully be adopted for some time to come, it is for you and the community to judge.

## Communal Disturbances

The events of the last six years are too well known to be mentioned here. The whole country has passed through a severe trial, but the ordeal undergone by our community was more exacting and provoking than that of the rest of the Indian population. Is there a Musalman in this assembly, or outside it, who did not feel the deepest mortification and humiliation at the terms of the Treaty of Severes, which practically annihilated

the independence of the foremost Muslim power in the world? I must gratefully acknowledge in your name that it was the sympathy and support of our non-Muslim fellow countrymen that greatly strengthened our hands throughout that struggle. The way for bringing both great communities together had already been paved by the unfortunate martial law regime in the Puniab, whose common hardships and indignities created a sort of comradeship between the Hindu and the Muslim. But there is hardly any unmixed blessing in this world. Out of this unstable fellowship was born the non-co-operation movement, the full effects of which we have yet to see. Its huge structure was not based on the solid foundation of a carefully considered plan. The blunders of the Imperial and Local Governments in the Punjab, and of His Majesty's Government in connection with the post-war settlement, coupled with disappointment at the nature of the reforms then under discussion, served as the foundation of this edifice. Because in a mood of deep resentment, both communities had persuaded themselves that would treat their differences as non-existent, it was taken for granted that those differences had been removed for good.

To curve the evil is good, but to prevent it is better. What are we to do now to restore harmony between the two great communities? Fellow-members, let me tell you that, serious as the situation is, it would be cowardice on our part to wring our hands in despair. Are we going to permit ourselves to be defeated from our cause? If we do, we will be false not only to ourselves, but to countless generations yet unborn. And what verdict will history pass on those who are never tried of preaching that Hindu-Muslim unity is a impossibility? I shudder to think of the verdict. Pray do not consider that I am minimizing the enormous obstacles and the prodigious impediments with which our path is beset. But will the descendants of the great Arabs, in whose path neither sea nor mountain was a barrier, and the followers of a religion which came into the world to cement distant countries with bonds of universal brotherhood, get terrified by the host of Hindu Muslim strife? No, and a most emphatic no. The days of the ill-fated Hijarat are over, let me hope never to return. India is as much our motherland as that of the descendants of the illustrious Brahmans of the Sacred Vedic age. If the flames of internal dissensions are not to envelop and consume both communities, they must find means to live in peace. I know that feelings are running high on both sides. Let us at once address ourselves to removing the tension. And in this connection, I cannot help saying a word about the mentality of a certain type of educated man. Fellow-members, it is so easy to put the blame on the ignorant masses. But can we honestly say that he (the educated man) is wholly free from guilt? The calculating politician does not, as a rule, strike the match. Perhaps he is hundreds of miles away when the explosion actually takes place. But are you quite sure that he does not help in the process of making the material more inflammable? He is the leader of the helpless masses in the sense that he knows, when it suits his purpose, how to put them on the wrong path.

No sane man can question the right of the followers of any creed to extend its sphere by all legitimate and proper means. But it is open to serious question whether the Shuddhi movement was not launched at a highly inopportune time, and whether the methods employed were not of a questionable character. Had it not been for the existing communal tension, I would certainly have considered it necessary to say more about it. As it is, I would draw the earnest attention of its authors to a re-examination of their position in the light of the recent occurrences; and would appeal to them not to hesitate in abandoning or relax their efforts, if they find that their past activities have operated to aggravate communal dissensions. The Sangathan movement suffers from bad fellowship. Had it not been a twin sister of the Shuddhi propaganda, there was much in it that would have appealed to patriotic Indians. Perhaps it is not yet too late to rescue it from the jaws of the Shuddhi movement. If the better mind of the country wishes to direct the energies of the members of the Sangathan into anything like useful channels, I agree with Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the illustrious leader of the Swaraj party, that its membership should not be confined to one community, but that both Hindus and Musalmans should be its members. In my judgment, however, it would be more advisable to drop it till communal relations are placed on a more solid and harmonious footing. The justification for the continuance of the Tanzim would automatically vanish with the disappearance of the Sangathan.

#### Mahatma Gandhi

Fellow-members, amidst the din of discord and dissension. there is one great unifying influence of which the country ought to take the fullest advantage. And that is the presence of Mahatma Gandhi, who, after an enforced absence of nearly two years, was restored to us in the beginning of this year. While I have been unable to see my way to agree with him on some questions of the highest importance, even though I have deemed it my duty to publicly oppose him on those points, every patriotic Indian will readily acknowledge that he has done more than any other Indian to waken in India's teeming millions that sense of nationalism which will. God willing, grow with the growth of years and will not rest contented till India comes into her own as an absolutely equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Time is not yet to appraise this great man's services at their true value. Take, for instance, the question of a common language. It was he who realized that a common language is a potent factor in bringing about nationalism. His choice has fallen on Hindustani or Urdu, and the best sense of the country endorses his choice. The same may be said of the importance he attaches to the removal of untouchability. I need not weary you with other instances of his farsightedness. But perhaps his greatest service to the country consists of the ceaseless, unflinching, whole-hearted and most sincere efforts he has made to promote Hindu-Muslim unity.

# The Kohat Question

It, therefore, I take the liberty of disagreeing with him on the Kohat question, I do so with the greatest regret. It is not my purpose to apportion blame, nor do I propose to discuss how the trouble started and what tremendous proportions it assumed. But as one who, as a member of the Frontier Enquiry Committee in 1922, came into direct contact with the people of the Province, and privations of the Hindu population whom Mr. Gandhi met at Rawalpindi, without having an opportunity of acquainting himself with the version of the Kohat Muslims, have influenced his mind so much that he is unable to form a correct estimate of the action of the authorities or the attitude

of the Musalmans. Believe me, nowhere in British India have I found a body of officials both European and Indian, more anxious to promote the welfare of the people committed to their charge.

Nor should I be unjust to the much abused Pathan, whose strong arm stands between the Hindu and the ferocious and fanatical trans-frontier tribesman. The status of hamsaya (neighbour) gives the Hindu important privileges, the full extent of which is known only to those acquainted with the rough conditions of life obtaining in the Frontier Province. The Hindus living in the zone especially liable to raids from the tribesmen are, as a rule, the hamsaya of some Khan (Pathan Chief); and according to the immemorial code of hour, the institution imposes on him duty of protecting the Hindu population at the sacrifice of his own life and the lives of his followers. The minority as well as the majority report of the Enquiry Committee bears eloquent testimony to the manner in which his duty is performed. And be it noted that if, on any rare occasion, any Khan displays lukewarmness in affording adequate protection to his hamsaya, the British official is never slow to put in force the provisions of the Frontier Crimes Regulation in the interest of the Hindu population. The civil authorities make use of the Regulation on such a large scale that loud were the complaints made by a number of the Khans and Pathans who appeared as witnesses before the Enquiry Committee against, what they said, was an unwarranted use of its provisions. I may further state that it was in the interest of the Hindus that the majority report of the Frontier Committee, signed by all the Musalman members, purposely abstained from recommending its repeal.

For Mr. Gandhi to advise the Hindus to refuse to return to Kohat till the Musalmans assure them that their lives and property will be safe is advice the soundness of which is open to serious question. It was not the Musalmans who expelled the Hindus from Kohat; the evacuation took place, according to the Government of India's Resolution dated December 9, 1924, "at the earnest entreaty of the Hindus themselves". Nor has their return been ever opposed by the Musalmans. The Pathans and their chiefs do not disavow the responsibilities cast upon them either by the code of honour or the Frontier Crimes Regulation. Even if they did, the arm of the law, in the shape of the

Regulation, is strong enough to deal with them. Under the circumstances, one fails to appreciate the reasonableness of the advice that the Hindus should not return till the Musalmans give them full assurances as to their lives and property. The bitterness caused by the disturbances will take time to die out at Kohat as elsewhere. I am sure that the authorities are sincerely anxious to do all they can to help the Hindus. A careful study of the Resolution and its annexures will convince every impartial observer that the Government of India and the local authorities have acted in a wise and sympathetic manner. After having examined the causes of the deplorable riots at Multan. Amritsar, Delhi, Kohat, Jubbulpur, Pilibhit, Lucknow, Shahiehanpur and Allahabad with an anxious care to be just to both parties, it is my view that it is no less the duty of our countrymen. Hindu and Muslim, than of the Government, effectively to keep in check the growing tendency in one community to provoke and the violent proclivity in the other community to retaliate.

## The Congress-League Compact of 1916

One hears so much and so often about the Congress-League compact of 1916 that you would perhaps like to know the views of one who, as one of the representatives of the All-India Muslim League, was closely associated with it from beginning to end. Fellow-members, let me assure you that your representatives, including myself, have no reason to be ashamed of their performance. Only those who have been in the thick of the battle fully realize the difference between the India of 1916 and the India of 1924. However dissatisfied our community to-day may be with some of its provisions, it must be acknowledged that the compact enacted a new era in the history of Indian constitutional advance. And if we desire it to be revised, we should remember that it always takes two to settle a dispute. The great objection urged against the compact is that it offends against all principles of justice and fairplay in that it does not secure its due to the majority community in the Punjab and Bengal. I am prepared to confess that, though a party to it, I must admit the force of your argument. If the other party had faithfully abided by its terms, I would have found myself in an unenviable position; and strong and just through the complaint of Punjab and Bengal is, I would have had considerable hesitation in pleading for a reconsideration of its terms. But it seems that our Hindu fellow-countrymen are no more enamoured of it than many of the Musalmans. In fact, the first hole was cut into it by the non-Muslim members of the United Provinces Legislative Council, who in 1922 reduced Muslim representation in the district boards to 25 per cent, instead of fixing it at 30 per cent as contemplated by the compact. Similar complaints have been made by Musalmans in other provinces.

The question of a revision cannot, therefore, be delayed long. With the experience of 1916 to guide us, it must be borne in mind that once you open a settled question, you are overwhelmed with requests, demands and ultimatums on all sides. Be that as it may, I think the desire of a majority to come into its own is worthy of serious consideration. If the Musalmans in Punjab, and possibly in Bengal, get what they want, will it be necessary to revise the proportions laid down for the Muslim minority in other provinces? I would be the last to put forward any proposals in the spirit of heads I win, tails you lose. A compromise is hardly worth the name, if thereby one party has every thing to gain, and the other party everything to lose. A dispassionate consideration will, however, show that by righting the wrong done to Punjab, and perhaps Bengal, Musalmans in 1916, and adhering to the pact in other respects, the Hindu majority in other provinces will not be prejudicially affected. Indeed, it will have no effect whatever on such a majority.

Considering the matter from an All-India view-point, it is up to the Musalmans to compensate the Hindus for the loss of a few seats that will be transferred from the latter to the former in Punjab, and may be in Bengal. That loss can be made good by making adequate provision for Hindu representation in such provinces as Baluchistan, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province. It is to be hoped that a Legislative Council will soon be established in the North-West Frontier Province. And may I here appeal to the Government to lose no time in granting this Province the reforms recommended by the North-West Frontier Enquiry Committee? There is, however, another direction in which the Musalmans may be able to meet the wishes of their Hindu compatriots. The well-known proviso in

the Pact of 1916 says: "No Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution." Very great value is naturally attached to this safeguard by the Muslim community. I have no right to assume that my community can be induced to accept a modification of this most valuable right.

In these democratic days, constitutional safeguards afford the greatest protection to minorities. So great is the need of such safeguards that the Allied and Associated Powers at the Paris Peace Conference came to the conclusion that it was absolutely necessary to protect the minorities in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and Rumania by inserting a provision in the treaty made with those countries. The need of such a provision has been thus stated by Professor H.W.V. Temperley in his admirable book, A History of the Peace Conference of Paris: "In the very nature of things, it was inevitable that in every case there would be assigned to these States a considerable population alien in language, race, and religion. These people would be placed under the rule of those from whom they were estranged by long generations of bitter enmity, and in some cases of internecine warfare. Some guarantee, some security must be provided that they should not be subjected to injustice, that they should not be deprived of their political rights, nor exposed to legal disabilities and social persecution. This was not only in accordance with the general principles of justice and humanity, by which the peace was to be governed, but also was required by the most urgent reasons of political expediency."

It is not perhaps necessary to quote from the terms of the Treaty to show in what manner special protection was afforded to the minorities. The simple point is that the foundation of democracy is and should be mutual security. Viewed in this light, it is hardly possible to realize at this somewhat early stage what important part the proviso is going to play in our future constitution. But so far as my personal views are concerned, I

am prepared to reconsider a revision of its terms if a satisfactory settlement is come to on Muslim representation in the Provincial Councils. I take it that whatever decision is arrived at by mutual consent, it will be equally applicable to all local bodies.

## Indiscretion of Delhi Municipal Committee

The action taken by the majority of the members of the Municipal Committee of Delhi with regard to separate constituencies raised such an important issue of principles as to call for a word. In the face of an almost solid Muslim opposition, the non-Muslim members have taken it upon themselves to recommend the abolition of separate electorates. I feel I would be failing in my duty if I did not unhesitatingly declare that our community looks upon their action as a direct encroachment on our rights. The issue is an All-India issue, and cannot certainly be decided by the whims and caprices of the municipal committee or that district board. Those who are prone to advise us, after the manner of men pretending to possess superior wisdom, must remember that we shall not tolerate the slightest invasion on our rights.

#### Musalmans and the Public Services

The strained relations between the Hindu and Muslim communities, in no small measure, arise out of the desire of the young men of each community to secure Government posts. Partly owing to the greater economic pressure to which they are subject, and partly in consequence of their past history and traditions, this tendency is more marked among the Musalmans than among other communities. The paucity of careers for educated Indians has heightened the trouble. It follows that if we Indians want to avoid jealousies, intrigues and incessant friction, an effort should be made to define each community's share in the public services. I may add that there is a third part equally, if not more, interested in this question, viz., the Government. But there is every reason to believe that it will not be inclined to override an agreement come to between the parties. The number of posts going to the Musalmans will obviously vary

from province to province. And it seems that in the absence of a more workable basis, we might fix it at the figure assigned to each community for the purposes of representation. It is obvious that the population basis is highly unsatisfactory and misleading. Take, for instance, the United Provinces, where the Muslim population amounted to less than 14 per cent about 24 years ago. So large, however, was the share of the Musalmans in the public services that we find Sir Antony MacDonnell (now Lord MacDonnell), who was regarded by our co-religionists as hostile to their interests, making the following statement in a speech in 1900, in vindication of his policy in regard to appointments to Government posts: "If I were asked to state a general rule by which the distribution of Government appointments between the two great communities should be regulated, I must say that, subject to the general rule that the best man for an important post should get it irrespective of creed or race, the Mohammedans could not fairly claim more than three appointments for every five appointments going to the Hindus... Owing to various reasons I have, as a matter of fact, recognized Mohammedan claim to a greater extent than on such a principle might be defensible."

The next question in this connection is the method of recruitment. As I have pointed out in connection with the Indian Civil Service, competitive examinations are no panacea for all our ills. But in case competitive examinations are instituted, I would strongly urge that the Musalman candidates should be placed on a separate list and that the operation of the principle should be confined to letting them compete among themselves.

#### Conclusion

Fellow-members, our path is long and devious, and we shall have to tread weary steps before we get to the goal. For some time the stars have been fighting against us in their courses. But there is cause for alarm; much less for despair. Remember, the clouds are the darkest before the dawn. Already there is a streak of light above the horizon, if one would only care to see. Whatever the obstacles in our way, a common bond unites all of us who have started on the march towards the goal. And that bond is service of the motherland. The ennobling, inspiring sentiment

has fired the imagination of us all. The worship of the motherland has brought to her altar the philosophical Brahman, the brilliant Bengali, the vigorous Maharatta, the sturdy Sikh, the refined Indian Christian, the cultured Zoroastrian, and the austere and unidolatrous Musalman—yes, even the Musalman, to whom this new worship is no idolatry. To her glory let us all sing:

There resteth to India a glory,

A glory that cannot grow old;

There remainesh to India a story,

A tale to be chanted and told.

### SECOND SITTING

The Muslim League resumed its session in the Globe Cinema Theatre at 11 a.m. on December 31, 1924.

Besides members of the League, the following were amongst distinguished visitors present, in addition to most of those who attended on the previous day: Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

#### RESOLUTIONS

After a recitation from the Holy Quran, the following resolution was put from the Chair, and was unanimously passed, the whole audience standing up to do so.

## CONDOLENCE I (General)

The All-India Muslim League places on record its sense of profound grief at the deaths of Bi Amman, Lt. Shaikh Shahid Husain of Gadia (Oudh); Sir Carimbhoi Ibrahim, Bart., of Bombay; Nawab Abdul Majid of Allahabad, Maulana Abdul Majid Sharar of Madras; Sheikh Farzand Ali of Lucknow; Sir Ashutosh Mukerji of Calcutta; Dr. Subramanya Iyer of Madras; Mrs. Ranade of Bombay; Sir Ashutosh Chaudhari and Mr. Bhupendranath Basu of Calcutta, and tenders its sincere condolences to the families of the deceased in their bereavement.

The following resolutions were then adopted without opposition:

## CONDOLENCE II (E.S. Montagu)

The All-India Muslim League expresses its sense of profound grief and sorrow at the sad and untimely death of the Rt. Hon'ble Edwin Samuel Montagu, a true and sincere friend of India, whose period of office as Secretary of State constituted a landmark in the history of Indian constitutional progress, and whose advocacy of the Indian Muslim cause, in connection with the Khilafat and Turkish questions, will always be remembered with gratitude by Indian Musalmans, and the League conveys its sincere condolence to the widow and other members of the family of the deceased. (Proposed by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, seconded by Malik Barkat Ali, and supported by Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan)

#### REFORMS IN N.W.F. PROVINCE

The All-India Muslim League strongly urges upon the Government the immediate and paramount necessity of introducing reforms in the N.W.F. Provinces, and of placing that Province, in all respects, in a position of equality with the other major provinces of India. (Proposed by Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan; seconded by Mr. Abdul Aziz of Peshawar, and supported by Maulana Mohammad Ali)

#### WAKF ACT

The All-India Muslim League urges upon such provincial governments as have not yet enforced the Musalman Wakf Act, to do so without further delay. (Proposed by Dr. Shafaat Ahmed Khan, seconded by Mr. Faiz Tyabji, supported by Mr. Waheed Husain and Akbar Ali Mohsin)

#### NATAL ORDINANCE

The All-India Muslim League protests strongly against the action of the Legislature of the Union of South Africa in passing, and of the Governor General-in-Council of the Union in assenting to the Natal Boroughs Ordinance, which deprives Indians in Natal of the right of Municipal enfranchisement

exercised by them continuously for over 40 years, and thus constitutes a breach of the 1914 settlement, whilst it adds one more disability to those already suffered by the Indians of South Africa, in the enforcement against them of differential legislation based upon racial considerations. The League urges upon His Majesty's Government to disallow the said Ordinance as it is highly unjust, and as it is the duty of the Imperial Government to protect the rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa, and it further urges upon the Government of India to take all necessary steps for the removal of the grievances of the Indians in South Africa.

The League emphatically protests against the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1923, which deprives Indians of their rights in Kenya and directly violates their status of legal equality with the other immigrant population; and the League demands that, in the interests of justice and good faith, energetic steps be taken, by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government, to remove the stigma of racial inferiority placed upon the people of India by the decisions taken in pursuance of the said policy, and in particular with regard to the franchise and representation of Indians in the Legislature, and the reservation of a large area of the Colony, known as the Highland, for the exclusive use of white immigrants as a privileged minority community, under the pretext of the doctrine of 'Native Trusteeship'.

The League protests against the unequal and unjust treatment meted out to Indians in the mandatory territory of Tanganayaka in East Africa and calls upon the Government of India to take the necessary steps without any further delay to represent their grievances at the next meeting of the League of Nations for redress. (Proposed by Mr. Hoosainbhoy A. Lalji, seconded by Mr. Ayub Khan, and supported by Mr. Nair. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mahatma Gandhi were also invited, by the President, to speak upon the above resolution, and both of them addressed the League in support of it)

#### ASSASSINATION OF SIR LEE STACK

The All-India Muslim League condemns and deplores the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, but it is strongly of opinion that

the reprisals exacted by the British Government are unwarranted, inasmuch as the important terms of the ultimatum and the action taken thereafter are unconnected with the crime, and the League strongly feels that the action of the British Government is aimed at crushing the independence of Egypt, and therefore strongly condemns it, and expresses its sympathy with the people of Egypt in their struggle for independence. (Proposed by Mr. Mohammad Yakub, seconded by Dr. Kitchlew, supported by Maulana Mohammad Ali and Hafiz Hayat Husain)

The League was adjourned at 2 p.m. for two hours.

### THIRD SITTING

The next sitting was resumed at 4 p.m., and the following resolutions were passed without opposition:

RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

#### CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT ORDINANCE

The All-India Muslim League is firmly of opinion that anarchical organizations can never secure Swaraj to the people of India, and while disapproving and condemning most emphatically such organizations, if any, the All-India Muslim League views, with the strongest disapproval, the action of the Governor-General in promulgating the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1924, as such an extraordinary measure, being a direct invasion upon individual liberty, should not have been enacted without the sanction of the Legislature, and as it easily lends itself, in the hands of the Executive, to grave abuses resulting in implicating innocent persons and in interfering with constitutional political activity, as past experience of similar measures has repeatedly demonstrated. The League therefore urges the immediate withdrawal of the Ordinance, and the trial, if necessary, in accordance with the ordinary law, of the persons detained under it: and the League further urges the Regulation III of 1818, which gives the Government powers of arresting and confining persons suspected of public crimes, without warrant, without trial and without statement of reasons for such arrest and confinement, should be forthwith withdrawn; and it records its conviction that the present political situation in India is due to the denial of the just rights of the people long overdue, and that the speedy establishment of *Swaraj* is the only effective remedy therefor. (Proposed by Mr. M.C. Chagla, seconded by Agha Mohammad Safdar, supported by Mr. Abdul Hamid Khan and Moulvi Mazharuddin)

#### UNITY AMONG MUSLIM ORGANISATIONS

The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the circumstances of the time imperatively demand that the various Muslim Associations of India, representing different shades of political thought in different parts of the country, should cooperate together to the greatest possible extent, and a united and sound practical activity should be developed to supply the needs of the Muslim community, and that for this purpose, it is desirable that the representatives of the various associations should meet in a conference at an early date at Delhi, or at some other central place, and that the Secretary of the League should invite the associations and announce a proper time and place for the conference after previous consultation with them. (Proposed by Maulana Shaukat Ali, seconded by Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan, supported by Mr. Jinnah and Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan)

#### COMMITTEE TO FORMULATE DEMANDS

The All-India Muslim League appoints a committee of the following gentlemen, with power to add to their number, nine members being necessary to form a quorum, to formulate the Muslim demand regarding the representation of the Muslim community in the Legislature of the country and in other elective bodies, and their due and proper share in the public services, with power to them to confer with the other political organisations and report to the Muslim League viz:

Syed Raza Ali of Allahabad; Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan of Aligarh; Mr. Abdul Majid Khawaja of Aligarh; Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi; Dr. M.A. Ansari of Delhi; Raja Ahmad Ali Khan Alwi of Salempur (Oudh); Syed Alay Nabi of Agra;

Moulvi Mohammad Yakub of Moradabad: Sir Mohammad Shafi of Lahore: Hon'ble Mian Fazle Husain of Lahore: Sheikh Abdul Qadir of Lahore; Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew of Amritsar: Maulana Zafar Ali Khan of Lahore: Malik Barkat Ali of Lahore; Peer Tajuddin of Lahore; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad of Calcutta; Hon'ble Moulvi Abdul Karim of Ranchi; Mohammad Akram Khan of Calcutta; Dr. Abdulla Suhrawardy of Calcutta: Khan Bahadur Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan of Patna; Dr. Mahmud of Patna: Seth Yakub Hasan of Madras: Moulvi Syed Murtaza of Madras; Mr. M.A. Jinnah of Bombay; Mr. Omar Subhani of Bombay: Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan of Bombay; Mr. Mohammad Khan of Karachi; Mr. Mohammad Nazeer of Ahmedabad: Sved Abdur Raoof of Yeotmal, Berar: Moulvi Abdul Hamid of Sylhet; Mr. Abdul Aziz of Peshawar; Maulana Mohammad Ali of Rampur; Syed Zahur Ahmad, Honorary Secretary. (Proposed by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, seconded by Malik Barkat Ali of Lahore)

Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan of Lahore then moved and Malik Barkat Ali of Lahore seconded the following resolution:

#### KOHAT TRAGEDY

The All-India Muslim League deplores, very deeply, the Kohat tragedy and the great loss of life and property there; but it feels it to be its duty to place it on record that the sufferings of the Hindus of Kohat are not unprovoked, but that, on the contrary, the facts brought to light make it clear that gross provocation was offered to the religious sentiments of the Musalmans, and the Hindus were the first to resort to violence; and further that, though their sufferings were very great, and they are deserving of the sympathy of all Musalmans, it was not they alone that suffered. The Muslim League is not, at present, in a position to form a judgment as regards the details of the allegations published by the Government or by the members of the two communities concerned, and asks the country also to suspend its judgment until a committee on which Musalmans as well as Hindus are adequately represented, has inquired into the whole affair and has reported its findings. The League earnestly recommends to the Musalmans of Kohat to invite the Hindu residents of Kohat to return to Kohat, and to settle their differences with the Musalmans of the place honourably and amicably; and the League trusts that while the Hindus will in future avoid provoking the Musalmans, the latter will refrain from resorting to violence, and would refer all disputes to the arbitration of the trusted leaders of the two communities. The League condemns the failure of the authorities to take proper steps to prevent the Kohat tragedy, and to protect the lives and property of the Hindu and Muslim citizens of Kohat.

The Subjects Committee had passed the following proposition which the said mover and seconder were to put forward before the League, in preference to the given resolution, which Maulana Mohammad Ali had intended to move in the form of an amendment: "The All-India Muslim League deplores the Kohat tragedy and sympathizes with the sufferers, both Hindus and Musalmans; and while placing on record its firm conviction that the Hindus started the riots in the first instance, appeals to both communities to forget the past and resume their old peaceful relations. The League hopes that the Musalmans of Kohat, being the predominant element in the population of the town, will receive their Hindu neighbours with open arms."

The mover and seconder both, however, agreed to accept Maulana Mohammad Ali's amendment, and put it forward as the principal resolution, with the permission of the President, the proposition accepted by the Subjects Committee, as an amendment to the resolution as actually proposed, and preferred the amendment.

The amendment was opposed by Malik Barkat Ali, Mr. M.C. Chagla, Maulana Shaukat Ali, and Maulana Mohammad Ali, and was lost.

The resolution as proposed was then carried.

The following resolutions were then adopted without opposition.

### ORGANISATION OF THE COMMUNITY

The All-India Muslim League fully sympathises with the principles of the programme of Tanzeem and appeals to Musalmans all over the country to organize the community and make

the programme effective and successful. (Proposed by Dr. Saifiuddin Kitchlew and seconded by Maulana Shaukat Ali)

#### REVIVAL OF KHADI

The All-India Muslim League strongly recommends that the Musalmans of India to take all necessary steps to revive the cotton industry of hand-spinning and handweaving. (From the Chair)

#### **SWADESHI CLOTH**

The All-India Muslim League hereby recommends that every member of the League should encourage the use of Swadeshi cloth to the entire exclusion of foreign cloth as far as possible. (From the Chair)

The Session was then closed, after votes of thanks to the Reception Committee and the President, with a concluding speech by Syed Raza Ali, followed by a general prayer for the success of the League.<sup>1</sup>

Official Record, prepared by Syed Zahur Ahmad, Hon. Secretary. Printed by the Students' Commercial House, Lucknow, 1925.

# Chapter 11

# ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE

#### SEVENTEENTH SESSION

Aligarh, December 30-31, 1925

The Seventeenth Session of the All-India Muslim League opened at Aligarh on December 30, with Sir Abdur Rahim presiding. Among those present were Sir Mian Mohammad Shafi, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Jinnah, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Seth Yaqub Hussain, Dr. Kitchlew, Seth Mohani, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Aley Nabi, Mr. Tasadhuq Ahmed Khan Sherwani, Dr. Abdur Rahim, and Mr. Sorabji Rustamji.

The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sheikh Abdullah, gave the following address:

### WELCOME ADDRESS OF SHEIKH ABDULLAH

Members, Ladies and Gentlemen, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, it is my proud and pleasant duty to welcome you to this Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League. Many of you have come from far at the sacrifice of your personal comfort to participate in the deliberations of our political association, which in itself is a proof of the interest you must be taking in the success of the aims and objects of the League, and which, I am sure, will much encourage the workers in their efforts to attain the goal in view. This year, besides the performance of my duty to welcome you, I have also to perform another and equally pleasant duty of welcoming the League itself back to its birthplace, after so many years of its absence from Aligarh. The memory of the early association of the League with Aligarh is still fresh in our minds, and it gives us much happiness to see the League once again.

I am sure it will be within the memory of many of my audience in this pandal that the idea of a political association was

mooted and matured here in Aligarh in the early years of the present century, which ultimately resulted in the formation of this very League in the year 1906. Though at this day in will be a sheer waste of time and breath to enter into a discussion about the causes of the culpable indifference of the Musalmans to the political affairs of their motherland in the pre-League days, I have got a clear recollection of the fact that the then advanced party used to hold Aligarh responsible for keeping the community back from the field of politics. But I can say, without any fear of contradiction, that it was not Aligarh which kept the community back from politics: it was the community itself, which, for want of a full and clear grasp of the new conditions of life to which it had been subjected by British rule, continued to feel shy, for a considerable time, of participating in the agitation and demands for popular political institutions. It was Aligarh which first of all realized the new situation, and in justification of its position as the centre of Muslim activities, gave the Muslim community a lead in the field of politics, just as it had done before in the field of education. I hope that future historians will give a prominent place to the event of the birth of the League.

It must be admitted that the awakening of India to the political needs of modern times began with the birth of the Indian National Congress, full 20 years before the birth of the League; but the abstention of the Musalmans, as a community, from the former body did not permit it to make any great progress during that period. The coming into existence of the League and the entry of the Musalmans into the field of politics gave great impetus to the forward movement of the Congress itself and caused a great acceleration in its speed. Besides this, the League proved beyond any question that though the Musalmans were backward in education and modern ways of thought, their political instincts were much stronger than those of any other community. It established before the country that the Muslim community possessed a much higher capacity for political combination as a people. No community in India ever showed such aptitude for unity of aims and concert in action as did the Musalmans under the auspices of the League in those early days. Though the League initiated for them a new policy and opened before their eyes a new political aspect, the Musalmans showed no hesitation in the least in giving their full adherence to it, and in conference to it, and in conferring upon it the status of a true representative body of the whole community. The success of the League in its initial stage was phenomenal; and had it continued to follow its own straight path, to-day it would have been some stages ahead of the place where it stands. It was very gratifying to the late Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk of revered memory, and to the other founders of the body, to see all the politically minded Musalmans being attracted to the League platform so quickly and adopting it as a rallying point for giving a united expression to their political views.

The League, like any other body in similar position and circumstances, in the beginning excited much hostility and criticism from the politicians of the Congress school, who suspected that the organization was to be merely a puppet in the hands of the Government to be employed for retarding the political progress of the people of India. But in spite of all the discouraging criticism and opposition, the League continued to work independently on lines suitable to the conditions of India. It reached its first stage of success in the year 1916, when the Congress politicians, hitherto its opponents and critics, were persuaded to acknowledge the fact that the attainment of the goal in view would not be possible until special political needs of the Muslim minority were recognized by the Hindu majority. This recognition on the part of the Hindu leaders was followed by the famous Hindu-Muslim Pact of Lucknow towards the end of the year 1916. The League and the Indian National Congress thereafter worked together in a sort of political partnership for attaining the ultimate goal of self-government; and there cannot be two opinions that the event of alliance of these two bodies will ever remain a most prominent landmark in the history of progress of the new political life in India.

One of the obvious and immediate outcomes of the alliance between the League and the Congress was the pronouncement of August 20, 1917, by the British Government. I remember the Lucknow Pact being specially referred to by some of the speakers in the British Parliament as one of the grounds which had persuaded the Government of the time to place before the people of India the goal of self-government. The same Parliament in which, only eight years before the above pronouncement, no

lesser a Secretary of State than Lord Morley had emphatically declared that the Government in India was to remain British and absolute, for all time to come, was ultimately compelled to yield to the joint demand of the two communities, when after giving up its old, rigid and unjustifiable position of a rank autocrat, it gave India the hope of self-government. Such is the force of combination which our countrymen must learn to value better than they are doing in these days.

Now the goal of self-government is before the country and our League has got a claim of equal credit for it with the Indian National Congress. If a few year after this solemn pledge, the British Government failed to respond to the impatient demands of a section of our politicians for the fulfilment of the same in the course of a year only, it does not follow that it will never be fulfilled. It must be fulfilled as a matter of course. British statesmen know as well as anybody else that autocracy or bureaucracy are no forms of government for the progressive races of man, and that the moral and intellectual forces now at work in the world will soon make the existence or continuance of any of the old forms of government quite impossible. We should hope that India will soon prepared herself to give all the old forms of government a reverential burial and take place among the self-governing nations of the world.

# Lack of Balance in League Policy After 1918

After the famous Pact mentioned above, the League had to perform a double duty: to the cause of the country and to the cause of the community it represented. It had, on the one hand, to co-operate with the Congress for bringing constitutional pressure on the Government for a speedy liberalization of political institutions, and, on the other hand, it had to remain on the watch to see that nothing detrimental to the interests of the Muslim community was done by the joint action of the two parties. The task was a difficult one; but up to the year 1918, the League went on doing its allotted work satisfactorily and in a spirit of laudable fidelity to the country as well as to the community. But in the year stated above, it began to show sign of unsteadiness in pursuing the course chalked out for it. It is the period intervening between the year 1918 and this day

during which the League has been remiss in more points than one. One of them is such that it...must be emphasized as pointed out at this place. I think I have got the whole of the Muslim community, with the exception of a very few persons, to agree with me that the action of the League in going ahead of the people it represented in an unwarrantable and frantic haste was fraught with the most dire consequences for the Musalmans of India. There could be no objection to the Muslim politicians joining any of the wings of the Indian National Congress, as, that body being a common political organization, its platform was open to the Musalmans as well as the Hindus.

But the organization of the League submitting itself to be bodily dragged to the Congress platform for giving its agreement to all the resolutions of the extreme wing of that body was an unthinkable event. It is a regrettable fact that, under the influence of the general political excitement in the country, the League suffered the balance wheel of its speed to be taken away from it, to the greatest possible detriment to the cause it was designed to serve. Thus the League, by an extraordinary and unmanageable acceleration of its speed, went quite out of joint with the community, and lost all hold upon the people it represented. The Musalmans could not be blamed for not keeping pace with the extreme wing of the Congress as was done by the League, because a very considerable section of the Hindu politicians was also left behind by that wing. The difference in the case of Hindu politicians thus left behind and of the Muslim community has been that the Hindus took pretty good care not to discontinue the political education of the people in their own way, while the Musalmans simply withdraw their interest from the League and reverted to the state of their old apathetic attitude to politics. The Hindus, by setting up a separate platform under the name of the Liberal Federation, are giving the country the advantage of their education for the last eight years; but Musalmans, by keeping aloof from the League as well as any other political platform, have suffered much in their political education. The League must justly realize its responsibility in this matter, and make amends for its past mistake.

Now I should not say a word more on the point of the past actions of the League; but with regard to its future, I want to strike a note of warning in the interests of the Muslim commu-

nity as well as the League itself. It must be well known to everybody here that a large section of the politically minded Musalmans have become quite impatient with the present state of affairs; and if they find that the League has gone irretrievably beyond their reach, they are sure to start another organization for the political education of their people most suited to their capacity and needs. Now, it rests with the League either to submit to the will of the majority of the people and re-adapt itself to the policy of steady progress, or force upon the Muslim community an injurious political split. It must be borne in mind that as long as the resolutions of non-co-operation and boycotting stand on the record of the League, there will be very few Musalmans who will give the body their adherence. The Musalmans as a community are not of extreme political views, nor can they afford to be so under the circumstances unmistakably noticeable by all. I hope that there will arise no need of a new political views, nor can they afford to be so under the circumstances unmistakably noticeable by all. I hope that there will arise no need of a new political organization; and the League, in the exercise of its foresight, will make it clear, even in this very meeting, that it is no longer an association of our extreme politicians, but a representative body of the Musalmans in general.

#### Hindu-Muslim Relations

After giving an assurance of its old fidelity to the people, the League will have much uphill work to accomplish in the near future in the solution of various problems confronting the country at this date. I will refer only to one of these problems here; and I hope you will agree with me that the problem I am going to mention is of the first importance...The problem of such great importance in my mind is the problem of the present unfortunate relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans. The spirit of mischief is at work in these days, and we find ourselves in the grip of the demon of discord. The intellectual and moral and even religious resources of certain leaders of the two communities, which ought to have been spent on making the life of the present and future generations more comfortable and happy, are being employed to create permanent causes of

friction and strife. The matter has now reached the stage that even a leader of Mahatma Gandhi's sympathies—once the idol of the people and the apostle of Hindu-Muslim unity—has been compelled openly and candidly to admit that the solution of the problem has gone beyond his control and the control of his friends.

For the last two years, we are under the visitation of an epidemic of riots and communal outbursts, and no town or village, from one corner of the land to the other, has escaped the infection. The cause of these riots and fracas, if minutely examined, will prove to be the most frivolous and idiotic. But they have quite overpowered the sanity and the common sense of the people; and in agreement with Mahatma Gandhi, I should say that we are quite helpless in their hands. The authors of this unpardonable mischief, whether Hindus or Musalmans, must bear in mind that their action is fraught with the most disastrous consequences for future generations, and that posterity will find ample grounds for passing an adverse verdict on their shortsighted policy. The causes of the strife are neither fundamental nor real nor rational. Only recently in this very town, the members of the two communities gave a most despicable and degrading exhibition of their prowess, when they butchered six helpless old citizens of theirs in cold blood and maimed and disabled scores of others, mostly innocent. If anybody desires to know the causes of this bloodshed and mad fury. I cannot name them, as they were of such a trivial nature that one cannot remember them.

The real cause of the Hindu-Mohammedan estrangement and strife in these days is to be found in the notions of false patriotism of certain leaders. Even some first-rank political leaders have fallen in to the error of thinking that it would be possible for them and their community to attain Swaraj without the help and co-operation of the other community. Propaganda in this direction has already begun bearing poisonous fruits; and the most harmful and provocative of all the overt acts, as influenced by this propaganda, is the training of young men of one of the two communities under the names of. Jathas and akharas to match their physical strength against the members of the other community. This is practically a preparation for civil war by one section of the population of the country against the other.

This excites much suspicion and irritation in those against whom the preparation is being made. The other sides has become very nervous, and apprehends a sinister intention against their life and property; and as a matter of precaution, must be contemplating to do something to keep themselves ready for self-defence.

Thus all relations of neighbourly love and amity existing before the new conception of a single-community Swaraj came into existence have been replaced by distrust and suspicion. This notion of Swaraj of a single community has unquestionably sprung from some unhealthy brain; and I hope its absurdity will soon be declared by the common sense of the Hindu community itself. But the question is how to stop immediately the course of the growing mischief in the land. The League has got a very clear duty before it in this behalf, and must do something to stop the further growth of the great mischief to the cause of the motherland. The tension has not reached a breaking point so far, but it may reach it at any moment and cause an unthinkable catastrophe to be lamented by posterity for generations.

I fail to understand what good purpose, under these circumstances, is to be gained by a persistent advocacy for Swarai from the Congress or the League platforms, or by our condemnations of the anti-Swarai utterances of the Secretary of State or the Viceroy. The attainment of Swaraj must be admitted to be an impossibility by a mere advocacy or condemnation, when a vast majority of our countrymen are so busy in raising an abiding barrier between India and Swaraj. Nobody can be deluded into believing that bureaucracy can be scared away either by fine speeches or by outburst of indignant feelings. The Englishman is there and stands on his own strength, and his position cannot be shaken by mere speeches or resolutions. He may or may not be liked; but when after quarreling amongst themselves, the Hindus and the Musalmans both appeal to him for...his protection, or for judging their cases himself and not entrusting them to be tried and judged by the magistrates and judges belonging to communities other than their own, he is doubly strengthened in his conviction that he stays in the land as a matter of necessity and for the protection of the weak. A demand for the Indianization of services loses all force when the Indians themselves show their distrust of the fairness and impartiality of Indian judges and magistrates. So the position of our leaders has become inconsistent with the actual facts of life; and now it will be wiser for them to suspend their activities for a while in the higher sphere of politics, and devote their whole attention to the question of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Some of our critics say that the Musalmans are the aggressors, and that their aggressiveness is to be assigned to their leanings towards people beyond the frontiers of India that they do not love their motherland and their sympathies are always apt to flash across the borders of India to reach Muslim lands and Muslim communities in Western Asia, that they never pay any regard to the sufferings and miseries of their countrymen, and hence they behave like aliens in the land. Now if this imputation were true, I would be prepared to admit it as a serious fault on the part of the Musalmans. With regard to the charge of aggressiveness on the part of the Musalmans, I have simply to refer to the judicial proceedings in the Hindu-Muslim riot cases, which disclose that the Musalmans are not the only sinners. But it is a highly misleading accusation that on account of a few disturbances in which turbulent Muslim elements were shown to be the aggressive party, the whole of the Muslim community has become aggressive in their attitude towards the Hindus. The whole of the Muslim community or the Hindu community cannot be held responsible for the misdeeds of a few members of the two communities acting under the heat of passion in the unfortunate communal outbursts.

I assure the critics that the generality of the Musalmans, and particularly their educated classes, are as good patriots as the Hindus themselves. Of course the Musalmans of India have got much warmth in their feelings for Musalmans all over the world, based as they are on the conception of Islamic brother-hood; but at the same time, they are not ignoring their duty to their motherland. Now, without the least inclination on my part to discourage this grand and noble conception of the world-wide brotherhood of Islam, I must be emphatic in telling the whole body of my brethren in faith that the love of our motherland is our paramount duty, not on rational grounds only, but on religious grounds also. No Musalman should ignore that love of the motherland is one of the articles of our

faith, and it should be cherished as such. On behalf of the educated Musalmans, I can positively say that they are no longer under a sense of confusion as to the proper and correct meaning of the word 'motherland', and that do in no way love their true motherland less than their Hindu compatriots.

Now I may confront our accusers for a moment, and ask them to search their own minds and examine their own past attitude to the Musalmans, and tell me frankly whether some of the lingering foreign tendencies and sampathies of the Muslim community are not partly due to the inhospitable social treatment meted out them by the accusers themselves? But accusations and recriminations will in no way improve matters, and therefore both communities should forget the past and think of the present and future only.

### The World of Islam Outside India

Before I conclude, I feel it is necessary to refer to a few matters concerning the world of Islam outside India. In these days Syria, Morocco, Hedjaz and Mosul are places which are uppermost in the minds of every Musalman, and so we cannot avoid a reference to them in our political meetings. The first and foremost in our minds is the case of Syria. France by her recent staggering barbarities and merciless massacres in Damascus and other Syrian towns and villages has caused much pain to Muslim feeling in this country. France is admittedly killing people in Syria to establish and uphold the prestige of the Christian civilization of Western Europe. But France must remember that if these are the only fruits of her civilization which she can bestow upon the people who have been forced by England to accept her yoke, the civilization of Western Europe will soon come to be regarded as a detestable luxury by Europe herself, and a dire curse by the nations not possessed of fire-arms, poisonous gases and bomb shells.

France, by her mad fury in bombarding the ancient and defenceless town of Damascus for 57 hours, by smashing to pieces its sacred relics and ancient monuments and blowing to atoms pious men in their mosques, helpless maidens and matrons in their inoffensive homes, and innocent babies, has wounded the heart of Islam. This unworthy nation, though a republic

herself, is for others proving a callous usurper of their lands and liberties, a sordid imperialist and merciless butcher. The tales of the present excesses of France give us reason to thank our stars that we so narrowly escaped her yoke in the beginning, which would have proved for more galling and humiliating than the one to which we have been subjected. The difficulty with us is that we have no hold upon this merciless and so-called civilized nation. All that we can do is to urge before England, the major partner in the civilization of Western Europe, to intervene and put an end to the Mandatory Despotism of France. England should not shirk her own responsibility and duty to Syria, as it was she herself that, after conquering Syria—partly at the sacrifice of the manpower of India—forced that unhappy country to the subordination of France.

The civilization of France is a complete disappointment to us in these days. Her unholy and most unjust alliance with Spain for crushing the small, valiant, and freedom-loving Riff community is another example of her abominable imperialism. I do not want to take much of your time in my reference to the Hedjaz question. I have not appreciated this issue very clearly, perhaps for the reason that there is not much in it to be appreciated. The simple fact which will find a place in history is that a Muslim ruler of one part of Arabia invaded and conquered another part of that country established his rule over it. We could neither stop him from his conquest nor lend him any help for it; but all the same, we are fighting among ourselves and no party can say what is the real issue for us. Though it might be quite premature for us to show any partiality for Ibne Saud, there could be no difference of opinion, however, that the Sharifa family must go. This should be the first and the final verdict on the part of the Musalmans of India, and the matter should end with it so far as we are concerned.

The question of the Mosul Wilayat of the Turkish Empire is also one of the questions which is causing excitement among the Musalmans of this country in these days. The British seem to be bent upon wresting these provinces from the hands of the Turks; and the Turks are displaying a marked pertinacity in resisting all attempts at depriving them of this part of their motherland. We may raise our voice against the British pressing of this matter to an unhappy issue, as we know that a war

between Turkey and England will inevitably destroy the peace of mind of the Muslim population of India and of other countriesunder the sway of the British. We hope the matter will find an amicable settlement soon.

#### Conclusion

Gentlemen, I feel I have taken more of your time than I intended in making these brief references to the present political situation, at home and abroad, in its special bearing on the welfare of our community. I do not wish to take up more of your precious time. Let me, in conclusion, say that we meet once again politically united...and I earnestly hope and pray that our deliberations will result in evolving a common political programme for the guidance of our community, the forward march of our country, and the early realization of our political aims and objects. Gentlemen, I welcome you most cordially to this present session of the League.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, President of the League, next addressed the meeting, inviting Sir Abdur Rahim to take the Chair. Sir Abdur Rahim then delivered the following address.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF SIR ABDUR RAHIM

Gentlemen, I feel greatly honoured by the confidence you have reposed in me, by asking me to preside at this session of the All-India Muslim League. We shall be called upon to devote our best thought and united energies to the consideration of important political problems fraught with possibilities for much good or evil to the country and, consequently, also to our community. I assure you that I have not accepted the responsibility of guiding your deliberations at this juncture with a light heart. The situation bristles with difficulties. I am afraid I shall tax your patience a great deal, for I feel that I must expound the Muslim political attitude in some fullness, especially as the community has very few recognized organs of expression. I ask you in all earnestness to give me your uninstincted support in carrying our deliberations to a successful issue, even though you may not agree with me on all points. I want you to bear in mind that, in the words of the Hadis, we are the followers of the middle path and the blessings of God rest of combined Muslims.

It was very appropriate that this important Session of the League should be held at Aligarh. Here, Syed Ahmed, Mohsinul-Mulk, Shibli Nomani, Mushtaq Hussain and other leaders of thought and action laid the foundations of that modern liberal movement among the Muslims whose influence is now felt all over India. I was one of those who helped to usher the All-India Muslim League into existence, though I had to sever my connection with it soon after, in response to the call of other public duties. Much time has since rolled by, and it is somewhat of a coincidence that I should return to the League at another crisis in the political fortunes of India. The League, as the spokesman of the Muslims of India, has contributed a great deal to the inauguration of both the Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms; and the result of our discussions at this Session is certain to influence the character and scope of the next political advance. Within the last few years, political agitations have intensified at a tremendous rate. It should be gratefully acknowledged by all that it was due to Mr. Montagu's bold imagination and love of this country that the principle of government through legislatures responsible to the people has been at all established in India. However much the various political parties differ amongst themselves as to the pace we are to go and the methods of work to be adopted, it is clear that there is no difference of opinion on the point that the progress of the constitution must be along the lines of a government responsible to the people. Happily, both the Viceroy and the present Secretary of State, representing the Conservative Government, have after most careful and prolonged consideration reaffirmed that great principle. This is our fundamental starting point.

In order to deal with the main political questions that are in controversy, it is necessary that I should mention some undisputed facts which have to be taken into account.

#### Hindu-Muslim Relations

Within its fold, the League has men of different shades of political opinion. The reason is that they are all actuated by a common anxiety to see that no public measure of importance

overrides or overlooks the interests of the 70 million Muslims. But let no one think that the League devotes any the less thought to the promotion of measures for the good of the country as a whole, because it also scrutinizes them in their special bearing on the country as a whole, because it also scrutinizes them in their special bearing on the fortunes of the Muslims of India. That the League's standpoint is sound, none but uncompromising theorists can honestly deny; for any measures which are some Englishmen who are unable to realize the need for separate Indian organizations for Muslims or Hindus; that is so only because they have been insufficiently enlightened about the real conditions in the country and are possessed with the idea that what differentiates Hindus and Musalmans is merely religion, and differences of religion should not interfere with the consideration of political problems. How we all wish that it were so! The fact, however, is that the Hindus and Musalmans are not two religious sects like the Protestants and Roman Catholics of England, but from two distinct communities or peoples, and so they regard themselves. Their respective attitudes towards life, their distinctive culture, civilization and social habits, their traditions and history, no less than their religions, divide them so completely that the fact that they have lived in the same country for nearly a thousand years has contributed hardly anything to their fusion into a nation.

A mighty spiritual spell separates the 230 millions of Hindus, not only from the 70 millions of Indian Muslims, but from the rest of humanity, while it divides the Hindus themselves internally into groups which know no social commerce with one another. Caste, with its cruel doctrine of untouchability, has survived many a social convulsion. It has baffled all the efforts of Buddha and Ashoka, of Akbar and Aurangzeb; and the English panacea of nationalism has brought not more unity but worse divisions. It gives me no pleasure whatever to state these facts; for anyone who has the good of India at heart must at times give way to a feeling of despair to see the deep and wide gulf separating the two communities, and to witness the collisions that have been taking place between them from time to time more frequently indeed in recent days than ever before-often resulting in considerable bloodshed. These unfortunate riots between the more or less ignorant classes of Hindus and Muslims

are not, however, the worst symptoms of the malady. I wish to make it clear here that I am going to dwell on the mischievous activities of a certain class of Hindu politicians, because they unfortunately appeal to the lower instincts of a community; and human nature, such as we find it, seems to be governed by something akin to the physical law of gravitation, the lower level of passions and prejudices constantly pulling at the higher tendencies.

I refer to the Shuddhi, the Mahasabha and the Sangathan movements, the professed object of the first being to convert Musalmans in millions to Hinduism, and that of the last to train the Hindus for self-defence, while the Mahasabha is a general organization which comprehends all Hindu activities. The Muslims regard these movements, which are led by politicians like Lala Laipat Rai and Swami Sardhanand, as the most serious challenge to their religion that they ever had to meet-not even excepting the Christian crusades, whose objective mainly was to wrest back from the Muslims some places sacred to both—and as a grave menace to their political status. The result is that the Muslims have started their Tanzeem. I doubt that at any time in the history of India the relations between the two communities generally were so seriously strained as at present. In fact, some of the Hindu leaders have talked publicly of driving out the Muslims from India as the Spaniards expelled the Moors from Spain, that is, unless they perform Shuddhi and become Hindus or submit to their full political programme. Either of these alternatives would, according to their calculation, lead to the other. We shall, undoubtedly, be a big mouthful for our friends to swallow. But as our Persian sage has warned us, never despise your enemy. Thanks to the artificial conditions under which we live, we have to admit that they are in a position of great advantage; and even the English have learnt to dread their venomous propaganda, a weapon of warfare which, by and by, in its most objectionable form went along with the poison gas and air bombs consecrated during the last war with the blessings of European nationalism. These amiable gentlemen are unceasingly at work: a section of them have specialized in vilifying all Muslim institutions, including Islam itself; some in distorting history to make out that no good has come to India from the advent of Islam, and practically all in proving

that the Muslim community is incompetent and composed of no better material than the lowest classes of their untouchables.

They are equally adept in the art of belittling, in every way possible, our best men in public positions, excepting only those who have subscribed to the Hindu political creed. What is the most obvious result of the propaganda of these political wise-acres? Riots and more riots. But they are rather pleased than sorry when some Muslims stung to fury run amok and retaliate, as it gives them an opportunity to charge the Muslim community with fanaticism and communalism. What have they achieved politically? Less than nothing. They have, in fact, by their provocative and aggressive conduct made it clearer than ever to the Muslims that the Muslims cannot entrust their fate to them and their class, and must adopt every possible measure of self-defence.

We Muslims must tell these politicians frankly and explicitly that their claims that India belongs solely to the Hindus is preposterous and unfounded and is unjust to India itself. India is a world in itself. We do not know who its original inhabitants were; perhaps a number of primite tribes. However that may be, India, as some Urdu poet, I believe has put it, has been noted for its mehman-nawazi (i.e. hospitality). She is much more broadminded than those who pretend that she belongs to them. Her hospitable doors have always been wide open to all. She is great because of the numerous races that have realized their destinies within her boundaries; the Dravidians, the Arvans. the Tartars, the Scythians, the Arabs, the Persians, the Afghans, the Mughals, and the latest comes of all, the English, all have found sustenance on the mighty breast of India. To India's greatness each one of these peoples has contributed. The Dravidians and the Arvans have to their credit a magnificent system of speculative philosophy and a charming mythological literature. The scythians are remembered by their gallant descendants, the Rajputs. The Arabs, the Persians and the Mughals have brought India a religion whose democratic teachings have succeeded in sweeping away the barriers of race and colour from among one-fifth of the human race on three continents of the globe. Theirs are those architectural monuments which in their wonderous beauty rank amongst the finest creations of human genius, and which, along with other similar buildings still to be seen in Spain, Egypt, Arabia, Persia and Central Asia, are among the wonders of the world. They introduced and developed those crafts and arts whose exquisite products nowadays adorn every refined home of England and America. Who can say that the British have contributed nothing of value? If I am to put it in a few words, their most valuable gifts to India have been science, method and organization and has any sane thinker any doubt that we must have increasingly and abundantly of these, if we are to build up a healthy vigorous people, amply supplied with the necessaries of life, rational in their outlook, strong and independent?

We admit the many good qualities of the great Hindu community—their alert intelligence, their thrift, and their industry -and I assure them that we have not the slightest desire or inclination to discourage talent and enterprise among them. Any one who is at all acquainted with the history of the Muslim races all over the world, from Spain to Siberia and from Moscow to the heart of Africa, will never deny that they were the greatest patrons of human talent, energy and enterprise, without any consideration of race, colour or creed. They, in fact, explored every country for gifted men, lavished honours and treasures on them, assiduously collected and preserved the learning, wisdom and science of the past, and thus built up a great civilization of their own in an incredibly brief space of time. They take a fatally narrow view of things, indeed, who underrate the value of what we Indian Muslims have contributed and are able to contribute to the political development of the country. Whatever our faults, there are no other people so really free from prejudices of race, colour or class; and those politicians who would deny us all opportunities in public life should realize that, if they really seek to establish a self-government responsible to the people, it is impossible to do it without our help. India's best future lies in giving all the different communities that live or work here the fullest scope to develop and express their distinctive political genius instead of clogging them with theories borrowed wholesale from other countries but never before heard of here.

Some of the above-mentioned class of Hindu politicians think that they are making out a strong case against us by

emphasizing the fact that we are deeply interested in the affairs of other countries inhabited by Muslims. Consequently our patriotism, it is suggested, is not wholly confined to this country. If a common civilization, history, tradition, religion and considerable affinity of race and language produce sentiments of sympathy and brotherhood among peoples whose social ideas as utterly uninfluenced by caste, colour or clime, is that a matter for reproach or to be surprised at? Any of us Indian Musalmans travelling, for instance, in Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs, Turks, Egyptians or Riffs would at once be made at home, and would not find anything in the ways and manners and the mode of living of our hosts to which we are not accustomed. On the contrary, in India in the same town where we live, we find ourselves total aliens in all social matters when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our fellow Hindu townsmen live. Besides, some at least of the other Muslim countries are, so to speak, our religious homes, such as Palestine, Iraq and Hedjaz; others are full of religious, and historic associations, such as Turkey, Persia, Central Asia, Syria and Egypt. On many important questions of theology, and even social observances, the opinions of learned Muslims and the practices of Muslim communities of other countries are cited and followed in India and vice versa.

We Muslims are proud of our international outlook; and India would have been a happier country if she were not embarrassed by caste and untouchability. As for treason to India, is it not a fact that it is men belonging to the Hindu community that are engaged actively in conspiracies with foreign societies and Governments for creating trouble in India, and which, if at all successful, would end in an indefinite postponement of self-government? These politicians who would eliminate the English from India allege that in such a contingency, we Muslims would rather see a foreign Muslim power rule in this country. That is true in the sense that the Muslims would not like the Hindus any more than the Hindus would like the Muslims to rule in place of the British. The Muslims, though a silent community, are not blind to what is going on. I say emphatically, however, that it is not true that we Muslims would not like to see a self-governing India, provided the Government of the country is made as responsible to the Muslims as to the Hindus. That is, in fact, the ideal to which we have always been asking our Hindu fellow-countrymen, or rather their politicians, to subscribe without any reserve, not merely by assenting to the abstract proposition, but by accepting measures by which alone it can be carried into effect. Otherwise, all vague generalities, such as *Swaraj* or commonwealth of India or homerule for India have no attraction for us.

It is reassuring to find that there are a few Hindu politicians who are working hard and earnestly to promote the cause of unity and goodwill between the two communities. The Muslims have shown even greater earnestness in this cause. One remarkable fact should never be forgotten, that some Muslims went so far as to place some Hindu politicians on the pulpits of famous mosques as a pledge of their goodwill. But we are greatly discouraged by the poor results of our efforts. Nevertheless, this is not a question which we should put aside as impossible of solution. But as a first step we must fully meet and definitely check the baneful activities of those Hindu Politicians who, under the protection of English bayonets and taking advantage of English tolerance and patience, are sowing trouble in the land to attain a Swaraj the full implications of which they do not understand and would never face. It will, perhaps, be years before a substantial fusion of the two peoples comes about, and probably it will be as the result only of some general social upheaval. We must all, in the meantime, persevere in our effort as the most serious item in our daily task. The real solution of the problem we have in view is to bring about a state of things in which the conditions of life of the entire population. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, and Christians, the peasants, labourers, and Hindu untouchables, will be so improved economically and the political power so distributed in the general population that domination by a class of monopolists and intelligentsia, whether Hindu or Muslim, will have disappeared, and with that all strife between the different communities.

Will our Hindu friends also accept this as their aim in all their political and administrative thinking and work steadily towards it? It cannot, let them remember, be attained all at once by the adoption of any particular political measure however radical, still less by any philosophical mantran (i.e. formula), however alluring in its simplicity. It is in fact that the

question of questions which is agitating the whole world; and whether anyone likes it or not, the social movement which is based on cravings of universal human nature is not going to be stopped. It is for us to welcome it in India and give it a proper direction in the circumstances of the country. It is no longer the mere vision of a millennium; for modern science and organization can attain it and will attain it, perhaps before very long. It is an ideal which has a special appeal to us Muslims, since it is a fundamental conception of Islam itself. Islam, as you know, recognizes no class superiority or domination, it has no room even for a priesthood; and while it recognizes private rights, sets its face against the objectionable features of capitalism.

### The Muslims in Bengal

I shall now give you a few facts regarding the position of the Muslims in Bengal, as an illustration of their general condition all over India, and indicate to you the causes that have brought it about. Any student of Indian history knows that since Bakhtiyar Khalji came to Bengal with 17 horsemen and captured the government of the area in 1199, the Muslims have indisputably been its rulers until the establishment of the East India Company's Government in 1757. During this period, Bengal was an independent Muslim kingdom for nearly 300 years, and for the rest it was more or less nominally a province of the Mughal Empire. The Arabs, perhaps even from before Khalji's conquest. had a brisk trade with Bengal on the Chittagong coast, and there must have been considerably admixture of Arab blood in the population of those coasts. The Afghans, the Persians and the Mughals must have found employment in thousands in the army and the civil administration, not to speak of the numerous countries and retainers that must have flocked into the Province. The Muslim population there is now about 26 millions. Many of Bengal's Muslim rulers were great patron of learning and literature. It is well known that Hafiz, as he himself says in one of his inimitable verses, received an invitation to the court of the Bulbans. It was under the patronage of the Muslim rulers of Bengal that the Bengali language and literature, which the Sanskritic pundits used to look down upon, were developed

with the collaboration of Muslim writers, somewhat in the same way as Urdu in the United Provinces. This is revealed by the investigations of Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and other authorities on the subject.

In the plains of Bengal everything decays with incredible rapidity, but magnificent ruins in brick and mortar are still there to testify to Muslim Bengal's past grandeur. In Dacca or Jehangirnagar, which was one of the later Muslim settlements, you will even now find beautiful mosques at a distance of every few vards; and the Golden Mosque at Gour, one of the earliest Muslim capitals in Bengal, must have been one of the grandest places of worship in the world. Only the other day, one Englishman, after seeing the ruins of Gour, writes in the Field that the city in Muslim days must in extent and population have been nearly equal to Calcutta, and the people of those days must have attained a high standard of civilization. He says, "The line of 49 Muslim kings who reigns there between 1200 and 1530 kept a court of which the oriental splendour must have nearly equalled that of the contemporary rulers of Delhi." In Hunter's Indian Musalmans, you will find the descriptions of a village in which, just before the days of the East India Company, a Muslim nobleman lived in his mansion on the banks of a beautiful lake, where the ladies used to enjoy the cool evening breeze in gaily painted house-boats, in the midst of an extensive park where men used to hunt preserved game. Adorned with hundreds of such mansions, the countryside of Bengal in the days of the Muslim kingdom must have presented a picture very different from that of the present times. Even during the regime of the East India Company, only three generations back, a large portion of the land of Bengal was held by Muslim jagirdars, aimmadars and zamindars, and the civil administration was staffed almost entirely with Musalman officers, dewans, sadrisadurs, muftis, kaziz and maulvis, etc. Education was widely spread, and I have not the least hesitation in asserting that the percentage of literacy among the Musalmans in those davs was higher than at present. Every Musalman of position had a madrassa or maktab and a mosque attached to his house; these madrassas turned out men well educated in Arabic and Persian, able to conduct business in courts as judges and vakils, and in other capacities in the administration, in Persian and latterly in Urdu.

I myself have seen the ruins of some of those madrassas. One of the first steps in the policy of the East India Company, when its military ascendency was firmly established in Bengal, was to abandon recruitment of the Musalmans of Bengal in the army; and when it obtained a firm grasp of the details of the revenue, judicial and police administration of the country with the help almost entirely of Muslim officers, the Court of Directors, though not without considerable division of opinion, suddenly altered their policy. English and Bengalis were substituted for Persian and Urdu; and in one generation the Muslims were swept out of the administration. The motive was mainly political, though it was supported on administrative grounds.

The Resumption Proceedings, which were started soon after the Wahabi movement in Bengal and apparently in consequence of it, resulted according to Hunter's estimate, in the confiscation of one-fourth of the land from Muslim jagirdars and aimmadars. The cumulative effect of these policies was to pauperize the entire well-to-do and educated classes of the community. consisting of hundreds of families, and to throw out of employment vast numbers of the general population. Most of these families had to resort to villages, so that they might earn a scanty living by cultivating the few acres of land that were still left to them or they could get hold of. There they had neither the means nor the facilities for educating their children; but today, in many a humble Muslim cultivator's family all over Bengal, you will find traditions of better days. The large admixture of Arabic and Persian words in the spoken Bengali language also testifies to the past history. The net result has been that the classes of the community which should ordinarily provide its leaders have, owing to impoverishment and lack of suitable openings in life, become considerably disorganized and demoralized, so that one obvious thing immediately necessary is to reconstruct that class.

This is a mere sketch of the present condition of Bengal and I would not have dwelt on it but for the fact that it is a very striking example of what has happened to Muslims throughout India. It must be admitted that the change of government was bound to tell most heavily on the former rulers of the country, who were dislodged. But it was not necessary that they should have been reduced to their present condition. I have never been

able to understand why the performance of boys and youths in the examination hall should be regarded as a test of the capability of vast communities, for that is really what is at the back of the present administrative system.

### Advancement of the Indian Muslims

It is, however, no use quarrelling with the past; and when the English people themselves, in laying the foundations of responsible government in the country, have given incontrovertible proof of their desire to give all classes and sections of the people of India a real opportunity to ameliorate their condition, it follows that the old arrangements, which experience has shown to benefit only a limited class of intelligentsia, and which do not suit large sections of the population, must be radically altered. I shall not be surprised if substantial steps are soon taken in that direction. If it is England's duty to help India forward as a whole on the path of progress, she owes a specially onerous duty towards India's 70 million Musalmans, who have continuously suffered and declined. Nevertheless, it should be constantly borne in mind by us that we must continue to exert the pressure of public opinion on the Government of the day, if we are to advance our position.

It is not our desire, in recreating an influential educated body, to set up the domination of a Muslim intelligentsia in the country side by side with that of the Hindus. What we want is to afford opportunities to the most intelligent and energetic men among the Muslims with their special knowledge of the difficulties of their community to help in advancing the economic, educational and political progress of the general population. We hold that it would be impossible for any Government to neglect the Muslim community without seriously jeopardising the best interest of India as a whole... Their economic value to the country is incalculable. But for the plucky Muslim sailors and skillful navigators supplied by Bengal, Bombay and Sind, India's trade with the outside world, round the coasts and along the great Indian rivers, would be seriously handicapped. It is due mainly to the enterprise of the Muslim peasants of the Puniab. Bengal and other provinces that India owes much of her wealth; and certainly Bengal, which is perhaps the best cultivated

of all provinces and where almost every inch of land grows paddy or jute, would have remained largely an unreclaimed marsh but for Muslim labour. Malabar owes much indeed to the Moplas, for without their indominable pluck, large tracts of it would still have remained unreclaimed jungles hunted by elephants and tigers. Burma, especially Rangoon, is greatly indebted to Muslim merchants from Bombay, and to various forms of labour supplied by the Muslims of Bengal. Indian colonial settlements in East Africa, South Africa and Australia are largely composed of Muslims from different parts of India. During the war, I am told, the Muslim sepoys of the North-West and the Punjab formed the majority of the Indian troops that fought for the British; and a monument is now to be seen in the Calcutta Strand, commemorating the valuable services rendered by the Muslim seamen of Bengal throughout the war.

Take the various arts and crafts to which I have already alluded. The beautiful silk, woollen and cotton fabrics for which India is noted, the shawls and the embroidery work of Kashmir, the gold cloth of Benares, the muslin of Dacca, prints of Lucknow and Farrukhabad, the wood-carvings of Kashmir, the brass and other metal work of Moradabad, the jewellery of Delhi and the silverwork of Kashmir, the exquisite needle-work of Delhi and Madras, the entire carpet manufacture of India, and practically all similar crafts are carried on by the skill and labour of Muslim artisans. What greater disservices could any politician do to India than to attempt to suppress the Indian Muslim's aspirations by denying him a fair and adequate opportunity for self-expression.

# An Evaluation of Experience in Government Service

Gentlemen, you will now permit me to relate to you some general results of my experience in the different public positions that I have filled during the last 17 years. It has been my lot to be in daily contact with educated Indians and Englishmen for nigh upon 35 years, as a practising barrister, a judge, a member of an important Royal Commission, and last of all as a Member of the Executive Council of Bengal, from which I have just retired. I wish to acknowledge without reserve that I found that I had much to learn from my English colleagues at every stage

of my career, and I would have been a great loser if I had not had the advantage of working with them. All those with whom I worked here and in England will admit that, whenever I did not agree with my English Colleagues, I freely expressed my dissent, and perhaps more so than any other Indian in a similar position. Nor did this happen infrequently. Looking back, however, I must admit that, if in some cases I was in the right, so were they in others. I have also been associated with many eminent countrymen of mine in the discharge of public duties, and I believe they will admit that most of the progressive measures were originated by the initiative of Englishmen themselves.

I was tempted to leave the Bench with its quiet, dignified life to join the new Government of Bengal under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme mainly by the prospect that there would be five Indians—two Executive councillors and three ministers—in a Government of eight men, including the Governor, and I naturally thought that the Indian point of view would necessarily have the greatest possible chance. I did not care to scrutinize the detailed provisions of the Act and the rules and regulations. The one fact alone that there would be five Indians in the Government was sufficient for me. Nor was I wrong: for I cannot recall even a single occasion when there was agreement on any question among us Indians that our opinion was disregarded. I have no knowledge of other provinces, but I should be very much surprised if things were at all different elsewhere. If the Indian point of view has not prevailed on any questions where it should have, then it must be attributed more to the weakness of the Indian Members and Ministers than anything else.

Take again the more important Public Commissions and Committees. There is no rule, convention or understanding that the members chosen from the official personnel, Englishmen or Indians, should all vote one way or support any particular policy; and as you know, I myself acted upon that principle in the Public Service Commission. Again, when I was asked to give evidence before the Muddiman Committee, I had the liberty to express my own views, which radically differed from those of the Government, and took full advantage of it. Now take the Lee Commission. It had on it four Indians, of whom two were

from the first ranks of public life in India. I say nothing now about the merits of their recommendations. All that I want to say is that those who condemn them should bear in mind that the five English members of the Commission were fully justified in presuming that the recommendations which had the support of all their Indian colleagues were *prima facie* in accordance with Indian public opinion. So also in the Muddiman Committee the report of the majority was signed by two out of six Indian members.

As regards Indians in the Government, it is alleged that the system is such that the Indian majority in the Government. cannot enforce their views. Dealing with the provinces, what is referred to mainly in the provision of law which vests power in a Governor to override the rest of the Government in certain contingencies, and to dissent from the Ministers at his own discretion. But even without any formal rules enunciating joint responsibility, there was nothing to prevent all the members of a Government in any province acting together in enforcing their views if the Governor overruled any of them, or all of them, in any measure of importance on which they were agreed. Do not however misunderstand me. I do not suggest for one moment that the Government of India Act and the rules framed under it do not require amendment; in fact, as you know, even while I was a member of the Bengal Government, I pressed strongly before the Muddiman Committee for considerable amendment of the law to bring it into harmony with the intention of the Act, which is to make those important branches of administration, education, health, self-government, agriculture and industries, entirely responsible to the legislature. All that I want to point out now is that however democratic a constitution you may have and whatever checks and counter-checks you may provide on paper for that part of the Constitution where the power really centres, much will always depend on the temperament and disposition of those who have to work it. Of this, you will find, in Woordrow Wilson's book on the American Constitution, a most convincing confirmation; and this fact, therefore, must be borne in mind by all constitution makers, especially by us.

But do not think for one moment that much good work has not been accomplished during the last five years by the

combined efforts of Indians in the Government and the various legislatures, working in co-operation with and, if all the facts were told, often led by the experience and political wisdom of Englishmen. Some reduction has been made in the army expenditure, though much more yet remains to be done; considerable economy has been effected in the civil departments; and deficit budgets have been converted into surplus budgets everywhere. The vital principle of fiscal autonomy has been at least partially recognized. The cotton excise duty has been suspended preparatory, let us hope, to its complete abolition. Discriminating protection has been adopted, and the great steel concern of the Tatas has already derived much benefit from it. The salt tax has been reduced; and the Currency Commission is now holding its sittings. I shall be much surprised if after these Committees have reported, India's economic and financial conditions are not much improved. The exclusion of Indians from the Commissioned Ranks of the Army is now a thing of the past; and it ought not to be long before a fullfledged Sandhurst is established in India, and an Indian militia is formed to supply the needs of our country's defence from external aggression and internal troubles.

The Government of India has been making unremitting efforts to secure equitable treatment for Indian colonists in South Africa and keeping a vigilant watch on the position and welfare of emigrants. The Indianization of the services is going on space and has already outstripped the aspirations of Hume, Naoroji, Surendranath Bannerjee, Tyabji and Gokhale. The laws discriminating between Indians and Europeans in criminal trials have been greatly modified; and in every department of civil administration, the English officers' reluctance to take orders from Indian Members, Ministers and Heads of Department has disappeared. Up-to-date ideas of education are being worked out, and the many new universities that have been established are undoubtedly advance on the old type. Steps are being taken to inaugurate universal compulsory primary education; and some little beginning, though very rudimentary, is being made in the domain of technical and vocational education.

The bounds of local self-government have been considerably extended; and the conscience of the educated classes and the

Government has been roused to the need for improving the health of the people and the general conditions of their living. It seems that the new Vicerov will be in a position to take an expert's interest in the development of agriculture in the country; and let us hope that in this important matter, he will be able to apply his ideas to the practical benefit of the agricultural classes. Let us also hope that he realizes that the spread of suitable education in the agricultural community is an indispensable condition of agricultural development. Owing mainly to the extension of franchise under the Reform, some sense of political responsibility and power though yet very faint and circumscribed, has been awakened in much larger circles among the general population, and there has been a distinct improvement in the social relations between the English and the Indians. How I wish that relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans had not been growing so thoroughly unsatisfactory.

I am one of those idealists who see no end and would put no limit to human progress, and still less to that of 300 millions of my countrymen. The horizon of my vision is not even bounded by Dominion Status of Swaraj or a commonwealth of India. My only concern is that we should have a clear grasp of the realities of the situation, in order that we may chalk out a firm and ample path of uninterrupted advance by suitable methods and measures.

#### The British Presence in India

Government, gentlemen, is an expression of the social capacity of a people. Any people living within a territory or forming a particular tribe or race or a congregation of tribes and races may be able to determine their own government. If they do, it implies, first of all, that they have a certain unity of purpose, are able to act together in administering the affairs of the community, and have sufficient self-discipline to acquiesce in the exercise of authority by some man or men from among themselves.

Granting that, there is still the further condition that they have the means and capacity to resist the attacks of other peoples. When both these conditions, which are inseparable, are fulfilled, we have self-determination in the real sense. No one,

unless he closes his eyes to palpable facts, will deny that the chance of one powerful people attacking another people now-adays is not less but more than it was in the days of Changez Khan, Halaku or Timur, Mahmud of Ghazni, Bakhtiyar Khalji, Babar, Atilla, Alexander of Macedon and the Christian Crusaders, Napoleon, Clive and Warren Hastings. Whatever excuse they may make, the aggressive people are almost always inspired by lust for power and possession.

For some time before the last war, an impression, or at least a hope, prevailed that the peoples of Europe were so blended together by ties of civilisation that they would never fight among themselves; and if they had to fight with uncivilized races—I am using the word in the European's sense—they would not go beyond certain limits in killing and exploiting.

After the last European war, which according to political phrase makers was waged in order to end war, no one can pretend that the mainsprings of action of the modern European nations are less primitive than those of other nations, past or present.

Look at how France, the leader of European civilization, has been engaged in combination with Spain in exterminating the Riffs, a gallant little nation whose only fault seems to have been an unvielding desire to live its own life and arrange its own affairs, and how France, again, has laid in ruins the most beautiful historic city of Damascus, full of great memories, killing and mutilating with shells and air bombs thousands of peaceful citizens, including children, women and old men. It is true that no European nation desires to administer the affairs of another European nation in the same way as those of non-Christian, non-European peoples. That is partly because even the weakest European nation is better organized than most non-European peoples, and partly because the general public opinion of Europe is more sensitive in the one case than in the other. Nor can it be assumed that the greed for territory and dominion has died out among the Asiatic peoples; and if we see fewer cases of aggression among them, it is only because none of them are strong enough to subjugate the others in the face of European and American competition.

I have not known anyone who have seriously suggested that the people of this country, left solely to themselves, would at present be able to set up a Government of their own and maintain it against cutside attacks. They are no better organized, and otherwise far less equipped for self-defence, than when a handful of Englishmen took over the Government of the country from the Mughals, practically without any resistance. And if it were true that Englishmen are here mainly to rob and exploit us, and would not scruple to use any form of deception or violence to achieve their object, as some nationalists persist in describing them, then surely the prospect of any substantial political advance must be wholly illusory. That, however, is not the proper standpoint from which to look at the question.

Whether the English captured the Government of India by conquest, or it was voluntarily made over to them by a section of the people and acquiesced in by the rest, may be a point of historical controversy. We are ready to concede that they are not here on a purely self-sacrificing mission, and that their connection with India must be of some advantage to them. India is prepared to pay everyone who serves her in any capacity his due wage. But while we concede this, we should be justified in expecting that the English should help us with their wider political experience in advancing the well-being and growth of the country. It will serve no practical purpose to discuss the question of balance of advantages in its numerous pros and cons. It is sufficient and best for us all to recognize frankly that the presence of the English people in the prevailing circumstances of India is justified by necessity.

At the same time, we must point out to those Englishmen who would assume the role of political prophets that nothing useful is achieved by laying down that they cannot conceive of a time when the English would cease to be administratively connected with India. Political prophecies do very little good to any party. In matters governing the destinies of nations, true wisdom is to be found in the words of the Holy Quran "God exalts whomsoever He chooses, and abases whomsoever he chooses". England owes a great moral debt to India, and the only way she can discharge that debt is by taking all possible measures to help her to become self-reliant and strong. The best men of England recognize this obligation; and we ought to meet them in the spirit, and combine with them to overcome the position or inertia of the narrow-minded men.

Nor should statesmen shut their eyes to the evidences of social upheaval which are manifest all over the world, including India, indicating that new ideas and fresh forces are at work. which must radically alter the relations between classes and classes and between different group of peoples. As for relations between the different peoples, nationalism, in which is ingrained a spirit of jealous rivalries and combativeness, is shown, especially by the last war, to be full of serious dangers; for when it is most active, hate becomes its sacred hymn, and religion, and even God himself, is appropriate to the cause of destruction. It is also much too inelastic for a world where time and space have been practically annihilated. Race theories are found to be too shadowy and confused and, in any case, inconsistent with the territorial definition of patriotism. When we find Jewish statesmen like Benjamin Disraeli, Goschen, Montagu, Rufus Isaacs and others leading England and moulding its policy and outlook and that a phrase like Greater Britain had to be devised to include Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa, no logical basis remains for orthodox English nationalism. It is now but a bundle of relics of old traditions and history. All the circumstances point irresistibly to the necessity that the Imperial Conference should be given a constitution in which India will have an honoured and equal place.

# The League of Nations

Then, is the League of Nations without significance? At present the European nations are undoubtedly too predominant there, but that great benefactor of India, Montagu—who died with his fact to the wall, because of so many of our latest politicians' ingratitude and short-sightedness—made India its original member; and when the worst features of nationalism will have disappeared, we can well look forward to the time when the League of Nations will become a greater League of Humanity. Germany will soon be taken into the League, and do you think it possible that Russia, Turkey, Arabia, and Egypt will long be kept out? You may call this optimism in the face of how France is dealing with the Riffs and the Syrians, of the inability of the League to deal with these cases or to settle the Mosul question in a manner calculated to advance the cause of peace among

nations. But no great movement had reached its destined end without frequent setbacks and fluctuations. The League of Nations will undoubtedly mark a great step in the direction of establishing equitable relations between the different peoples of the party as soon as the Asiatic and African nations are adequately represented on it.

# Democracy in the Indian Context

Let us now try to understand why responsible government of the people by the people for the people has acquired such a hold on the mind of the world, or why the famous saying of Campbell-Bannerman, that good government is no substitute for self-government, has become so popular. It is not because of its superior efficiency, for a monarchy or an oligarchy or government by foreigners may be more efficient. Its greatest value is educative, for on one day at least, each third or fifth or seventh year, every citizen, be he a labourer on a peasant, realizes that he stands on a footing of absolute equality with the prince, the politician and the financier in selecting men to administer the affairs of the country for the common benefit of all. This, however, can only the very partially and imperfectly attained in India for sometime vet to come, for it must be years before every Indian, man and woman, can have a vote; even the great majority of the present voters, who from a small fraction of the population, do not realise the full value and effect of their votes. In this essential respect, therefore, we are far off from the ideal.

Nor is it possible, in present circumstances, to have one common general electorate without leaving the minorities absolutely at the mercy of the majority. We must admit that full responsible government has little meaning unless it is really responsible to the will of the majority; and whatever checks and counter-checks you may put into the constitution, they cannot and must not do away with this essential character of responsible government, though they may to some small extent modify its operation. Even such modification will depend on the general goodwill and toleration, self-restraint of far sightedness of the majority. A majority wanting in these qualities can be far more tyrannical and oppressive than individual autocrats of the

present day. In our country the majority and the minority and sharply determined among the general population by their respective religion, past history, differences of culture, civilization. social outlook and habits of life, in short by communalism and not at all by any political principles, such as have been associated, for instance, with the conservative, the liberal and the socialistic parties of England. The Hindu and the Muslim communities, which mainly compose the population, are roughly in the proportion of 4 to 1 in India as a whole. Even in Bengal. and the Punjab, where the Muslim proportion is the largest, the two peoples are almost equally divided, the Muslims slightly preponderating. Again, whatever you do, votes are and will be largely affected by influence of various sorts exerted by men of the locality and by the different organizations in the country. In this respect also, the Hindus are in a position of great advantage throughout India, as money-lenders, bankers, lawyers and landholders and constituting the official personnel of the entire public administration, not merely in the various departments of Government such as the revenue, the executive, the police and the judiciary, but also in the municipalities, district boards, local boards, unions, in the universities, colleges and schools, in sanitary boards, hospitals and dispensaries almost everywhere. They are also far better organized.

The weakness of our political position is specially marked in Bengal, where the Muslim population amounts to more than one-third of the total Muslim population of India and 55 per cent of the entire population of the Province. Half, or more than half, of the members now sitting in the Bengal Legislative Council owe their return to the influence, monetary help and organization of a section of Hindu politicians and are therefore at their disposal. I shall just give you a few illustrations of what I mean. At one time, in consequence of certain political divisions in the council, there were two Muslim Ministers in charge of all the Transferred Departments, but they were turned out of office by a combination which commanded, among others, 20 Muslim votes. This was not, be it remembered, because of any unpopular policy of theirs in the Departments for which they were responsible. Now let us consider the attitude of these Muslim members towards some of the more important measures which were brought up before the present Council. You have heard of the Hindu-Muslim Pact of Bengal which, among other considerations, influenced so many Muslim members to join a political party entirely controlled by the astute Hindu brain and supported by their money and organization. When the Pact was mooted in the Council, these gentlemen effectively helped by their votes to postpone indefinitely the solution so far as the Bengal Council was concerned, of a very important question which, not merely in Bengal, but throughout India, has so largely divided the two communities.

Only the other day, a Bill was put forward by Government to provide for a statutory grant to meet the current recurring expenditure of the Dacca University; and in the circumstances, there was no question that such a provision had become necessary if that University, which was full of possibilities and already doing excellent work, was to carry on its activities in an atmosphere of peace and security. The University caters for Eastern Bengal, where Muslims form the bulk of the population, and they naturally supply a substantial number of the undergraduates and graduates, though amounting only to onethird of the total number, and on its governing body, the Muslims are represented to the extent of about one-half. Its Muslim Hall is an institution most full of promise for the Muslims of Bengal, who are still backward in education. And yet, the Muslim Swarajist Members of the Council in a body voted against the measures, though none ventured to speak against it. One of them actually supported the measure in his speech, which will doubtless, in proper time, be brought to the notice of his constituents-and yet joined with the others in voting against it. In spite of these men, however, the Bill was passed into law and the Dacca University was saved.

The latest feat of these men and their party occurred only a few days ago. You may be aware that in Bengal agriculture is the pursuit of about 90 per cent of the population; and upon the labours of these cultivators, who do their daily work in malarial swamps, depend almost the entire wealth and resources of the Province. An important but extremely moderate measure, the object of which is to improve the working of the present Bengal Tenancy Act, and give some little relief to the ryots as well, was placed before the Council at its last session. Of the personnel of the proposed Select Committee, the majority were

large landholders of considerable influence, and some members of the Legislative Council moved to add three or four names of men who might be in a position to put forward the case of the dumb millions of cultivators of whom the majority are Muslims. For the first time in its history, the Swaraj Party of Bengal, in which there are, as I have said, about 20 Muslim Members out of 40, trouped into the Government lobby to defeat the nation. Another motion which was carried with their help was to enlarge the quorum, so that if the influential landholders on the Select Committee so wished, the Committee would be unable to report in time, and the Bill would be automatically lost when the life of this Council is completed in the course of a year. The Swarai Party in Bengal not only has many rich zamindars, within its fold but also receives considerable financial support from them. It is thus extremely doubtful whether they can ever be in a position to fulfil any of its responsibilities to the ryots and labourers in whose name they always choose to speak. The very first case in which, after two years ploughing of the sands, they have shown the new spirit of what is called 'responsive co-operation' in a measure of importance must be largely destructive of such hope. To please the capitalists and zamindars, their patrons, and also to serve the rvots and labourers is the impossible task which the Swarajists in Bengal have undertaken. The Swarajists as a political party are, at least in the Bengal Legislative Council, a mere futility; and their Muslim supporters are a hoax perpetrated on the Muslim electorates of Bengal.

# Different Political Approaches

It does not require any extraordinary acumen for anyone to realise that the political position in India is full of complexities and difficulties. There are in it factors which are bound to create considerable division of opinion and divergence of action. It is no good ignoring this fact, nor the fact that in the circumstances, sentiments and passions are bound to affect differently the policies and conduct of men of different temperaments. At one extreme you have men who would be satisfied with nothing but a revolution, who honestly feel that revolution furnishes the proper and only solution. I do not know whether the revolutionaries have any political programme; if they have, they have

not divulged it. Their immediate objective apparently is to overthrow the British regime, and with it the entire present system of government. We can, however, dismiss the revolutionaries summarily, both because there is not the least possible chance of their success and because we do not know what is the form of government which they would like or be able to substitute in the event of their success. We Muslims, whose history for 1300 years and more has been one of constant struggles and wars spreading over most countries of Asia, Africa and Europe, cannot but regard as extremely foolish and insane the men who think that by throwing a few bombs now and then, or shooting one or two Englishmen from behind, or by raising and looting the houses of some unsuspecting and defenceless Indian villagers and by killing and torturing them, they are going to shake the foundations of British power in India. The only thing serious about the conduct of such men is that it is bound, if it persists for any time, to souse the passions of Englishmen; and insofar as it contains a warning to the British, as the Swarajist champion of the political prisoners in Bengal put it the other day, is it seriously to be supposed that the English will be cowed by such a hollow threat? We Muslims cannot regard boys or men suffering from hysteria as serious politicians; and the fact is significant that not a single Muslim has joined them.

As for non-co-operation as a political weapon, I remember having put it to a high unbending English official in the Punjab. when I cross-examined him in the Public Services Commission and found that he would not move an inch in favour of Indian demands, what would happen to the administration if the Indians in the services combined and resigned. He had of course to admit candidly that the administration could not be carried on even for a day. The various professions and business, by which the English connection is maintained and English commerce carried on, held aloof, as was the original objective of the non-co-operation movement, the British power in India would collapse. This is as simple as A B C. At the same time, it is, I believe, realized by all that the whole idea is impossible, for it takes no note of human nature. Apart from that, I do not think that it has been made quite clear what the positive political demands of the orthodox non-co-operators are. If we are told that it is Swarai we are not much better off, for we have no definition

of it from them, and cannot therefore discuss its merits. I do. however, understand the attitude of the true non-co-operators who are. I believe, also called 'no-changers', insofar as they want to keep aloof from active politics, because they find it more in consonance with their own self-respect and dignity. and as the custodians of the self-respect and honour of India, not to place themselves in a position where they will not be able to run the entire Government as they like, but have to act as colleagues of Englishmen and Indians who may not always see fit to agree with them. With such an attitude we have no quarrel. I do not know whether there are any people still left who believe in the possibilities of civil disobedience. In any case Mr. Gandhi himself recognizes that it is not possible. This much, however, I must emphatically say in this connection, that the leaders of non-co-operation should first of all see that the entire intelligentsia and well-to-do classes, lawyers and merchants, zamindars, Government officials of all grades, men practising Western medicine and the others, set the example before they call upon the poorer classes, such as the rvots, to practise civil disobedience.

The Swarai Party is of a more complex character. It has in its composition three factors dominating its policy; a general distrust and hatred of the English people, which appeals to an overstrung section of the educated bhadralog class from which the revolutionaries of Bengal are drawn; conciliation of the Muslims, and securing their support by acceptance of their demands; and lastly a bid for the support of the general population by putting themselves forward as champions of the cause of the ryots and labourers. The first factor which is the source of this party's strength, such as it is, contains in it seeds of fatal conflict with the rest of the programme. The bhadralog class is composed of zamindars and capitalists whose interests are essentially opposed to those of the ryots and labourers, and the educated Hindu middle-classes are reluctant to share their position in the Government and the administration with the similar classes among Muslims. The real ambition of the bhadralogs, as a class, is to substitute themselves in place of the British official administrators. Unless the Swarajists make up their minds definitely to free their party from the influence of monopolists and capitalists, it is not possible for them to act as a genuine people's party. If they do, that would indeed be a step in the political advancement of the country; but it is more than doubtful that such a radical change will happen in the outlook of the party. As it is, they are neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring, and their activities are positively injurious to the country. So far as one can gather, responsible government with Dominion status is also their goal; but it is difficult to understand how the Swarajists, who profess not to be revolutionaries or anarchists, can regard wholesale and continuous obstruction of the daily work of administration as a legitimate procedure, when it must necessarily in various ways injure thousands of people in their daily lives. Signs, however, are not wanting that they will have to abandon obstruction as a policy, even if they do not disavow it altogether. Then, it will be possible for them to put their house in order and embark on constructive work which the founder of the party, the late Mr. C.R. Das, had set up as its ultimate aim.

The rest of the political parties seem to agree that we have to seek political advancement of the country by all methods open to us under the constitution and as a component unit of the British Empire; nor is there any disagreement among them regarding the ideal of self-government with Dominion Status. From what I have seen of the working of these groups in the Legislative Council of Bengal, the inference to be drawn is that they differ in the tone of their speeches, and also on some detailed questions of administrative policy. We must here note the fact that in the Swaraj Party, which is actuated by a desire for more or less revolutionary changes in the Constitution, and which has not yet applied itself seriously to any constructive programme of political work which could be tested by its bearing on the welfare of the people and its effects on the different communities, there is a certain amount of harmony between the Hindu and the Muslim members. But when you come to the parties who have interested themselves in concrete problems of administration, the administration, the divergence between the representatives of the two communities becomes at once painfully conspicuous. The Swaraiists, having taken over the administration of the Calcutta Corporation, must have found out how difficult the actual task of administration is even in municipal matters, unless the administrators are strong enough to resist all influence

detrimental to public good and to act firmly and impartially towards the various communities whose interests are in their keeping. The Muslim members of the Corporation, with the exception, I believe, of one man or two, have severed their connection with the Swarajists group in the corporation, making an excuse of the question of the burial, in the municipal market, of the so-called Pir, of whom you must have heard; and they have more than once thought of resigning from the Corporation itself. I believe that, in several places in the United Provinces, the Muslim members of municipalities and district boards have resigned by way of protest against certain actions of the Hindu majority.

#### Constitutional Issues

We have been called upon by the Secretary of State for India to put forward a constitution on which there would be general agreement, by which, I believe, he must mainly have meant agreement among the Hindus and Muslims. For that purpose, it is necessary to have a conference of the leading representatives of the two communities, and I hope that it may be possible to bring it about soon. There are, however, certain broad points on which there is absolute or, at least, practical unanimity among Muslims, which I have already indicated but which I might just as well summarize. No one can fail to be convinced by the history of the elective system in India, whether in the Legislatures or self-governing bodies like municipalities, district boards and universities, that no Muslims, except perhaps in places where they are in an overwhelming majority, would have a chance of being returned by a common electorate. Nor can there be the slightest doubt that this is only natural, having regard to the general attitude of one community towards the other. So no one expect that Muslims will at present accept a general common electorate. The proposal to earmark a certain number of seats for Muslims to be returned by mixed electorates is even more open to objection... If the Muslims are not represented at all in the legislative and the self-governing local bodies, they would be wholly free to do whatever they could to resist measures injurious to their interests; but supposing Muslims are returned through mixed electorates, it is absolutely certain that these men will be entirely

the creatures of a certain class of influential Hindus, and as such they will be helpless in the matter of faithfully representing the views and aspirations and to protect the interests of their community.

As I have pointed out to you, even under the separate communal electorate system, the weaker constituencies, though entirely Muslim, are liable to be dominated by the influence of zamindars, lawyers and moneylenders, and even by men employed in the local administration, the great majority of whom are Hindus. Under the present system, we have some Muslims in the legislatures who are in an independent position and are able freely to represent the needs and demands of their constituencies. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to get such men at all through a mixed electorate. Separate electorates have been found necessary not only for the Muslims, but also for Europeans. How could anyone, under the circumstances, honestly deny separate electorate to Muslims, unless he is actuated by a desire to wipe off the community from the legislative bodies of the country?

Let me now summarize the general conclusions which I have already fairly clearly indicated in describing the present situation and the nature of problem arising out of it.

We have to be satisfied, at present, with much less than the full ideal of responsible government for the following reasons; (a) It is not practicable for some time yet to come to extend the franchise to every adult man and woman, or to rely upon the general body of voters to understand their responsibility so as to make an intelligent use of their vote; (b) For the present, it would be impossible to institute a common general electorate for all classes and communities, without jeopardizing the interests of large and important minorities, and thus giving rise to serious trouble in the land. Besides other possible safeguards for the protection of minority interests generally, the two communities. Hindu and Muslim, should be represented in the legislatures in the proportion of their respective populations; and neither community should have less than 33 per cent of the seats in the Indian and provincial legislatures; (c) Not merely goodwill, but co-operation of Englishmen in the Government, the administration and the legislatures of the country is necessary until the people are sufficiently united among themselves and politically advanced and strong enough to resist outside aggression.

Subject to these limitations, the present Constitution should be so modified as to remove all difficulties in the way of representative of the people securing unhampered progress for the country, politically and economically.

Indian opinion, I believe, is generally agreed that the Secretarv of State for India should be relieved of all questions of executive administration, however important. He should be concerned only with those large question of policy which affect the relations between India and Britain, the colonies or foreign powers, or which concern the Native States. The Vicerov is generally a British statesman of the first rank, and he is supported by the Commander-in-Chief, who is also a member of his Council, and by six other members of the Executive Council, three of whom are distinguished English officials, the other three being Indians. The Government of India is in constant touch with public opinion through the Assembly, the Council of State, the provincial legislatures and the local governments; and surely the Secretary of State, however gifted, cannot, sitting in Whitehall, be in a better position to deal with the administrative needs of India, with the advice of a few superannuated Englishmen and Indians, whose knowledge of the conditions in India must grow fainter and less real month by month.

The Secretary of State's Council might be safely abolished as an unnecessary burden on the taxpayers, especially as the High Commissioner has taken over many important duties which formerly devolved on the Secretary of State's Council. With rapid modern means of communication, the Secretary of State could be in the closest daily communication with the Viceroy and the Government of India; and, if necessary, on any important occasion, he could either himself come to India or ask the Viceroy, or any of his councillors, to meet him at Whitehall. Again, the Imperial Conference and the League of Nations afford opportunities for consultation with delegates from India, which can be utilized to elucidate important questions of Indian policy. The Imperial Conference may be given a permanent constitution, with India represented on it on an adequate basis, so that it might be able to advise the British Parliament of questions relating to foreign policy, and on those affecting the relations between the different components of British Empire.

The Government of India is concerned with what are strictly central subjects such as the army, foreign relations, Native States, inter provincial questions, communications and customs, and exercises general powers of co-ordination and supervision. However, at present the rules are such that the local legislatures and the executives are unnecessarily hampered in dealing with matters which are really of provincial significance. They should be made autonomous in all provincial matters, in accordance with the intentions of the Government of India Act. I may here mention one glaring anomaly in Bengal, namely that the Calcutta High Court, unlike the High Courts of other presidencies and provinces, is treated as a Central Subject, so that arrangements for the administration of justice, in which the people are so intimately interested, are placed practically above the reach of public opinion.

The administrative task of the Government of India will be considerably lightened with further devolution of powers to local governments and legislatures, and the most important duties of the Central Government will be to deal with questions of general policy relating to military matters, commerce, tariffs, customs and fiscal measures, currency and Indian finance, and also internal problems of a general character. It has been suggested that an element of responsibility should be introduced in the Government of India, which would mean division of subjects into reserved and transferred. Whether that is possible, and if so, how the subjects should be grouped, and whether the Ministers would have sufficiently important departments in their charge, with reference to which responsibility to the legislature would be of any advantage at all to the country, are matters requiring serious consideration. It will also have to be considered whether the Ministers should be made responsible to the Legislative Assembly alone, or to both the Assembly and the Council of State. The another very important question arises—whether the Muslims of India or the British people would contemplate with equanimity the possibility of there being no Muslim in the Government of India.

The main question that is agitated with reference to the provinces is whether the local government should not be made entirely responsible to the legislature. This is a question of great

difficulty, when one realizes its implications; for instance, whether it is intended that the Governor should be more or less a ceremonial dignitary representing the British Crown, or whether he should have any powers, and if so what powers, in the Government. The next important question is whether the provinces, or any of them, are prepared to do away with Englishmen in the Government; for that must be the inevitable effect, if the entire Government is made responsible to the legislature. In that connection, the position of Englishmen in the services will also require consideration; whether their services would be required, and if so whether they would continue in the service after the English element has been removed from the Government. It has further to be ascertained whether there is justification for the doubt that has been raised on whether the English officers of the English and Indian regiments located in the provinces would support and, in case of necessity, take orders from the civil administration, when that administration has been denuded of its English personnel.

It has to be considered whether, in the provinces, there is a fair chance of the legislature furnishing a stable Government; and if there is, whether the minority communities will acquiesce in the position if, as is likely, they are not represented in the Government at all or not to the extent they think it to be necessary to safeguard their interests. It is extremely probable that in the present circumstances only certain classes, such as landholders, capitalists and lawyers, will form the Government; and it requires consideration to see whether the activities of such a Government are likely to be beneficial or injurious to the interests of the ryots and labourers, who form the general population. If the latter, than it must be determined whether the extension of franchise will be a suitable remedy or what other remedies are possible. The above are some of the more important questions which will require considerable investigation, and which cannot be decided off hand. The result is that we require a strong committee, fully representative of the different communities and interests, to investigate the entire position, ascertain the opinion and desires of the people, on as large a scale as possible, in the different concrete political and administrative problems that may arise, and then recommend a constitution which will meet the requirements of the situation.

It is easy enough to define our political goal, and even to draw up a programme; but the most difficult thing is to secure the machinery and to get hold of the power with which to carry out our programme, so that we may reach the goal. I have indicated some of the more serious difficulties that we have to surmount. They surround us on every side. They are such that it is not possible for a few individuals, however gifted or selfsacrificing to achieve much by way of overcoming them. The united efforts of all of us are needed, and these efforts must be co-ordinated. There should be no waste of energy and no clashing. There is scope enough for a legion of workers in manifold capacities; we want a number of capable and earnest men to lead out activities in the different spheres of work. The need be no scramble for leadership, for I could immediately chalk out a programme of work worth anyone's ambition for a hundred and more Muslim leaders. Only let them not get unnecessarily into each other's way. In short, our first and foremost task is to organise; and if that has any meaning, it means division of labour.

#### The Muslim World Outside India

I have only barely alluded to the happenings in the Muslim world outside India. All Muslims feel it keenly whenever a Muslim country is in danger. But the question as to what we should and can do to help is full of difficulties and complexities.

Ibn-i-Saud, according to the latest information, is now master of the situation in Hedjaz and it is said that in the governance of Hedjaz he is going to seek the assistance of Muslims of different countries. If so, we should prefer our heart co-operation. In Persia we find that Raza Khan has assumed the role of Shah. Should we rejoice over it on the ground that Persia has at last found a strong ruler who may be able to evolve order and national strength out of chaos and weakness, or should we mourn over the fact that democracy, or responsible government, or government by the people of the people for the people, has suffered defeat? The gallant Riffs and the brave Druses have our greatest sympathy and admiration; but if we are to translate that sympathy and admiration into any measures of relief, the best thing we can do is to collect

money and send it to Sved Ameer Ali, who will see to it that such relief as can be secured with the amount reaches the sufferers. The most disquieting news in the League of Nations' award on the Mosul question. The decision is pregnant with sinister possibilities affecting relations between England and Turkey; and let us fervently hope that what seems to be the dire of the bulk of the English people—not to push matters beyond the limits of friendly negotiations—will prevail. It is difficult to understand how a Conservative Government could have forgotten their party's old traditions of friendship with Turkey; nor is it conceivable how it can benefit England to have anything to do with a tract of country which will prove ten times more troublesome to them than the North-West Frontier of India. It would surely be wiser in England's own interest to help Iraq find its proper place in a confideracy of Muslim States, rather than extend the Mandate and make her position in the Near and the Middle-East still more complicated.

The Khilafat Committees led by Maulana Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Abul Kalam Azad and others have taken charge of this department of work; and I have no doubt that, with their special knowledge and experience, they are in a better position to grapple with it than most people.

#### Political Organization and Education of Muslims

The Tanzeem, whose object, I understand, is to organize the Indian Muslims on a large scale, so that they may work out their destiny in different spheres of life and protect themselves from the attacks of such movements as the Sangathan and the Shuddhi, has, I believe, been founded by Dr. Kitchlew, who is devoting his time and best energies to this important work. It is a great task which he has undertaken, one in which he would require the ungrudging support of all who desire to help the community to maintain its integrity and position in the difficult times in which we live. He will evidently need a large band of enthusiastic workers, and I hope he will get them.

I have already indicated to you the difficulties of the political work which is the main, if not the sole objective of the All-India Muslim League. Men engaged in this class of work have to shoulder responsibility in the Government and the Legislatures and to promote the political education of the community. All the three branches of work are important and none can be neglected without seriously injuring the rest. Nothing far-reaching can be achieved unless we seriously taken in hand the political education of the people. In this sphere very little work is being done at present; and it is high time that we undertook the task in right earnest. What is most unsatisfactory, from the point of view of practical politics, is that we Muslims are an ill-organized body in the Legislature, and if we cannot improve our position greatly in this respect, neither separate electorates nor Muslim Members and Ministers in the Government can save us. No time must be lost in forming a solid Muslim party in the Indian as well as the local legislature. That is the essential and foremost need of the situation. If we succeed in meeting it, much of the rest will follow; without it, our political ruin as a community will be brought about by our own men. I say this without hesitation, because I have seen how, time after time, we have, owing to want of an organization among the Muslim Members of the Council, failed to profit by opportunities which in the political world, as we know, do not occur every day. And whenever we have been able to combine, we have at once achieved our object. We were able to secure a separate electorate for the Calcutta Corporation simply because we were able to unite and thus obtain the sympathy and support of non-official European Members of the Council. The Swarajist had not come in then to divide the Muslims among themselves. Even when the Swarajists had weakened our strength by onehalf, the rest of the Muslims acting together were able to save the Dacca University, with the help of the Government block, the European non-officials and a group of Hindu Members.

I have never—not even in the most discouraging circumstances—wavered in my support of the principle of responsible government, because among its many advantages, it provides, under such proper safeguards as I have mentioned, the best possible forum where the needs, grievances and aspirations of weak communities can be publicly discussed and suitable redress obtained. But without adequate safeguards and a proper organization, responsible government in the present circumstances may well result in the political effacement of Indian Muslims. I beseech you therefore to organize your forces in the legislature

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to form a Muslim Party with a reasonable and well-defined political programme. Have a leader in each legislature who will express the mind of the party. When you have settled your programme of work, give him instructions on every important point, but let him represent you as one united party before the world. We must choose a good man if we can find one, but even an indifferent man will do much with the party at his back. The essential need is that we should be united; and if we are, we have nothing to fear. A well-organized Muslim party will secure victory on whichever side it throws its weight. If, on the other hand, we cannot organize a united Muslim party in the legislatures, the very object of communal representation will be defeated: for it presupposes that the community as such has views on important questions which can be best represented by men selected by itself. We must also always bear in mind that communal electorates do not exist solely, on even mainly, in order to deal with purely communal questions, but because it has been found necessary that the Muslims should have a fair chance, along with other communities, to contribute their political thought and energy to the development of the country, and at the same time to protect their own special interests. The Muslim party will of course daily be acting with other political parties. They may at times form a coalition with them, but they cannot merge their identity in other parties without considerably impairing their status and usefulness as representatives of the community.

In choosing their political ally, they will have to find out which of the political groups will best help their measures; and the choice should be determined by a dispassionate consideration of all the circumstances, and not under the sway of passions and prejudices. Let not matters extraneous to your practical programme of work warp your plan of action in the Council. You will not expect that any other party will hold identically the same views as yourselves on the general questions or...in some matters which interest you greatly...If that were not the position, there would have been no need for a separate party, still less for a separate communal electorate. There must be considerable give and take, and it is here that the political wisdom and strength of the party and its skill and capacity to negotiate will be severely tested. But as we know, success in such

negotiations will depend on our solidarity as a Party and our influence in the country. The latter depends on the political education of the community; and I know for certain that whatever be the dissensions and divisions in the ranks, where men are engaged in a mutually destructive and insane form of scramble for power, the Muslim community as a whole will far more readily respond to political training than any other community in India. It is there that our true, but almost unexplored, strength lies. We want a band of devoted patriotic workers to utilize that tremendous power. This work can only be done by the younger generation in whom all our hopes centre, with such advice and help as we of the passing generation can give them. But for God's sake do not make their task-heavy enough as it will be more burdensome and difficult by bequeathing them a tradition of petty narrowminded squabbles. With even a fraction of our mass power, we can instantly stop that wild devil's dance in which some politicians are indulging, and then proceed smoothly with the great work of reconstruction in accordance with modern needs.

I have already indicated the important general problems in which we are as deeply and vitally interested as the rest of India's population. Some of them—such as those affecting the Constitution; the nature and extent of franchise: the allotment of seats in the legislature; the personnel of Government and the administration; constitution of self-governing bodies like municipalities, district and local boards; education in its various grades; relations between ryots and labouring classes, on the one hand, and landowners, capitalists and money lenders, on the other; agricultural and industrial development, and so on-raise questions in which the interests of the Muslim community are either, more or less, in conflict with those of classes belonging mainly to other communities, or in which our community is more keenly interested than the others. Many of these special aspects of general political and administrative problems are of considerable importance to the community; and they require the careful attention, in the first instance, of Muslim legislators, for it is mainly through their help and advice that the legislature as a whole, and the Government, would be in a position to deal with them.

#### A Common Language: Hindi in the Arabic Script

Gentlemen, we must bear in mind that political measures are not the sole means of building up a nation. At present, we have not even a vernacular name for the people of India, including Hindus, Muslims and others, nor a common language. I submit to all for serious consideration whether we should not be advancing a substantial step forward if, for instance, we called the Indian nation Hindi and aimed at a Hindi common language. Here we must have a compromise. I suggest that while we call the common language of India Hindi, we should use the Arabic script, one great advantage of which will be that it will put India on terms of easy communication with her neighbours, living in countries which after all supplied the most advanced elements of the Hindu and Muslim population. The Devnagri script is actually confined to some portions of India, and at best provides a key to a classical language—the Sanskrit whose unexampled beauty we all admire, but which, all the same, is a dead language. Some may use more Arabic and Persian words, and others more Sanskrit words; but that will make no difference. My suggestion should satisfy both Hindu and Mohammedan sentiments; but I am not basing it on mere sentiments. I have been emboldened to make it by an earnest desire to think in national terms and to bring about a harmony of outlook.

Gentlemen, you will permit me, in concluding, to make it absolutely clear that anything I have said in condemnation of some movements and tendencies is confined to a certain class of Hindu politician and is not to be construed as intended, in any way, to reflect on the Hindu leaders generally or the Hindu community. I have numerous friends in the Hindu community all over India, and I may especially mention the happy recollection I have of the more than 12 years which I spent in Madras, the home of orthodox Hinduism, of the kindness, cordiality and affection that I experienced from them from the very day I arrived till I left the last station in that Presidency. I have striven to set up, both before the Hindu and the Muslim communities, a higher ideal towards which our political vision must be steadily directed. These are times big with the fate of nations, and mark a turning point in the fortunes of our great

country and our community, both of which have claims upon your highest and dis-interested patriotism. In such a time as this, all petty bickerings must cease; and if we differ in our opinion on any question, let us not forget that we do so in order to attain the self same goal. It is neither by the English alone, nor by the Hindus or the Musalmans acting singly, but by the earnest and united efforts of all that the 300 millions of India's population can be led to a higher destiny.

#### RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SESSION

#### FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Whereas the speedy attainment of full responsible government is one of the declared objects of the League, and it is now generally felt and recognized that the conception of Swaraj should be translated into the realm of practical politics, and whereas it is the declared policy of the British Government also to enable the people of India to take a decisive part in the moulding of their own destinies, which is marked by the declaration of August 1917 and the enactment of 1919, which formed a definite epoch in the history of India as a herald of the time when India will possess full autonomy and will rank as an equal with the Dominions and with the United Kingdom itself, as a member of the British Commonwealth, the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the present Constitution of India must be amended, and urges that for this purpose the Government should undertake the revision of the Government of India Act 1919, and without any delay, appoint a Royal Commission to formulate, after due enquiry and investigation, a scheme so as to place the Indian Constitution on a sound and permanent basis, with provisions for automatic progress to establish full responsible government in India, and thereby secure stability in the Government and the willing co-operation of the people.

Provided, however, that for any scheme of the future Constitution of India, the All-India Muslim League reaffirms and unequivocally declared that the following basic and fundamental principles must be secured and guaranteed, viz:

(1) All legislatures of the country and other elected bodies shall be constituted on the definite principles of adequate and

effective representation of minorities in every province without reducing the majority in any province to a minority or even to an equality.

- 2. The representation of communal groups shall continue to be by means of separate electorates as at present, provided that it shall be open to any community at any time to abandon its separate electorate in favour of a joint electorate.
- 3. Any territorial redistribution that might at any time be necessary shall not in any way affect the Muslim majority in the Punjab, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province.
- 4. Full religious liberty, i.e. liberty of belief, worship, propaganda, association and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities.
- 5. No Bill or resolution or any part thereof shall be passed in any legislature or in any other elected body, if three-fourths of the members of any community in that particular body oppose such a Bill or resolution or part thereof on the ground that it would be injurious to the interests of that community, or in the alternative, such an other method is devised as may be found feasible and practicable to deal with such cases.

#### Discussion

After Sir Ali Imam had proposed, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan had seconded and Maulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad had supported the resolution, the President directed its further discussion to be postponed, and the (following) Resolution to be taken up and disposed of first. The discussion is, however, summarized below.

Maulana Mohammad Ali, who had handed in the following proposal, rose to speak: "Whereas Swaraj is our birth-right, and the existing Government of India provides a Constitution for India which falls far short of Swaraj and is extremely unsatisfactory, the All-India Muslim League calls upon the Government to invite a round-table conference of the representatives of all communities and political parties in India, in terms of the demand made in February 1924 by the Legislative Assembly, for the purpose of framing the constitution of a Swaraj government to be brought into force in the manner provided by the resolution of the Legislative Assembly passed in this behalf on

that occasion. The League trust that the constitution enacted in this manner would be based on the following principles for the protection of the minorities: (1) that all communities shall have representation in all elected bodies at far as possible in proportion to their numbers; (2) that minority communities shall have their representation secured to them in every elected body by means of separate electorates, provided that it shall be open to a minority in any elected body at any time to abandon its separate electorates in favour of joint electorates: (3) that no territorial redistribution shall affect the existing majority of any community in any province without its own consent: (4) that religious liberty, i.e. liberty of religious belief, worship, observance, association, propaganda and education, shall be guaranteed to all communities; and (5) that no Bill or resolution, or any part thereof, shall be passed in any legislature or any other elected body if three-fourths of the members of any community. or part thereof, oppose it on the ground that it would injuriously affect their community".

Maulana Mohammad Ali, commenced to read the above, after standing that he moved it as an amendment in place of the resolution under discussion. The President, however, ruled it out on two grounds: first, that it was not in the form of an amendment, but that of a substantial proposition in itself; and secondly, because it had not been brought up for discussion in the Subject Committee.

Maulana Mohammad Ali then spoke against the original resolution, urging the points stated in the proposals which he had handed in.

In the discussion that followed, the original resolution was supported by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Mr. Malik Barkat Ali and Moulvi Wahid Husain, while it was opposed by Maulana Shaukat Ali, Mr. Abdur Rahim and Moulvi Abdul Bari Mohammad Saqi. Mr. Yaqub Hasan supported the spirit of the resolution, though he would neither support nor oppose it in its present form. Being put to the vote, it was carried by a very large majority.

#### FRONTIER ENQUIRY

The All-India Muslim League once more urges upon the

Government the imperative need to give effect to the majority report of the Frontier Enquiry Committee without any further delay, and requested the Members of the Central Legislature and the Punjab Council to make all efforts, and press the Government to carry out the recommendations of the Frontier Enquiry Committee.

Proposed by Mr. Abdul Aziz, seconded by Sir Ali Imam and supported by Maulana Mohammad Ali, Qazi Mohammad Aslam, Mr. Noor Bux and Dr. L.K. Hyder.

#### COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION

The All-India Muslim League hereby appoints a committee consisting of the following gentlemen, to frame a scheme of constitutional advance to be placed before the Royal Commission when appointed, with due regard to the protection of the Muslim interests, with power to the committee to invite the cooperation of the other political organizations in the country, in order to bring about, as far as possible, a proper adjustment of the differences of views existing among them in regard to the details of such a scheme, and to submit the scheme thus framed for the consideration and approval of the Council of the League.

The following were appointed as members of the Committee. Punjab: Sir Mohammad Shafi; K.B. Abdul Qadir; Lt. Sirdar Sikandar Hayat Khan; Malik Barkat Ali; N.W.F.P: Nawab Sir Abdul Qayum; Mr. Abdul Aziz; Kazi Mohammad Aslam; Mr. Aurangzeb Khan. United Provinces: Hon'ble Syed Riza Ali; Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan; Hafiz Hedayat Husain; Syed Zahur Ahmad. Bihar: Sir Ali Imam; Mawab Sarfraz Husain Khan, Bengal: Sir Abdul Rahim; Mr. Fazal Rahman: Khwaja Nizamuddin Mohammad Ali Khan. Central Provinces: Sheikh Abdul Qadir; Mr. Mohammad Shareef. Bombay: Mr. M.A. Jinnah; Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad; Mr. Ghulam Husain Hediatullah; Thakore Nazrullah. Madras: Mr. Abbas Ali Khan; Dr. M. Jilani. Burma: Mr. A. Wali. Delhi: Mr. Asaf Ali; Hafiz Abdul Aziz.

The resolution was proposed by Syed Alay Nabi; seconded by Mirza Ali Mohammad Khan; opposed by Mr. Tassaduq

Ahmad Khan Shervani; supported by Mr. M.C. Chagla and Hafiz Hedayat Husain.

#### MUSLIM REPRESENTATION

The All India Muslim League is of opinion that, although the present Constitution is unsatisfactory, Muslim representatives in the various legislatures should utilize the reforms as far as they go; and in view of the appeal of Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, and the Viceroy, H.E. Lord Reading, should show a spirit of co-operation in all measures that are calculated to advance the welfare of the people of India, pending the enquiry and investigation by the Royal Commission, whose appointment the League has already urged.

Proposed by Mr. M.A. Jinnah; seconded by Mr. Asaf Ali; opposed by Moulvi Abdul Bari Mohammad Saqi; supported by Nawab Mohammad Yusuf.

#### IRAO AND TURKEY

The All-India Muslim League emphatically declares that Iraq is a part of Jazirat-ul-Arab, and as such should not be left under non-Muslim control of the British as the Mandatory Power. The Muslim League protests against the recent decision of the Council of the League of Nations which offers the British an extension of their mandate over Iraq for 25 years. The Muslim League further protests against the Mosul decision of the Council of the League of Nation as a glaring injustice to Turkey. The Muslim League hopes that Britain will yet recognize the right of Turkey to the Mosul Vilayet and settle the question by peaceful negotiation. In the event of war breaking out, the Muslim League considers that the feelings of the Musalmans of India are calculated to be inflamed beyond control throughout the country and may prove a great and serious disaster. (From the Chair)

#### MUSIJMS IN ADMINISTRATION

In the opinion of the All-India Muslim League, it is imperative for the Government of India and the Provincial Govern-

ments to take speedy and suitable steps to secure the appointment of an adequate number of Musalmans in the various departments of administration, so that harmonious progress and development of the general population may be ensured and the administration may enjoy the full confidence of the entire community. (From the Chair)

#### COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

While it is necessary to fix a suitable standard of educational qualifications for the different services and appointments, the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that it is extremely undesirable in the best interests of the people to place undue emphasis on the principle of competitive examinations at the expense of other considerations having an important bearing on the needs of administration.

Proposed by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed and seconded by Dr. L.K. Hyder.

#### HINDU-MUSLIM RELATIONS

The All-India Muslim League views with great alarm the deplorable bitterness of feelings at present existing between the Hindus and Musalmans in different parts of the country, and strongly deprecates the tendency, on the part of certain public bodies, to aggravate the causes of difference between the two communities, thus doing incalculable harm to the national cause; and while placing on record its firm conviction that no political progress in possible in this country unless it is based on a solid substratum of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that the interests of the country demand mutual sacrifice and an intensive spirit of give and take on the part of all the communities, the League makes an earnest appeal to all public bodies to discontinue all activities favouring aggression and to concentrate their efforts on the question of establishing Hindu-Muslim unity on a firm basis.

Proposed by Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad; seconded by Moulvi Mohammad Yaqub, and supported by Mr. Tasaduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani.

#### INDIAN SETTLERS OF SOUTH AFRICA

The All-India Muslim League whole-heartedly supports the Indian settlers of South Africa in their just and honourable struggle against the consolidated forces which threatened their very existence, and extends its most cordial welcome to the South African Indian Deputation now in India. The League views with the greatest apprehension and enters its emphatic protest against the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill which the Government of the Union of South Africa proposes to pass during the next session of the Union Parliament.

The League further urges upon the Government of India to make strong representation to the Union Government, and secure a Round-Table Conference before any further action is taken by the latter in respect of the proposed Bill; and should this reasonable proposal be declined and the bill forced through the Union Parliament, the Muslim League appeals to the Imperial Government to withhold its assent and disallow the measure.

Proposed by Mr. Asaf Ali and seconded by Malik Barkat Ali.

#### REPRESENTATION OF DELHI

In view of the fact that the Province of Delhi is without a legislature of its own, the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government the necessity of allotting Delhi two seats in the Assembly, one of which should be reserved for the Muslims; and one seat should be allotted to it in the Council of the State, such residents of the Province of Delhi as are qualified being put on the electoral roll for the Council of State. (From the Chair)

#### SEA-PASSENGER BILL & BURMA EXPULSION BILL

The All-India Muslim League disapproves of the Tax on the Sea-Passenger Bill and the Burma Expulsion Bill passed by the Burma Legislative Council, as they are directed against Indians and will cause irrepairable loss to them, and the League therefore appeals to the Governor-General in Council not to accord his assent to it.

Proposed by Mr. Mahmudullah Ibn Sarbaland Jang and seconded by Mr. Gul Mohammad Khan.

#### COMMUNAL HARMONY

Whereas inter-communal unity is extremely necessary for the welfare and progress of the people, and whereas conditions, political scene of inter-communal differences takes place every now and then, and it is most desirable that means should be adopted to meet much cases, the All-India Muslim League considers that Conciliatory Boards, consisting of representatives of all communities, should be constituted in different districts with a Central Board in the capital of each province, (1) to settle all matters likely to create communal differences, and (2) to deal with all cases of conflict, and investigate and enquire into acts of aggression on the part of any particular community.

Proposed by Mr. Masud-ul-Hasan and seconded by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

#### SINDH IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

Whereas there is no ground, ethnological, geographical or otherwise, for the inclusion of Sindh within the Presidency of Bombay, and whereas past experience has shown that such inclusion is in the highest degree detrimental to the best interests people of Sindh and to the development of that part of India, the All-India Muslim League is of opinion that Sindh should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province.

Proposed by Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmad and seconded by Gul Mohammad Khan.

#### COLONISATION OF MOPLA PRISONERS

The All-India Muslim League protests against the Government attempt at the colonization of Mopla prisoners in the Andamans, and urges that all the Mopla prisoners convicted during the Mopla revolt of 1921, including those political offenders who are now serving out their terms of imprisonment in that Island, should now be set free.

Proposed by Abdul Hamid Khan, and seconded by Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan.

#### USE OF URDU IN BIHAR AND ORISSA COURTS

The All-India Muslim League strongly supports the Musalmans of Bihar and Orissa in their demand for option to present their pleadings in the courts in the Province in the Urdu script. (From the Chair)

#### MUSLIM CO-OPERATIONS

In view of the appalling expropriation of the Muslim zamindars and exploitation of Muslim agriculturists and artisans, it is imperative that Muslim leaders and associations should make every effort to induce Musalmans to form co-operative societies and start Muslim co-operative stores and land mortgage banks.

Proposed by Mr. A. Rahim and seconded by Mr. Masudul-Hasan.

# SEPARATE REPRESENTATION IN BIHAR AND ORISSA LOCAL BODIES

The All-India Muslim League fully supports the demand of the Musalmans of Bihar and Orissa for the extension of the system of separate electorate to all local bodies in that province.

Proposed by Mr. Ather Husain, seconded by Moulvi Abdul Bari Mohammad Saqi, opposed by Dr. Mahmood, supported by Mr. Ghulam Imam.

#### CONDOLENCE I (Queen Mother Alexandra)

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the death of Her Imperial Majesty the Queen Mother Alexandra, and tenders its hearty condolence to His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor and the Royal Family. (From the Chair)

#### CONDOLENCE II (Syed Nabiullah)

The All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sad and untimely death of Syed Nabiullah of Lucknow, one of the Vice Presidents and Ex-Presidents of the League, and feels that in him the Musalmans of India have lost one of the greatest patriots, politicians and disinterested servants of the community, and desires that this expression of sorrow on behalf of the community may be conveyed to his family. (From the Chair)

#### CONDOLENCE III ( Daughter of Nizam )

The All-India Muslim League tenders to His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad its hearty condolence upon the sad and untimely death of his daughter. (From the Chair)<sup>1</sup>

Brief minutes of the proceedings by Syed Zahur Ahmad, Hon. Secretary. Printed by M.N. Sivapuri Press, Lucknow.

# The Muslim

# Nationalist School Miles

### Chapter 12

#### INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

#### THIRTYEIGHTH SESSION

Cocanada, December 28, 1923

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MAULANA MOHAMMED ALI (EXTRACT)

#### THE MUSALMANS AND THE CONGRESS

The Effect of the Mutiny on the Musalmans

I have referred to the fact that my association with the Congress is of very recent date; but this admission is not merely personal. It involves the political history of the community to which I belong, and if I give a brief outline of it to you, it is only for the purpose of elucidating a problem which is the most vital of all the problems we have to solve to-day. When, in 1885, some Indian leaders, assisted by their British sympathisers. founded the Indian National Congress, the Musalmans of India did not participate in the movement except in a few individual cases. If their lack of Western education made them unfit to take part in a movement essentially that of the classes educated according to Western notions, their political temper made them an element that was not unlikely to prove dangerous to any political movement. They had already lost the rule of India, but the tradition of that rule had survived. This had increased the aversion they had always felt for the new type of education. The rule of India had finally passed from Muslim into English hands by slow and hardly perceptible degrees in the hundred years that intervened between the battle of Plassey and the Indian Mutiny; but the Musalmans had not ceased to regard the new rulers of India as something very inferior to themselves in civilisation and culture. This storm of ill-will and disdain had been gathering force for a whole century, and was at last precipitated in 1857.

The mutiny began near Calcutta as an affair of the Indian army, but in the storm-centre of Delhi and of my own Province. where it had to be fought out if English rule was to continue in India, it soon attracted to itself many forms of discontent, and religion was inextricably mixed up with politics. Although so many Musalmans had, at enormous risk to themselves, assisted the British at a time when hardly anyone could have predicted their eventual success with any degree of assurance, it was the Muslim aristocracy in those parts that suffered most from the terrible aftermath of the Mutiny. In fact, in its permanent results, even more than in some of its terrors, it could, without any great exaggeration, be compared to the social upheaval that the French Revolution meant to the old nobility of France. The remnants of Muslim aristocracy, deprived of all influence and of many of its possessions, certainly did not expect the return of Muslim rule. Nevertheless, a whole generation of Musalmans kept sullenly aloof from all contact with the culture of the new rulers of India which in their heart of hearts they still despised. They were in no mood to take advantage of the education provided by the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, founded in the very year in which the Mutiny convulsed the regions which formed the political centre of Muslim India. It was a natural consequence of this attitude of Musalmans who sulked in their tents that when, nearly thirty years later, a new generation of Indians, who owed their education to the English, inaugurated a political movement on western lines, Indian Musalmans should be unfit by lack of such education to participate in that movement. Nevertheless, the Congress which called itself "Indian" and "National" felt the need of Muslim participation, for it could not justify its title without it.

#### Syed Ahmed Khan Opposes Muslim Participation

Efforts were therefore made early enough to enlist Musalmans as delegates. But at this juncture Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the great pioneer of Western education among Musalmans, stepped into the political arena, and in two historic speeches,

one delivered at Lucknow on the 28th December, 1887, and the other at Meerut on the 16th March, 1888, decisively checked whatever signs the Musalmans had shown of political activity in support of the Congress movement. It is by no means a difficult task to criticise those speeches, for they contained many fallacies to which no politically minded Musalman could subscribe to-day. But I am not one of those who declare, merely on the strength of some ill-advised expressions characteristic of so militant a controversialist as Syed Ahmed Khan, that he was opposed to the co-operation of Hindus and Musalmans.

#### The True Nature and Motives of his Opposition

Although his own public career after retirement from Public Service was identified with a movement for the uplift of his own community, he was a good Indian as well as a good Muslim, and many of his speeches prove him to have been an ardent patriot inspired with the love of Indian unity. And those who knew him personally can testify to the staunchness of his friendship with many Hindus, which could not have survived the narrow prejudices of which he has sometimes been accused.

No more true is the charge that he was opposed to Muslim participation in politics for all time. Whatever arguments he may have used in the two political utterances to which I have referred, to convince his Muslim hearers, there were two arguments, and two only, that had obviously convinced Syed Ahmed Khan himself of the undesirability of Muslim participation in the Congress at the time. He realised to the full that nothing would suit the temper of the Musalmans of his day better than the vocation of critics of their British supplanters in the governance of India; and he also realised that such a pursuit would be as dangerous to the continuance and progress of a peaceful political movement like the Congress as it was easy. This was the first argument that impelled Syed Ahmed Khan to keep his community under restraint in politics. The second argument was no less potent. Musalmans must educate themselves if they desired the uplift of their community, and yet it was no easy task to reconcile Musalmans to Western education even in an institution of their own, which unlike Government college and schools, would not divorce religious from secular learning. The easy pursuit of a policy in which the Muslims could act as destructive critics of the hated infidel Government was sure to offer superior attractions to the dull and drab constructive programme of the educationalist, and he therefore set himself to oppose all diversion of Muslim activities into the more attractive, but for the time being less useful, political channel. Reviewing the actions of a bygone generation to-day when it is easier to be wise after the event, I must confess I still think the attitude of Syed Ahmed Khan was eminently wise, and much as I wish that some things which he had said should have been left unsaid, I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Musalmans, nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Musalmans.

But it remembered that the man who enunciated this policy was not at the time a persona grata to the major portion of the community which he sought to lead. He was hated as a heretic because of the heterodoxy of his aggressive rationalism in interpreting the Holy Quran, and his militant opposition to popular superstitions believed in by the bulk of the orthodox and to shackling customs consecrated by time, thought wholly unauthorised by Islam. He was abused and vilified by hundreds of thousands of his coreligionists, and for long the college that he had founded at Aligarh was the bete noire of the pious Muslims. And yet the entire community followed his political lead without a murmur. Neither fallacious arguments nor even political clap-trap could have possessed such potency, and it is my firm belief that his advocacy succeeded mainly because of the soundness of the policy advocated.

For two decades thereafter the Musalmans had hardly any politics or any political institution worth the name. On important occasions when Syed Ahmed Khan, and, of course, his British supporters, thought that any demand of the Congress if satisfied would not be productive of good for the Musalmans he would call together a few of his friends, mostly Trustees of the Aligarh College, who used to form a society bearning some such name as the "Muslim Defence Association," and a resolution of this body would be published in the Pioneer and in Syed Ahmed Khan's own local weekly newspaper in due course. That was all that the Musalmans would do in those days in the field of politics.

I am far from denying that Syed Ahmed Khan knew perfectly well that his policy was more than acceptable to his official supporters, who would have in all likelihood put every possible obstruction in the way of his college and his Educational Conference if he had followed another less acceptable to them. But a very close study of his character leads me to declare that he was far from possessing the sycophancy with which some of his political critics have credited him. Indeed, even the opportunism of which his policy savoured could not have been entirely palatable to a nature so independent as his. In the year 1907, soon after the commencement of a new era in Muslim politics inaugurated by the foundation of the Muslim League, to which I shall presently refer, there occurred a strike of the students of Syed Ahmed Khan's College at Aligarh, owing to the support given against them by their own English Principal and Professors to the Police that had picked up a quarrel with one of them. Just about that time fell the anniversary of Syed Ahmed Khan's death celebrated annually in College as the "Founder's Day." For that occasion I had written in Urdu an Ode addressed to the late Founder of my college, and referring to this unmistakable indication of the students' self-respect and of their willingness to make the necessary self-sacrifice demanded by the haughty disdain of the foreigner, I had said:

Sikhaya tha tumhin ne qaum ko ye shor-o-shar sara Jo iski inteha hum hain to iski ibtada tum ho!

It is you that had taught the community all this "mischief"; if we are its culmination, you are its commencement.

#### "The Arch-Rebel"

That I am not alone in this estimate of Syed Ahmed Khan's character and policy will be proved by an interesting conversation that I shall relate. Once when my brother was still in the Public Service, an old English official asked him who he thought was the greatest rebel in India against British rule. And, correcting my brother's answer that experienced official had declared that it was no other than Syed Ahmed Khan, Loyalist of Loyalists; when my brother protested against this astonishing judgment, he said; "Do you think young Musalmans who are being

taught at Aligarh almost as well as our own boys at Harrow and Winchester, who live their lives and can beat them at their own games, would obsequiously serve them when they come out as Indian Civilians or members of such other superior services. No, Mr. Shaukat Ali, the days of British rule in India are numbered, and it is your Syed Ahmed Khan that is the arch-rebel to-day".

Like only too many of us, this British official too had failed to realise the paralysing effect of the education given in the colleges and schools established or favoured by this foreign Government, and had only foreseen the dissatisfaction and discontent that it must inevitably produce. With a Muslim University, chartered, aided and controlled by Government still flourishing at Aligarh, so far as the numbers of the teachers and the taught and a University Chest filled with the contributions of the rich are concerned, though robbed of all generous ideals and national and communal ambitions, and existing side by side with another, poor in everything save its ideals and its dreams, into which my old college had seemed to have transformed itself three years ago, I cannot boast that the "arch-rebel" or Aligarh has altogether succeeded in his "rebellious" endeavour. But it is my firm conviction that he had always aimed and intended to produce staunch Muslims and patriotic Indians even if he could not perhaps contemplated a near enough future for India in which his "young barbarians all at play," could be other than "loval British subjects".

#### Aligarh and the Muslim League

To my mind, the most important problem to-day is the problem of Indian unity and India's nation-hood, which, in other words, means the old, old Hindu Muslim problem. We are living to-day which for India is just as distinct as any year in the history of the world. This is the pre-Gandhian era, and what has gone before was practically the days of ignorance or as we in Islam call the days before our Prophet. The problem today, the problem of Hindu Muslim Unity, is not precisely the same as it was in the pre-Gandhian days and yet it is a distressing and distracting problem. As one who is very late in coming to the Congress, not on any personal grounds but the whole

community was very late in coming to the Congress, the Musalmans expect from me a reply to the question asked by many and although unasked by many more, still felt by all, what would be the policy of the Musalmans to-day in reference to Hindu-Musalman tensions. I could not avoid that subject, but what would be my answer? I have read Logic, though I do not believe in it any more than my friend, Deshabandhu Das! (Laughter) "Life is greater than Logic, "he said, which means that history which was my subject for my Degree at Oxford is greater than Logic or Philosophy. (Hear, hear)

My only argument which has been developed at great length in this address is on this one single topic of Hindu-Muslim Unity, a unity which is nothing else but a repetition of the whole history of the Muslim development and I have sought to prove and I think I have conclusively proved that the Musalmans did not rush into politics, that the Musalmans did not rush into the Congress; that the Musalmans did not rush into non-co-operation with the English and even to co-operation with their Hindu fellow-countrymen. But every step that they took, they took deliberately, slowly, almost painfully and reluctantly. But the force of circumstances and the reality of the situation drove them to take that step and it is that reality which is to keep them where they are and not let them go out of the Congress into those alluring backwaters of old politics, (Hear, hear) in which the Government kept us so long and wants us to keep us to-day. After this by way of preface, I need not, I think, apologise to any of you even though you may not be Musalmans at all for my lengthy address, because I wanted to exhaust the subject, so that, if after that, I was pestered, as I am daily pestered, by my own coreligionists to give them an answer as to what is to be done in future, I could only refer them to the paragraphs specially devoted for such questions.

I did not want to leave out a single loop-hole and if I speak to my coreligionists frankly to-day, it is from my bitter experience, as I have said somewhere in this address of mine, a trophy which is something that people who has been fighting a battle, value most. A trophy is greatly cherished by warriors and experience is the most cherished trophy and it is a trophy made up of weapons that have hurt us. I have gone into the whole history of the Mohammedan community, how it was

almost as bitter in 1857 against the British in India as it is to-day and how some of its best leaders kept that community out of the Indian National Congress when it came to be formed. The Musalmans had lost their rule of India. It has slipped out of their hands gradually and imperceptibly in the long course of a hundred years between the battle of Plassey and the Indian Mutiny of 1857, as it is generally styled. When they woke up at last to discover the true situation—they did not awake fully they were still half asleep. They had lost their rule, but its traditions still remain with them and instead of working for victory after defeat, they began to shulk in their tents. They were justified to possess that temper, a temper in which they would have ruined any peaceful movement as the Indian National Congress has always been.

They would have been a most dangerous thorn in the bodypolitic of the nation, because they were in that temper and were not sufficiently educated in Western lore. At least in the pre-Gandhian days. I believe the Indian National Congress was a movement only of the educated classes, of those, who had been educated along western ways. Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of the Aligarh College, where I myself and my brother and a large number of Musalmans including extremists like Mr. Sherwani, Mr. Khwaja Dr. Mahomed, have been educated there, foresaw in the then tenour of the Musalmans that to let them go into a body of critics of the Government would be to let them go into a place where they would level in criticism and do nothing else; they would have even wrecked the Congress. I have also said here, you will notice. I have traced the close connection between the foundation of the Indian National Congress and the foundation of the first important national or rather communal Muslim political institution known as the Muslim League. It practically took 30 years, which corresponds to the growth of a new generation, it took 30 years for the foundation for the Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay to come into being. The first political educational centre was started at Aligarh. I leave here the Muslim history. I now jump over to the Muslim period.

Nearly thirty years after the foundation of the Universities in the three Presidency towns of India—a period which corresponds with the growth of a new generation—the Congress had

inevitably come into existence. It was no easy task that Syed Ahmed Khan had accomplished in founding an Anglo-Oriental College of his own community within two decades of the Indian Mutiny in the very regions which had formed the storm-centre in 1857. In obedience, as it were, to a law of nature, once more nearly thirty years after the foundation of this College, there came into being a political institution of the Musalmans who had not availed themselves of the educational facilities provided by the State Universities, and could not consequently share in the political awakening which those Universities had indirectly brought about. And it is not without significance that fairly prominent among the founders of the Muslim League at Dacca at the end of 1906 were some alumni of Syed Ahmad Khan's own College.

This inaugurated a new era in the political life of the Indian Musalmans. Some months previously a Muslim Deputation had waited at Simla for the Viceroy, Lord Minto, to place before him and his Government a statement of the Muslim demands in connection with the Minto-Morley Reforms then foreshadowed. To follow the fashion of British journalists during the War, "there is no harm now in saying" that the Deputation's was a "Command" performance. It was clear that Government could no longer resist the demands of educated Indians, and, as usual, it was about to dole out to them a morsel that would keep them gagged for some years. Hither-to the Musalmans had acted very much like the Irish prisoner in the dock who, in reply to the judge's inquiry whether he had any counsel to reprement him in the trial, had frankly replied that he had certainly not engaged counsel, but that he had "friends in the jury"! But now the Muslims' "friends in the jury" had themselves privately urged that the accused should engage duly qualified counsel like all others. From whatever source the inspiration may have come, there is no doubt that the Muslim cause was this time properly advocated. In the common territorial electorates the Musalmans had certainly not succeeded in securing anything like adequate or real representation, and those who denounced and deplored the creation of separate electorates for which the Musalmans had pleaded should have remembered that separate electorates were the consequence, and not the cause of separation between Musalmans and their more numerous Hindu brethren.

I like to mention in this connection that not long ago. I was present at Belgaum and the Municipal Board presented an address to my brother and myself. I was particularly asked by that large-hearted Brahman Mr. Deshpande (Mr. Deshmukh?) to speak something with reference to Brahman and Non-Brahman quarrels. I said I have every sympathy with both the Brahman and the Non-Brahman Sections. I said that I greatly sympathise with the Non-Brahmans and that this was the Karma of the majority, because I felt certain that Brahmans have learnt the lesson and in order that it is fully crystallised in India, they could never give too much to the Non-Brahmans if they could thereby make the whole of India a perfectly united nation. I felt certain that in future this was the spirit prevailing in the various communities, more particularly in the strongest communities, the minorities would readily join the nationalist movement and would be only too glad to work shoulder to shoulder with the majorities without any difference, without any hesitation, without any mistrust or reluctance on their part.

#### Separate Electorates Hasten Indian Unity

But little could the official supporters of the Muslim community have suspected at the time that, paradoxical as it may seem, the creation of separate electorates was hastening the advent of Hindu-Muslim unity. For the first time a real franchise however restricted was being offered to Indians, and if Hindus and Musalmans remained just as divided as they had hitherto been since the commencement of British rule, and often hostile to one another, mixed electorates would have provided the best battle-ground for inter-communal strifes, and would have still further widened the gulf separating the two communities. Each candidate for election would have appealed to his own community for votes, and would have based his claims for preference on the intensity of his ill-will towards the rival community, however disguised this may have been under some such formula as "the defence of his community's interests." Bad as this would have been, the results of an election in which the two communities were not equally matched would have been even worse, for the community that failed to get its representative elected would have inevitably borne a yet deeper grudge against its successful rival. Divided as the two communities were, there was no chance for any political principles coming into prominence during the elections. The creation of separate electorates did a great deal to put a stop to this inter-communal warfare, thought I am far from oblivious of the fact that when inter-communal jealousies are acute, the men that are more likely to be returned even from communal electorates are just those who are noted for their ill-will towards the rival community.

#### United Faiths of India

In the controversy that raged round the representation of Musalmans as a community I had taken my full share; but no sooner the Muslim claim had been recognised in practice in the elections to the enlarged councils in 1910, I decided to launch a weekly journal of my own from the seat of the Government of India in order to assist my community in taking its proper share in the political life of the country. I was particularly anxious to help it to understand that, while endeavouring to satisfy the pressing needs of the present, which would inevitably bring it now and then into conflict with other elements in the body-politic, it should never lose sight of the prospects of the future when ultimately all communal interests had to be adjusted so as to harmonise with the paramount interests of India.

I had long been convinced that here in this country of hundreds of millions of human beings, intensely attached to religion, and yet infinitely split up into communities, sects and denominations, Providence had created for us the mission of solving a unique problem and working out a new synthesis, which was nothing less than a Federation of Faiths! As early as in 1904, when I had been only two years in India after my return from Oxford, I had given to this idea a clear, if still somewhat hesitating expression, in an address delivered at Ahmedabad on the "Proposed Mohammedan University." "Unless some new force,"—this is what I had said on that occasion—"unless, some new force, other than the misleading unity of opposition, unites this vast continent of India, it will either remain a geographical misnomer, or what I think it will ultimately do, become a federation of Religions." I had noted the strength of the centrifugal force of Indian communities; I have got huge bunches of telegrams that came from Bengal, still more from Mr. Das,

and still more from the Puniab. I still feel that there are strong centrifugal forces in India. And yet hope and faith and the deep yearning for freedom had even then made me realise the latent centripetal force of Indian unity. The lines of cleavage were too deeply marked to permit a unity other than federal; and yet, as I had observed in the address from which I have already quoted, the cleavage was not territorial or racial in character, but religious. For more than twenty years I have dreamed the dream of a federation, grander, nobler and infinitely more spiritual than the United States of America, and to-day when many political Cassandra prophesies a return to the bad old days of Hindu-Muslim dissensions, I still dream that old dream of "United Faiths of India." It was in order to translate this dream into reality that I had launched my weekly newspaper, and had significantly called it The Comrade-"comrade of all and partisan of none!" (Laughter)

I hope my Swarajist friends and No-Change friends will see that I deserve the title of Comrade being a comrade to all; that I made the "Comrade" a friend and comrade of all and a partisan of none.

Friends, is it so entirely out of place if I quote a little from the first words that I had contributed to the first issue of the Comrade? In view of the political controversy that had been raging in India, I naturally shrank from relating my dream when making my debut before a sceptical, matter-of-fact world. And yet the dream was all the time there for those who did not despise dreams.

"We have no faith (I wrote on the 14th January, 1911) in the cry that India is united. If India was united where was the need of dragging the venerable President of this year's Congress (Sir William Wedderburn) from a distant home? The base imagination of a feast will not dull the edge of hunger. We have less faith still in the sanctimoniousness that transmutes in its subtle alchemy a rapacious monopoly into fervent patriotism.

Even as poor birds deceived with painted grapes Do surfeit by the eye, and pine the maw".

Those of us who cannot distinguish true gold from the glitter of spurious coins, will one day surfeit by the ear and pine the heart. But the person we love best, fear the most, and trust

the least is the impatient idealist. Goethe said of Byron that he was a prodigious poet, but that when he reflected, he was a child. Well, we think no better and no worse of the man who combines great ideals and a greater impatience. So many efforts. well-meaning as well as ill-begotton, have failed in bringing unity to this distracted land, that we cannot spare even cheap and scentless flowers of sentiment for the grave of another ill-judged endeavour. We shall not make the mistake of gumming together pieces of broken glass, and then cry over the unsuccessful result, or blame the refractory material. In other words, we shall endeavour to face the situation boldly, and respect facts, howsoever ugly and ill-favoured. It is poor statesmanship to slur over inconvenient realities, and not the least important success in achieving unity is the honest and frank recognition of deepseated prejudices that hinder it and the yawning differences that divide.

But while providing for to-day, we must not forget the morrow. It is our firm belief that if the Musalmans or the Hindus attempt to achieve success in opposition to, or even without the cooperation of one another they will not only fail, but fail ignominiously. (Hear, hear) But every step has to be taken with caution. Nothing in history, ancient or modern, provides a useful analogy to the condition of modern India. History never repeats itself. But it is still the best educative force for mankind, and it has its lessons for us also. The problems of India are almost international. But when the statesmen and philanthropists of Europe, with all its wars of interests and national jealousies, do not despair of abolishing war and placing Pax on the throne of Bellona, shall we despair of Indian nationality? (President's comment: - Europe has made a mess of its arbitration courts and its international efforts at securing peace. But I hope we who are a more spiritual people will achieve unity even before Europe can do. (Hear, hear) We may not create to-day the patriotic fervour and the fine national frenzy of Japan with its forty millions of homogeneous people. But a concordant like that of Canada is not beyond the bounds of practicability. It may not be a love-marriage, born of romance and poetry. But a marriage do convenance, honourably contracted and honourably maintained, is not to be despised. Let us begin with honest prose, and the Muses will not forbid the banns. Even this is no easy task. But it is one worthy of the sons and daughters of India, and deserves their toil and self-sacrifice. O'Unity,

Thou wilt come, join men, knit nation unto nation; But not for us who watch to-day and burn, Thou wilt come; but after what long years of trial, Weary watching, Patient longing, dull denial!

(These lines were read by the President with deep pathos and tears).

Friends, three years ago we were privileged to catch more than a fleeting glimpse of the unity of which I had dreamed, and if to-day we have to admit, as we must, that the dream has not been realised as fully as we wish, we shall have once more to examine the situation carefully and to face inconvenient facts with candour and with courage. I propose to do that presently, but not to break the thread of my narrative revert to the situation as it existed at the time when I make my journalistic debut.

## Muslims and Foreign Affairs

As I had foreseen, the separate electorates returned both Hindus and Musalmans who were not adverse to combine in the various legislatures to support the popular cause. Nevertheless, inter-communal hostility did not altogether cease in the country. A new element was, however, unexpectedly added to the situation by the aggression of Western nations against Muslim States and its effect on Muslim sentiment in India, and although there are not wanting even to-day staunch non-Muslim nationalists who look askance at Indian Muslim feeling with regard to Muslim affairs abroad, a little reflection would show that the new element to which I have referred, even while undoubtedly diverting the attention of Indian Musalmans to some extent from affairs at home, hastened Muslim disillusionment with regard to their traditional reliance on their foreign Government and thereby contributed greatly to Indian unity.

Here I must say that at that time, I did not expect that foreign affairs of the Muslims would to any great extent occupy my time or energy. I still thought that the greatest problem of

all before us was the Hindu-Muslim question in India. But what happened since 1911? Blow after blow was struck at the Temporal power of Islam and never in the whole of 1300 and odd years of Islamic history had there ever been a period so gloomy and disastrous for us, until very recently of course. With regard to the foreign affairs, as I shall presently show, some people still say—why should the Musalmans of India be so busy with the Khilafat and why not they concentrate their attention entirely upon India and its problems. Well, if you carefully examine the history of the last dozen years you will come to know how our disasters in foreign affairs have thrown us back on you. We feel grateful for the concentration of the Musalmans on foreign affairs outside the confines for India, because it has made us realise that we must after all come to Indians for the proper solution of our difficulties in the foreign countries abroad. (Hear, hear)

In India, too, an important thing happened. In foreign affairs we realised from the way in which Great Britain behaved towards Morocco, the Arabs in Tripoli, the Turks in the Balkans, even in 1912 that these "Friends in the Jury" as they call themselves, were not friendly at all. (Laughter) I had perpetrated an epigram. Many a man told me that such and such a man had great influence with the Government. We now know what this 'influence' means. It means really that the Government has great influence with them and over them. (Laughter) We realised that when we were used as cats paws to fight our Hindu brethren, and when afterwards we were betrayed even in the most wanted traditions of our religion abroad as well as in India.

But I refer to the Partition of Bengal and the troubles between the Hindus and the Musalmans which followed. The two great protagonists, my friend the Editor of the "Servant" and my friend, Desabandhu Das, who are now ranged on opposite sides, were then combined and united in their condemnation of the Partition of Bengal. The benighed and the uneducated Musalmans wanted the Bengal partition to remain unaltered. But really I never believed in that Partition. Only I ask you to realise the fact that this Government had to call upon the Musalmans to fight as its auxiliaries against the Hindus in Bengal. Undoubtedly, I say, the Partition of Bengal, although it was

most unjust and carried out in most vindictive spirit by Lord Curzon, did benefit the Musalmans to a certain extent. Yet when the Government found that things were getting too hot for it, it dropped the Musalmans like a hot potato. (*Laughter*) Never was a more ignoble betrayal perpetrated in the whole history of Indian politics.

#### The Outlook in 1911

I had intended the Comrade to be the organ that was to voice the sentiments I entertained regarding the need of an inter-communal federation for India. It was to prepare the Musalmans to make their proper contribution to territorial patriotism without abating one jot of the fervour of their extraterritorial sympathies, which are, as you must know, part of the quintessence of Islam. When I first thought of launching on a career of journalism I did not expect that any but a small fraction of my attention and energies would be attracted by Muslim politics outside the confines of my own country. It is true that affairs in Egypt did not present a very re-assuring appearance; nor did the new constitutions in Turkey and Persia receive, after an initial outburst of welcome, their full measure of sympathy which we in India felt to be due to such heroic and hazardous enterprises from England, the one European power with which we had all alone been exclusively concerned. The only other European Power on our political horizon had been Russia. So long as after the overthrow of France a hundred years previously she was the most considerable of the Powers on the continent of Europe, and had further aggravated that situation by aiming at being a yet greater power on the continent of Asia, everyone in India had been sedulously taught by the masters of India's destinies to regard her as the enemy of mankind, and to believe that it was the sacred mission of England to thwart and defeat her. But the rapid rise of Japan and its signal success in defeating Russia in the Far East while it encouraged other oriental nations to hold up their heads and to hope, so radically altered the position of Russia that, from being an inveterate enemy, she became a friend and in all but name in ally of England, even though it was her victorious adversary that had been, and still remained, the acknowledged and official ally of that nation. This speedily reacted on Eastern politics, not only in Persia, where Russia openly stood up as a high-handed dictator, and where it was soon to cause a hail-storm of ultimatums, but also in Turkey, where the rivalries of the Slave and the Teuton now re appeared with added vehemence in the form of a struggle between Entente and Alliance. Once more had the Near East become the storm-centre of European politics.

All this was no doubt disquieting enough to Indian Musalmans who had been brought up from their childhood to regard England as the friend and Russia as the enemy of Muslim States. But the political controversies of Hindus and Musalmans appeared none the less to be their immediate concern in India. The passions that these inter-communal differences had unfortunately aroused just a little previously had lent to them the semblance of acute international conflict, while Turkey and Persia still seemed comparatively remote.

But things did not proceed precisely in the way in which I had so optimistically forecasted. The year 1911 proved a fateful year for Muslim states. The new Governments of Turkey, Persia and Morocco all began to meet with squalls in their initial voyage of reform and progress, which soon developed into regular storms.

#### The Durbar Announcement

In India, too, the year proved more fateful for Musalmans than any one could have predicted. Just before the close of the year the King-Emperor made a pretentious Announcement at Delhi where he had come ostensibly to announce in person in an Imperial Durbar only the event of his coronation that year. It was admittedly an "abrupt departure from the tradition of British Government and a complete dislocation of official habits." But this unusual procedure, and the secrecy which had been maintained, not only at the expense of India but also at that of the Local Governments, were justified on the ground that the Imperial Announcement was "one of the most weighty decisions ever taken since the establishment of the British rule in India," and that the discussion of measures which were being taken in consequence of an agitation that indicated "bitterness

of feeling," and was at the same time "very widespread and unvielding," would have in its turn caused endless agitation. As we all know, the Announcement comprised a re-adjustment of territories upsetting Lord Curzon's vindicative partition of Bengal and the creation of the new Provinces of Bihar and Orissa after the re-union of Bengal, East and West. It also indirectly penalised Bengal by shifting the capital to Delhi. As I wrote in the Comrade at the time, I was in favour of both these schemes, "taking each by itself as wholly unconnected schemes, taking each by itself as wholly un-connected schemes," and "irrespective of the time, place and procedure preferred by the Government of India for the Announcement". The partition in the form then approved was due in 1905, and the transfer of the capital was needed in 1858. Lord Curzon and Middleton had sinned in a hurry and it would have seemed that Lord Hardinge and Crewe were repenting at leisure. But it was clear from the King Emperor's Announcement as well as from the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, that "the keystone of the whole project" was the "proposal to make Delhi the future capital of India"; that it was only "as a consequence of the transfer" that the Partition was modified; that the Bengalis were expected to be "reconciled to the change" of capital by "other features of the scheme which were specially designed to give satisfaction to Bengali sentiment"; and that the reunion of the two Bengals was no more than the compensation which will be offered to Bengali sentiment for "the objection to the transfer which are likely to be entertained in some quarters." There was not a word in the Government of India's Despatch about such things as the financial embarrassment of the administration in Eastern Bengal, the unsatisfactory results of yoking Assam with a part of Bengal, or the difficulties of communication between the Rajshahi Division and Dacca, all of which could have been utilized to justify the unsettlement of a "settled fact".

The Partition of 1905 was indeed acknowledged in that Despatch to have fulfilled "two of the chief purposes which its authors had in view". "It relieved", so ran the Despatch, "the over-burdened administration of Bengal, and it gave the Mohammedan population of Eastern Bengal advantages and opportunities of which they had, perhaps, hitherto not had their fair

share". But Bengal had to be deprived of the distinction of craiming the capital of India as its own capital as well, and of the opportunities it had thus enjoyed of criticising the Government of India and subjecting it to constant pressure from such close quarters. We had already been familiarised, to the extent of feeling down right moral contempt for it, with the Doctrine of compensation in the foreign politics of Europe, according to which Morocco had been given to France for the sake of a free hand for the English in Egypt, and Tripoli had been all but given to Italy, while Germany had made her famous Panther leap at Agadir. This fatal doctrine had now peacefully penetrated into the internal administration of India". Fastern Bengal and Assam, "wrote the Government of India," have no doubt benefitted greatly by the Partition, and the Mohammedans of the province, who form a large majority of the population, are loyal and contented; but the resentment among the Bengalis in both the provinces of Bengal, who hold most of the land, fill the professions and exercise a preponderating influence in public affairs, is as strong as ever." As I wrote on that occasion, "what could be easier than to politely disburden the loyal and contented Peter of his few wordly belongings in order to load the discontented, if not diloval, Paul with rewards and compensation? The Musalmans have no Panther to send to Agadir, and it is too well-established a rule of diplomacy that: no Panther, no compensation!"

Now I will relate to you an incident which will take away something of the exhaustive nature of my address. I will relate to you an incident which happened when the Delhi announcement was made by His Majesty the King Emperor, My dear old friend, Sir Charles Cleveland, the Head of the C.I.D. (take note of it, said the President turning towards the Government Reporters in the Press Block—(Laughter) who was standing very close to me saw me getting the first copy of the announcement that was being handed to the men in the Press gallery where I was seated as the Editor of the Comrade. This official, as I was reading it to myself, asked me, "Well, Mohamed Ali, is it anything for you or for me? "because, he knew nothing of it. It was in fact kept secret from high officials, even from the Lieutenapt Governor of East Bengal. What was my answer to this question? I said, "There is nothing for me; but,

Sir Charles, there is plenty of work for you". (Laughter) I think we have given them some work to do.

You know the Mohammedan era begins from the Flight of the Prophet, which is known as the Hijra. I call 1912 as Lord Hardinge's Hijra, the flight of Lord Hardinge (Laughter) who went back from the "Partition of Bengal" said to be a "settled fact". There is the policy of 'give-and-take' to which I have to refer in this connection. In the case of the loyal and steady Behar, it was nothing but a case of "take" in regard to the Partition and repartition. (Laughter) They got a new province and they swallowed a small province called Orissa and another called Chota-Nagpur. But in the case of Muslims of East Bengal, it was nothing but a policy of "give, give, give". (Laughter) They got nothing out of the Partition. Why, because it was counted that they were loyal and contented. I say loyal we shall always be, but contented we shall not remain. (Laughter) And I am not quite sure whether we have remained very loval either. (Renewed laughter) I was entirely for the repartition and also entirely for the change of Capital as well. But the way in which it was done, was an absolute betraval of the Musalman cause. Thank God. We were betrayed and it opened our eyes and we found precisely what I once told the French people in Paris sometime ago. I said to them-"Friends, you are an ally of England. If you could learn something from the experiences of Asiatics living very far from you, but who has had the experience of the underdog which you have not yet, you should make your peace with the Germans directly. You will do it at much lesser cost than you can through the alliance of France with England." We realise in India that we could make our peace with you (i.e., the Hindus) on much better terms and much less sacrifice than we could have done with the help of the English. I pass over all this and the entire history of the Muslim League, and how it came to have for its ideal a self-government suited to India.

#### Its Reaction on Muslim Politics

While I declared in the Comrade that "in our judgment the Musalmans should accept the decision of the Government", I could not but say that they had deserved a better fate. Before

the Partition they had laboured under many difficulties and had endured everything quietly as only the weak can endure. It was not they that had clamoured and agitated for the Partition. Nevertheless, the Partition came to them as a well-deserved though wholly unexpected blessing. Their condition had begun to improve, and with that their ambitions and hopes. It may even be confessed that, like all the worlds riches, these political parvenus sometimes held their heads too high and strutted about in the peacock manner. But, like the exaltation born of a draught of hashish, it did not last long, and the reaction came with a suddenness and force that were terrible. The emancipated slaves were, so to speak, once more sold into bondage, and who does not know that revenge is sweet? Their old masters could have been excused if on being placed once more in the position of the slave-driver they had used to lash and the bastinado a little too lavishly. The Musalmans of Eastern Bengal had been made to fight the battle of their rulers, against their neighbours, and now that it was no longer convenient for the rulers to continue the fight, they had made their own peace with all convenient speed, and had left the Musalmans to the mercy of those against whom they had been used as auxiliaries. It would be hard to discover in history a more ignoble instance of betrayal in which "loyalty" has been rewarded with deprivation of recently recovered rights, and contentment" has been punished as the worst. Perhaps I may mention without any indiscretion that when immediately after the Announcement I drove over in haste to interview Sir Charles Bayley, the head of the Local Government now thrown on the scrap-heap, I met Lord Sinha and Sir Benode Mitter, who asked me what I thought of the Announcement. I told them that in the case of the Hindus of Bengal the Announcement had been a matter of "give-and-take", that for "sturdy, loyal" Beharis it had been one of "take" only, but that for the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal it had been one of nothing but "give", and as a reward for their loyalty and contentment they had been given a generous helping of humble pie. And then I walked off with the mumbled prayer that they might be spared too acute an attack of indigestion. In the Durbar itself a little earlier I remember that I had been accosted by my old friend, Sir Charles Cleveland, Director of the Criminal Intelligence Department, as I was hastily perusing the Announcement. As it happened, I was among the very first in the Press Camp to receive a copy of it from the hands of the official who was distributing them. Sir Charles had humorously asked me if there was anything in the Announcement for me or for him, and I had replied with ill-suppressed bitterness that there was nothing for me, but that there was plenty of work for him. And who can say that my prophecy has not proved true?

Friends, I have gone into this matter at considerable length only because the Announcement has always appeared to me to be a very distinct land-mark in the political progress of the Musalmans. Nothing could have more clearly convinced them that their dependence upon a foreign government for support against sister communities laid them perpetually open to such betrayals. They now realised that they could place no reliance on such support, whether at home or abroad, and it set them thinking that perhaps at a much smaller sacrifice of their interests they could purchase lasting peace and even secure the friendship of their neighbours and fellow-countrymen.

# Self-Government as the Muslim League's Creed

The Muslim League, although never an anti-Hindu or anti-Congress organisation, had at its birth in the very midst of the Partition agitation, naturally emphasised in its creed the protection of communal interests and lovalty to Government, even though it had also included therein the promotion of harmony and concord with sister-communities. A year after the Durbar Announcement, the Council of the League recommended a change in the creed, and it emphasised in the new creed that it recommended "Self-government suitable for India" as its ideal. (This is about the change of Muslim creed) In commenting upon this change, which was eventually accepted by the League in its annual session in the following March, I had stated that for the Musalmans their new political creed was but "the halfway house from which their ultimate destination was clearly visible." and I do not think I can do better in helping you to form a just estimate of our position to-day than quote from the Comrade of that date the following passage which I would ask all Nationalists, whether Muslim or non-Muslim, to consider carefully.

But it is not so much on the reform of the administration by the administrators and those to whom they are responsible, not even on the relationship that comes to exist between the ruler and the ruled that the attainment of self-government depends. Self-Government is the necessary corollary of self-realisation. and India as a whole has not yet realised herself. Once her conflicting interests, warring creeds and rival communities not only conceive that India can be one in her soul as she is in her body, but feel her unity as an individual feels the unity of his individual self in spite of the diversity of the various members and organs of his body, and the varying moods of his intellect and soul, there is no power in the world that can deny her selfgovernment. But we would warn our countrymen against playing the sedulous age in their methods of nation-making as we have warned them in the matter of their choosing their political goal. In India political unity can be achieved not so much by annihilating smaller units that may appear to conflict with the ultimate scheme of unity, but by recognising their force and inevitableness. If we could choose a motto for a society of nationmakers in India, we could suggest nothing better than what the United States of America have adopted on their coins. India is to be a PLURIBUS ANUM.

# Musalmans and Foreign Affairs

In foreign affairs the year 1912 had opened with far different prospects from those of 1911. Up to the last, Indian Musalmans had entertained the hope that things would right themselves. But this did not happen, and the year ended even worse than it had begun. The sad disillusionment with regard to international morality for which the shameless brigandage of Italy in Tripoli was responsible had greatly affected the Musalmans in the autumn of 1911. If any further disillusionment was needed it was supplied by the action of Russia in Persia and Britain's "sanctimonious acquiescence." In both cases the utmost brutality characterised European aggression. Who can forget the massacres in the Tripoli Oasis or the celebration in Persia of the New Year, which coincided with the anniversary of the Tragedy of Karbala, when, among others, the Siqat-ul-Islam, the highest ecclesiastic of Northern Persia—"a man universally respected

whether the Home Government has exerted its full pressure on the Colonials to right the wrong, or has only assumed an incredible impotence; whether Indians' claim for an equitable adjustment of rights and duties and for a fair share in guiding the destinies of their own country have been met by the British Bureaucracy in the spirit of friendliness, or of jealousy and rancour.

"Whether in the annulment of the Partition of Bengal the Musalmans were treated with due consideration for their loyal-ty, or it was underrated and their contentment taken too much for granted; whether the sanctity of their places of worship and the integrity of their graveyards have been uniformly respected, or sometimes lightly sacrificed to the Moloch of Prestige—we say that, irrespective of any or all these considerations, or rather because we have carefully weighed them all against the one supreme consideration, our need of England and her tutelage at the present stage of our national and communal growth, and

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# Turkey and Indian Muslim Feeling

At the suggestion of Government, and through its own medium, I had even cabled, along with my friend Dr. Ansari, to the late lamented Talaat Pasha urging the Turks to think a thousand times before they participated in the War. And even when war being forced on Turkey by ill-advised threats such as those of the London Times, my very long, well-known and in the English Press extensively quoted and highly approved article, in reply to that of the Times on the "Choice of the Turks,"

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"Even if England may not need us, we have need of her. Believing in political purity rather than in political prudery, we have entered the lists with her biggest bureaucrats in India in time of peace. But in time of war the clash of steel in civic battles must cease and the voice of controversy must be hushed, and if we cannot hastily command in others an enthusiasm for this war which we ourselves do not feel, let us once and for all assure the Government that, so far as we and those within the orbit of our influence are concerned, they can sleep in peace. Let alone Provincial straps and the still greater despots of their districts, their meanest, if not their humblest, policeman will find us at his back and call whenever civic excitement has to be allayed. More than this we cannot proclaim. Less than this we shall not confess. This is and has always been our creed and to that we shall adhere."

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I shall only quote to you the final conclusion at which after very careful and detailed reasoning I had myself arrived in that article, and which I had recommended to the Musalmans for adoption as the policy of the community.

"All truly loyal people (I wrote) have closed the chapter of civic controversy with the officials and into that book they are likely to look no more. Whatever our grievances, whatever reforms we desire, everything must wait for a more reasonable occasion. Even if the Government were to concede to us all that we ever desired or dream; if for instance the Muslim University were offered to us on our own terms, or the Press Act repeal were to be announced; or even if Self-Government were to be conceded to us, we would humbly tell Government this is not time for it, and we must for the present decline such concessions with thanks. Concessions are asked for and accepted in peace. We are not Russian Poles. We need no bribes!"

A conclusion such as this had recommended itself even to the Calcutta correspondent of the Morning Post. And yet it

alike for his learning, his piety and his tolerance"—was hanged by the Russians. If anything could surpass these things in the anguish they caused to Muslim minds, it was the threatened aeroplane attack on the Holy Kaba by Italy and the actual bombardment of Holy Meshad by Russia which followed them. Truly did Mr. Shuster declare at a banquet given in his honour by the Persian Committee in London on his visit there after his expulsion from Persia: "I am not bitter about my own experience, but I should be a hypocrite if I pretended not to sympathise with the bitterness of the Mohammedan people who have so forcibly learned the lesson that the Ten Commandments do not apply to international politics. Let anyone who doubts this review the events of the past year." These bitter experiences were destined to be followed by those still more bitter in 1912 in the autumn of which broke out the Balkan War, which at one time threatened to expel the Turks from Europe after nearly five hundred years.

#### Reaction on Muslim Feeling in India

The attitude of England towards the enemies of Turkey, Persia and Morocco had begun to alienate the sympathies of Indian Musalmans from England ever since 1911; and this estrangement could not but react on their relation with the British officials here, who, in spite of their detestation of the Radical politicians in power in England, could not help looking askance at Indians daring to criticise an English Government with a candour and a courage unusual in a subject race. The Comrade case, which for the first time brought home to Indians the power of the now difunct Press Act for evil, was concerned, as many of you may still remember, with the forfeiture of a pamphlet received from the Turks. In this they had only appealed to England for Christian succour against the Balkan Allies whose Macedonian atrocities were therein depicted. While this litigation was going on, the fatal developments following on the demolition of part of a small mosque at Cawnpore ambittered Muslim feeling still further. In consequence of all this I had proceeded to England, in company with the then Secretary of the Muslim League, to appeal to the British Government and persuade it to alter a policy, Indian as well as foreign, that seemed to bode

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no good to anybody, and which was sure to drive the Muslims to despair. In this we partly succeeded; but within a year events of far greater magnitude occurred in which the entire world was involved. The war and the events leading to the participation of Turkey not on the same side as England undid all the good that we had expected to follow the friendly Deputation of Indian Musalmans which we had taken to wait on Lord Hardinge earlier in the year, and which had been received by the Viceroy with every show of good-will.

### Outbreak of War and Muslim Feeling in India

When the war with Germany broke out, I think I fairly represented the feeling of educated and responsible Indian Musalmans who were too self-respecting to play the sycophant when I wrote to the Comrade of the 12th August 1914, as follows:

"There are still some sane people among Indians themselves, and though they do not advertise the offer of their personal service to the Government, whatever influence they possess with the people would be used to decrease rather than increase the Governments' embarrassment. They could offer no better guarantee than this that they regard India's connection with Great Britain as, at the present stage of India's growth, indispensable; and we are sure that the less lofty motive of self-interest would wear better and stand the strain of circumstances longer than the lip-loyalty of Ji-Huzurs.

"Whether Great Britain has respected Muslim Indian feeling in her dealings with Turkey, Persia, Morocco, or not; whether the utterances of His Majesty's Ministers regarding the Turks in their life and death struggle during the last war have been just and consistent, or unjust and inconsistent; whether their action following two breaches of treaty obligations, by Austria, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and by Italy in the Tripolitanne, have tallied or not with the recent public proclamation of their sense of the sacredness of treaties; whether their conscience has revolted or not at the slaughter of babes and sucklings, unprotected womanhood and bed-ridden age in Tripoli and the Balkans, whether the white Colonials' treatment of their coloured fellow-citizens of the same Empire has been fair or otherwise;

whether the Home Government has exerted its full pressure on the Colonials to right the wrong, or has only assumed an incredible impotence; whether Indians' claim for an equitable adjustment of rights and duties and for a fair share in guiding the destinies of their own country have been met by the British Bureaucracy in the spirit of friendliness, or of jealousy and rancour.

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was for publishing this very article that I forfeited the security of the Comrade Press and had in consequence to discontinue that paper. It was then that a distinguished weekly journal of England. The New Statesman, severely criticised the Government of India in a leading article sarcastically headed "Encouraging Loyalty in India"! And when the war with Turkey actually broke out, a representative of the Associated Press and Reuter interviewed me at Delhi and subsequently informed me that the interview was much appreciated by the Viceroy who had seen it before publication. I had predicted in the previous article that even if war broke out with the Turks the anchor of the Indian Musalmans' lovalty would hold, and now that war had broken out I repeated that the anchor still held. I asked them to command their souls to God and to place their services at the disposal of the Government for the preservation of peace and tranquility in India. I compared their position to that of the children of parents who had quarrelled with one another. "Right may be on one side or the other, but the sorrow and suffering are in any case those of the children".

### The Limits of Muslim "Loyalty"

In this interview, as also in the last leading article the Comrade was permitted to publish before it closed its doors, it was clearly indicated that Musalmans were placing implicit reliance on the solemn pledges given by the British Government and Britain's Allies with regard to their faith and the Holy Places of Islam. I had distinctly pointed out that Arabia must not be attacked nor must the protection of Islam's Holy Places by a really independent Muslim power be endangered. This was the least to which Indian Musalmans were entitled unless their religion was required by their non-Muslim Government to be a matter of no consequence to them as compared with their "loyalty" to that Government. I may add that I had concluded my interview with the statement that the Muslims could be trusted to act on the precept of Jesus Christ to render unto Caesar what is due to Caesar. But I was informed by the distinguished journalist who had recorded the interview that the Censor of Press telegrams, who was no doubt a good Christian, while passing the rest of the message, had carefully scored out

the exhortation of Jesus Christ. (Laughter) No doubt that astute official who believed in the supremacy of the State over the Church, thought that if the Muslims were reminded of their duty to render unto Caesar what was due to Caesar, they might perchance remember the accompanying exhortation also to render unto God what was due to God! (Renewed Laughter)

# Defiance of Muslim Religion and Disregard of Muslim Rights

This was precisely what happened before very long, and the history of our betrayal is too recent to be repeated in any detail. During the war Musalmans were required, in defiance of their religious obligations, to assist Government in waging war against the Khalifa and those engaged in Jihad. The Jaziratul-Arab, which includes Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, and which Musalmans were required by their faith at all times to keep free from non-Muslim occupation and control, was attacked and occupied by Great Britain and her Allies, and is still under their control in defiance of their Prophet's well-known testamentary injunction. The Holy Places of Islam, which are not particular buildings merely, but territories, including the three Sacred Harams of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, have been filched from the Successor of Prophet and commander of the Faithful, who is their only accredited Servant and Warden. and even to-day he is not permitted to occupy, defend and serve them. The dismemberment of the "Empire of the Khalifa; the appointment of non-Muslim Mandatories to control various portions of it; and the consequent weakening of the temporal power of Islam to the point of danger to its spiritual influence, through the possible pressure of the temporal power of rival creeds, were openly advocated by the Allies, and none of them insisted upon this course so relentlessly up to the last as Great Britain herself.

As we all know, Greece was her own brutal nominee and agent in the execution of this policy even after the armistice in defiance of all laws of peace or war, and howsoever much the other Allies also may have resisted Ismet Pasha at Lausanne, it was Great Britain herself that was the chief obstacle in the path of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha to the very end of this tragic tale. Discrimination was made against Muslim governments

and populations in various other ways also, such as by denial of self-determination to the Muslim populations of territories forcibly annexed or occupied and controlled by non-Muslim powers. While all this was going on, Indian Muslim opinion unrepresented at the Peace Conference, and represented before the Allies themselves only by unrepresentative Musalmans, was vigorously suppressed in India by means of those well-known engines of tyranny and terrorism, the Press Act, Regulation III of 1818 and, finally, the declaration of Martial Law in parts of India, over and above the abuse of the ordinary penal law of the land.

## The Time was Ripe for Re-Union

I have already declared it as my view that the bitter experience of ill-will against the Muslim States and populations abroad hastened the conversion of the Musalmans to the view that to rely on this foreign and non-Muslim Government for support and sympathy, even after making every conceivable sacrifice for its sake, was futile, and that if they were in need of support and sympathy they must have a lasting, equitable settlement with the sister communities of India. The same course was clearly indicated by the betrayal of the Musalmans of Eastern Bengal. And the time too was ripe for a Hindu-Muslim re-union. True partnership and association, whether in business, social relationship or in love, requires that there should be no great disparity between those that are to associate together as partners, friends or lovers. The same is true of politics. Union of the rich and the poor, of the old and the young, of the learned and the ignorant, is perhaps possible but far from common: and it was a true instinct that guided Syed Ahmed Khan in opposing, a generation previously, the yoking together of the strong and the weak. During the controversy with regard to the Minto-Morley Reforms, however Musalmans had developed to some extent the quality of self-assertion so necessary in politics. But ever since the outbreak of the Tripolitan war they had had to struggle against the repressive policy of the Government, and it is not with a view to praise my own community that I say it has now to a considerable extent made up the distance between itself and the more advanced communities of India by dint of forced marches which it had to undertake throughout this momentous period.

# The Rapprochement

It was at my brother's suggestion and my own during our internment that in 1915 the Muslim League held its annual session at Bombay where the Congress was also to meet. Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque, the veteran Congressman, who was nevertheless one of the founders of the Muslim League, and who had valiantly stuck to the Congress all these years in spite of the fact that the bulk of his community was still following the lead of Syed Ahmed Khan given thirty years ago, was now elected President of the Muslim League with great ECLAT. He was called upon to execute the mandate of his own community and bring about a joint meeting of the political leaders in the camps of the League and the Congress in order to adjust the future political relations of the various communities concerned. I hope Mr. Jinnah would soon come back to us soon. (Cheers) I may mention that an infidel becomes a Kafir and a Kafir becomes an infidel; likewise, when Mr. Jinnah was in the Congress I was not with him in those days, and when I was in the Congress and in the Muslim League he was away from me. I hope some day we would reconcile. (Laughter) Mr. Jinnah's persuasive advocacy was added to the vigour of the President, and last but not least, the audacious courage and vehement perseverence of that intrepid Muslim patriot, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, brought about the rapprochement which was to bear fruit in the following year in the historic Lucknow Compact. So rapid had been the progress of the Musalmans that a mildewed critic from among their own community observed that Lord Sinha, the Bengali President of the Bombay Session of the Indian National Congress, had travelled thither by the same train as his Behari neighbour and brother-in-law who presided over the Muslim League, and the two had borrowed one another's Presidential Addresses in order to compare notes. By some unfortunate mistake, Lord Sinha read out the halting and hesitating address of the ever loyal Muslim while the ever loyal Muslim read out the piquant and pungent address of the ever disloyal Bengali. (Laughter) But, said the critic with more wit than wisdom the two Presidents forgot to take back their own productions, and by an irony of fate Maulana Mazhar-ul-Haque had read to his Muslim audience as his own the pungent oration characteristic of the Bengali, and Lord Sinha had done likewise and read to the Congress delegates the cautious and halting address of the "ever-loyal" Muslim.

Government had now come to realise what would be the inevitable result of the Bombay rapprochement, and it is a matter of history how the Muslim Leaguers were compelled to conclude in camera the session begun under such auspices. Thenceforward, the Congress and the Muslim League always met for their annual sessions at the same centre and worked in entire cooperation. The result was inevitable and could well have been foreseen. If the Congress President of the Ahmedabad Session was lodged in the Alipore gaol when he should have been occupying the Presidential chair at Ahmedabad, the President of the Muslim League for the same year was indicted for waging war against the King at Ahmedabad itself on account of his Presidential address, and, even when acquitted by the unanimous verdict of the jury on that charge, was consigned to the Ahmedabad gaol after being convicted of sedition. It is a feather in the Muslim cap that while Srijut Das has brilliantly led the Swarajists to victory in Bengal and elsewhere, his Muslim con-FERE Maulana Hasrat Mohani is now sharing the honours of Yerrowada gaol with Mahatma Gandhi (Hear, hear, Sentence read smilingly) having in the meantime more than doubled his original sentence, in spite of the restricted opportunities for indulging in criminal practices that a prisoner's life affords and has thus corrected the error of a blundering jury! (Laughter)

## Muslim Realization of Larger Indian Interests

But it was not only a case of safeguarding Muslim communal interests without learning for support eternally on a foreign Government and harbouring suspicions against sister communities. Musalmans would have been more than human, or less than that (means, less than human) if they had been indifferent to the continued injustice done to India and Indians collectively. Having been taught by their political preceptors in the past that Government could never for long leave a wrong unredressed,

they had followed the policy of "wait and see". They had waited long, and yet all that they saw was a series, of wrongs done to India-wrongs which remained unrepented and unredressed. Their patience was at last giving way and they were beginning to enlist as Congress members in annually increasing numbers. This was a hopeful indication of their realizing—I hope they realise it even to-day that they had to protect not only their comparatively petty communal interests but also the larger Indian national interests, which were as surely theirs to protect as those of sister communities. They now realized more than ever that by being Muslims they could not cease to be Indians. The Congress sessions of Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi had progressively justified the National appellation of the Congress. But it was reserved for General Dyer to break down entirely the barrier that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had for temporary purposes erected more than thirty years previously, and to summon the Musalmans of India to the Congress held at Amritsar in 1919 as the unsuspecting Herald of India's Nationhood. The bullets of his soldiery made no distinction between Hindu and Muslim, and clearly Providence had so designed things that a community even more loyal than the Musalman, namely our brave Sikh brothers, (Hear, hear) should also dye the sacred soil of their religious capital at Amritsar with their own blood along with that of Hindu and Muslim martyrs. There is the Hand of God!

# The Coming of the Mahatma

Much of the suffering undergone at Jallianwala Bagh was however, of a passive character, not invited nor cheerfully borne, of course, I exclude individual instances, and the terror that the proceedings of the administrators of Martial Law had created seemed at one time to have paralysed the people of the Punjab soon after they had discovered their national identity through common suffering. But the Punjab was not left to sorrow alone. More than one patriotic Indian proceeded to the Punjab; but I feel confident they themselves would be the first to admit that I do them no injustice when I declare that the most historic event that took place during those eventful days was the "Coming of the Mahatma"!

The Mahatma's story is too well-known to you all, and now happily to a good-many well-informed people outside India also, for me to recapitulate it here. His experiences in South Africa had taught him and I hope it will teach us even now and after so many years, to people like Mr. Sastri and Mr. Sapru that it was idle to expect justice for Indians overseas unless justice was done to Indians at home and India secured a government of her own. Gentlemen, I am not afraid here to proclaim to the world that, if necessary, I shall walk out of the British Empire. But I am not also ashamed of proclaiming to the same world that, if possible, I shall remain within the British Empire. This, of course, did not mean that the British connection must necessarily be broken; and even to-day not only he, whose forbearance is proverbial, but also followers of his like myself who cannot pretend to be equally forbearing, believe in spite of the bitter experiences of the last few years, that the truest Swarai for India is not incompatible with the British connection if the British nation and the British Government only undergo a change of heart and make a pryaschit for the past. It was no doubt to deliver India from her bonds, spiritual no less than political, that the Mahatma had returned to the Motherland.

But the methods that he himself believed in and inculcated to his fellow countrymen were not those that would be called "political" in the politics-ridden West. To him, as to all great teachers of mankind, life was a single synthesis, however much we might analyse it for the convenience of philosophical study, and there was no direct antithesis between the political and the spiritual.

## A Question for Musalmans

Friends, I feel certain, I have exhausted you as well as myself with this somewhat exhaustive historical narrative, commencing with the Indian Mutiny and coming down to our own era of Non-Co-operation. (Cries of "No, no") But in thus narrating past history I had an end in view. I cannot act the part of a dictator to any of you; and yet I want you to co-operate with me and not with my enemies. Possessing no such personality as the Mahatma and being as unwilling to blind a spell over you as I am incapable of doing it, I could only lead you to the conclusions which after half a life-time of blindness and much brundering I have at last reached by demonstrating to you that our safest guide, the experience of several generations, inevitably leads us to the same. Experience must be our most cherished trophy, for it is a trophy made up of weapons that have hurt us. And here I appeal to the experience of my co-religionists in particular who are being diligently diverted from the path to which their history during the last sixty years and more has guided them. Granted that Non-Co-operation has failed, and that co-operation with our non-Muslim fellow-countrymen is a vain hope, a snare and a delusion—though I am far from granting it except for argument's sake—still we have got to suggest an alternative policy. I ask them not to accept my lead but to kick me out and to be in their turn my guide themselves. Whither could they lead me, that is now the question! If Non-Co-operation with our foreign masters and co-operation with Indian fellow-slaves of other faiths is not possible, what is the alternative that they have to place before us to-day? Are we to "progress backwards" till we begin to walk on all fours? Shall we co-operate with our foreign rulers and fight with our non-Muslim countrymen as we used to fight before? And if we do that, what hope have we of any better results than we achieved for ourselves in the settlement after the Tripoli and the Balkan Wars, or, nearer home, in the unsettlement of a "settled-fact" in Bengal? (Laughter) No friends, that book is closed and into it we shall look no more. (Hear, hear) You have no alternative better than Non-Co-operation with the foreigner and co-operation with our neighbours, nor have I. And it is futile to waste our time in worrying over the impossible. (Hear, hear)

# Mr. Montagu's Resignation and its Significance

It is said that we can have no grievance now after the Treaty of Lausanne. You, friends, are in a better position to know how that Treaty came to be concluded than I who had to undergo for a year and a half solitary confinement in all but a technical sense, and have not been in touch with public affairs. But I have studied in some of the back numbers of the newspapers, of those days something of what transpired in connection with the

revision of the Treaty of Sevres while I was still in prison. You all know about the historic telegram despatched to the Secretary of State by the Government of India after consulting and receiving the general concurrence of the Local Governments. including their Ministers. You will agree that it fell far short not only of Muslim aspirations and settlements, but also of the requirements of Islamic Law, since it did not say anything about the evacuation of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, and only recommended the Sultan's suzerainty over the Holy Places. In fact, the Government of India undoubtedly, even if haltingly, admitted all this when they said: "We are conscious that it may be impossible to satisfy India's expectations in their entirety", though Mr. Chamberlain had the imprudence to say that "the terms far exceeded even the demands of the warmest friends of the Turks." And yet what a storm did the world witness over the publication of even such a telegram. The Secretary of State's resignation was demanded by the Premier, and the King Emperor "had been pleased to approve its acceptance." In other words, Mr. Montagu was ignominously dismissed. As Reuter pointed out, "Mr. Chamberlain's announcement in the House of Commons was received with fierce welcoming cheers from the majority of the Unionists; and the 'Die-hards,' specially delighted, could hardly contain their satisfaction, "never before," said another message of Reuter, "Never before has the House of Commons re-echoed with such exultant cheering as greeted the announcement of Mr. Montagu's resignation. It emanated from the Unionist benches, but was so loud and prolonged that it seemed general. Some enthusiasts even waved handkerchiefs".

The most charitable explanation with regard to the attitude of Mr. Montagu's own party; and the party that in the rising hope of such Indians as still cling to the idea of receiving freedom as the gift of the foreigner, is contained in the earlier message of Reuter that "Liberal and Labour members received the news without an expression of opinion." To-day it may perhaps be urged that the Government of India are as anxious as the Muslim leaders themselves to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of the questions still at issue between Musalmans and Great Britain. But of what good is that to us so long as the Government of India is only "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away" whose "dictation to the

British Government" as to what line it ought to pursue in such matters seems to Lord Curzon quite intolerable. "This is what Lord Curzon wrote to Mr. Montagu before giving him the sack", even though poor Montagu thought that he was only being let off with a warning. But evidently he had forgotten that at Denshawi there was flogging as well as hanging, and that Lord Curzon's final court could be trusted not to let off such criminals as he with a warning, but to warn and hang him also for the same offence.

Not one of those believing Musalmans who is dissatisfied to-day with our policy of Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation among the Indians could honestly say that Muslim Indian feeling received anything even approaching proper consideration at the hands of Great Britain. And yet hear what this former Viceroy of India, the same who posed as the benefactor of the Musalmans in partitioning Bengal in 1905, has to say about our cry of anguish at the partitioning of Khilafat fifteen years later. In his letter to Mr. Montagu he writes: "But the part India has sought to play or been allowed to play in this series of events passes my comprehension...Is Indian opinion always to be the final court of Muslim appeal?

In his speech before his Cambridge Constituency Mr. Montagu had said:

The Government of India were parties to the Treaty of Sevres. Had the Treaty produced peace the Government of India would have accepted it loyally; but when it showed, as I always knew that it would show, that it could not produce peace, the Government of India pleaded for its revision. I ask whether the Governments of Canada, South Africa or Australia would have remained silent when the so-called peace was destroying the internal peace of their country?

Poor Mr. Montagu! How easy it is, it seems, to forget that while the Governments of Canada, South Africa and Australia are national governments, the Government of India, over which Lord Reading still presides after the dismissal of Mr. Montagu, is not a national Government at all. On the contrary, it is one which was bound to lock up for six long years the greatest leader that the nation had produced for many generations, in

deference to pressure from the Imperial Government that had treated its partial support of his view in this affairs with such open contempt. Dr. Sapru, too, had forgotten this patent difference between India and the Dominions, and had to be reminded of it at the Imperial Conference by the representative of a country once as distressful as our own namely Ireland. We had ourselves urged upon Mr. Montagu the very consideration to which he referred in his Cambridge speech; but it was all in vain, and our advocacy of the same cause which the late Secretary of State advocated with equally little success was punished in various ways by the Government in India. Those who used to tell me on these occasions that Mr. Montagu was sympathetic had to be reminded that his sympathy had proved wholly sterile. I have always held that Mr. Montagu should have resigned on any one of at least half a dozen occasions even before his ultimate dismissal, and now he tells us himself that "he had been repeatedly on the verge of resignation, but he had hesitated because he did not wish to say to the Mohammedans of India that the solemn pledges which had been made to them were irretrievably lost." Irretrievably...that's the confession of the Secretary of State for India. Nevertheless, his resignation had to come at last, and to-day he is not only not in the Government, but not even in the House of Commons. Can we then draw from all this any other conclusion than this, that "solemn pledges which had been made to us are irretrievably lost?" But no, Mr. Montagu may say that, but I will not say that they are irretrievably lost. Friends, with the assistance of God, and your wholehearted co-operation, we will yet retrieve them or perish.

# England and Lausanne

The treaty is said to be a treaty of Friendship. We shall presently examine it. This was in March, 1922, and although we were promised that due weight would be given to Indian opinion, I ask you to consider what was the attitude of England when six months later the brave Turks, relying not upon the promises of Great Britain, but upon God's grace and their own self-sacrifice and courage, drove Britain's brutal nominees into the sea? You all know that better than I do, and I do not propose to detain you over that. Beaten on the field of battle,

beaten, I say advisedly, England now sought to deprive the Turks of the fruits of victory on the conference-table of diplomacy. But here, too, God helped those who helped themselves, and the Treaty of Lausanne proved that the Turks were not only warriors but statesmen as well. Let us hear what Lord Curzon has to say himself of the reasons that brought about the Treaty of Lausanne. Did the English who had commissioned Greece after the Armistice to rob the Turks of Thrace and even of their homelands in Asia Minor; who were at one time actually considering the question of handing over Constantinople to them; and who had appealed in vain to the Dominions to fight their battle against the now victorious Turks when India could no longer be trusted to make cannon-fodder of her sons after the Karachi Trial-did the English even now repent or relent? The difference between the conditions under which other treaties, including that of Sevres, were imposed and those in which the Lausanne Settlement was arrived at was pointed out by Lord Curzon at the Imperial Conference in following words:

Such (dictation of terms at the point of the bayonet) had been the case with all the previous post-war treaties. These had in each case been drawn up by the victorious Powers, sitting, so to speak, on the seat of judgment, in the absence of the culprit, and imposing what penalty or what settlement they chose. Only when the terms had been drawn up was the beaten enemy admitted to be told his sentence and to make the conventional protest of the doomed man. Such, indeed, was the environment in which the original Treaty of Sevres was drawn up and signed, though never ratified by the Turkish representatives. Far otherwise was it at Lausanne. There the Turks sat at the table on a footing of equality with all the other Powers. Every article of the Treaty had to be debated with and explained to them. (Look, what great injustice to poor Great Britain!) Agreement had to be achieved not by brandishing the big stick but by discussion, persuasion and compromise.

Commenting upon Lord Curzon's defence of the Treaty of Lausanne and of his praise of Allied diplomacy, which was, according to him, reluctant to break up the Conference on important, but not vital, points, and to revert to a state of war, an

Indian newspaper, the Leader, which is not noted for any excess of sympathy with the Turks, wrote as follows:

No credit can be given to such pacific and discreet diplomacy when it was based on unwillingness to fight. As Lord Curzon said, "the Turks knew very well that the Allies had no stomach for further fighting; on the contrary, they were very nervous about the bellicose temper of the extremist elements among the Turks". "How far the genuine desire of the leading Turks for peace would control the unruly Nationalist and extremist elements". It will thus appear that the Turks obtained what they wanted literally at the point of the sword and the role of the conquerors and the conquered was reversed at Lausanne. It was the Turks who dictated the terms of the Treaty, and the Allies, who dictated the terms of the other post-war treaties, had to accept them. As a matter of fact the big stick was brandished by the Turks at Lausanne and the Allies "made the conventional protest of the doomed man". Replying to the severe criticism of the Treaty by those "whose motives in making the attack are not free from criticism" he i.e., Lord Curzon said that "it was the best treaty that could be obtained in the circumstances". (Laughter)

Thus it is once more clear that the Turks secured what they did at Lausanne not because of any regard on the part of England for justice to the Turks, or for the religious obligations and sentiments of Indian Musalmans with regard to the Khilafat, but in spite of England's open hostility towards the Turks and utter disregard of the requirements of Islam. Lord Curzon would have once more brandished the big stick; but, sad to relate, it had changed hands.

I have purposely dealt exclusively with a matter concerning the special interests of Musalmans and affecting their extraterritorial sympathies, for it is obvious that the treaty of Lausanne, far from settling our national affairs and satisfying our national requirements common to all Indian communities, does not even settle the peculiarly Muslim and religious issue of the Jazirat-ul-Arab. But after all, the issues that are our common national issues far exceed in number those that concern the Musalmans alone. All that the Treaty of Lausanne has done is to declare that the Turks have not lost their Swaraj as we had done more than a century ago, and as they themselves were within an ace of doing. The Khilafat Committee's demands, and, in particular, the religious requirements with regard to the Jazirat-ul-Arab, still remain unsatisfied. But even if all this had been done, could the Musalmans give up Non-Co-operation with Government and co-operation with other Indian communities? In the first place, that would be an unspeakably shameful breach of faith with their non-Muslim brethren of whose help they have so willingly availed themselves. And, in the next place, Indian Musalmans would be proving that, while they were so anxious for the security of the Turk's and the Arab's Swaraj, they were indifferent to their own! Well could it, then, be said of them: Hast thou arranged the affairs of the earth so well that thou meddlest in those of heaven as well?

# The Terrible Alternative to Non-Co-operation

Friends, once more I have perhaps exhausted your patience: (cries of No, no) but my excuse for it is that I want the Musalmans who are being asked to-day to discard the policy of Non-Co-operation with England to confront facts before they reverse a decision to which their sad experiences of co-operation with England had driven them. It is as clear as daylight that so long as India is not an equal partner with England and the dominions in the Empire, and so long as her Government is but "a subordinate branch of the British Government six thousand miles away", we cannot be satisfied with the goodwill of the Government of India even if it is proved to the hilt. Besides loyalty to a foreign Government there are other loyalties as well, and so long as Musalmans in India are liable to be punished for disloyalty to Government because they are loyal to their God and to his last prophet as we ourselves were punished at Karachi, and so long as the Holy Land of Islam is under the control of non-Muslim mandatories when we ourselves had been given God's own mandate for it by His Last Messenger as a deathbed injunction, there is no alternative to Non-violent Non-Co-operation but one, and that, friends, is the terrible alternative of war! Since the vast bulk of those who try to discredit our policy do so because they are slaves to the fear of Government, and,

being unwilling to make any sacrifice, could not even dream of adopting that terrible alternative, let us hear no more of a change of policy!

#### Muslim Co-operation with Non-Muslims

And if we may not co-operate with Great Britain is it expedient, to put it on the lowest plane, to cease to co-operate with our non-Muslim brethren? What is it that has happened since that staunch Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi, went to gaol for advocating the cause of Islam that we must cease to co-operate with his co-religionists? I know that Hindu-Muslim relations to-day are not precisely those that they were two years ago. But is it that either community is wholly blameless; and that the guilt is entirely one community's? Friends, I do not believe in diplomacy, and certainly not in that variety of it which is called secret diplomacy. I do not wish to imitate Sir Roger de Coverley, and put you off with the diplomatic dictum "Much can be said on both sides of the question". Most regrettable events have unfortunately occurred in Malabar, at Multan, at Agra, at Saharanpur, and elsewhere, and I am prepared to support the creation of a National Tribunal to judge the respective guilt of the two communities. For it cannot be gainsaid even by the community that has suffered the most that complaints have been made by members of the other community as well and obviously it would neither be fair nor productive of any satisfactory result if either community is saddled with all the guilt and denounced without an adequate enquiry. I did not shrink at Delhi from proposing the appointment of a truly Representative Committee of Enquiry; but for reasons which it is not necessary to state here no result has yet been achieved of such a committee's appointment. Two things are, however, patent. The law courts established by Government cannot stop their work while we adjudge the guilt of the two communities. And while it is difficult to arrive at the truth by a national enquiry after witnesses have given their testimony, true or false, on oath before the courts of law of the Government, reconciliation itself, which is even more important than the investigation of the truth, is not made easy by the punishment awarded to those who are found guilty by such courts, not unoften on evidence which is not free from suspicion.

### The Surest Remedy

What then is to be done? I have already told you that to accept the version of one party is neither fair, nor would it help us in creating in the other party whose version was disbelieved without any enquiry, a disposition towards reconciliation and reform. The only remedy that I can suggest for instant adoption is also the surest, and it was this which was all but adopted towards the end of our discussions at Delhi in the Committee appointed to consider this question. Even after we had decided that a Committee of Enquiry should visit the places where regrettable incidents had followed Hindu-Muslim dissensions, and after we had even nominated the members of this Committee. we were within an ace of cancelling all this because we noted at a later stage of our deliberations a welcome change in the attitude of the leaders on the two sides. There was now a desire to let bygones be bygones and heartily co-operate for the attainment of Swaraj, as they had been doing two years previously. Obviously, the protagonists on the two sides had once more had a glimpse of that unity of which the Mahatma was at once the chief preacher and the best symbol, and the prospect of gaining party-victories once more appeared mean and contemptible in their eyes. But a difference arose on a petty issue and they parted again. Friends, I pray that God may grant them once more a glimpse of that unity, and that this time it may not be as fleeting as it had been before. Nay, I pray that they may keep ever before them a picture of that unity and freedom that can be seen only through the avenue of national unity, so that all else that is of fair seeming, but which is associated with slavery, may lose its charm for them and be blotted out for all eternity.

# The Pettiness of Disturbing Issues

At Delhi when the protagonists of the Shuddhi movement were about to settle the matter and when the matter was about to come to a final understanding, the thing had broken on some small matter. Believe me, it is not by tawdry, tinselled rhetoric that I hope to settle such vital issues. But, although the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity is vital, and, in fact, the most vital that we have to settle, the issues which disturb that unity are contemptibly petty. Nothing makes me more ashamed than the

pettiness of these issues, and I confess I find it difficult to refute the calumny of our enemies that we are unfit for responsible Government when I contemplate their potency for mischief side by side with their pettiness. Far be it from me to sneer at the modes of worship of my fellow-men; but I feel unspeakably depressed when I think that there are fellow-countrymen of mine, including my own co-religionists, who would jeopardise the recovery of our lost liberty, including religious liberty itself, for the sake of the satisfaction they seem to derive out of cutting a branch of pipal tree overhanging a public thoroughfare and interfering with the passage of a pole of ridiculous length, or out of beating tom-toms and blowing trumpets before a house of worship at prayer time while moving in a procession. Friends. if we cannot acquire a better sense of proportion let us be honest, at least with ourselves if not with others and give up all thought of freedom. We must not talk of Swaraj even within the Empire, let alone out of it. What is Kenya to slaves like us or we to Kenya? Why need we hanker after a place in the King-Emperor's palace when we are not even fit for a place in his stables? (Laughter, cries of 'Shame, shame') And what is it to us if the Holy Land of Islam should attract many a Casino and CAFE CHANTANT, or the new warden of the Musalmans Holv of Holies should become one of the long tale of impotent potentates maintained by an Imperial Government only to be pushed off their ancestral thrones whenever they should forget themselves and think that God has made them men and not merely puppets in an Imperial show. If alams and pipal trees and noisy processions are our "horizon's utter sum", then all our Congresses and Khilafat Committees are mere mockery.

"Let us ring down—the farce is nothing worth." Let us close this chapter of childish make-beliefs, and taking the first train back home, let us devote ourselves henceforward to the realisation of the ideal of petty self-concern which alone befits a nation of slaves. Let us at least not take the sacred name of Liberty in vain. Let us add our confession to the claim of our opponents, and admit that God, Whom the great religious teachers of the East in which all the existing religions have had their source, had taught us to regard, just, has yet been so unjust to a fifth of mankind that He has made them totally unfit for self-rule, and has left it to His white creatures hailing from Europe

to correct His mistake, and carry on for all time the administration of India. But if we do not want to drag our spiritual ancestors into the mire along with ourselves and to blaspheme a just God, let us elevate ourselves to the height of our ideals and lift the masses instead of sinking down to their low level.

## The Root of Evil

But since I have referred to the low level of the masses, let me say this much to them that what I wrote in 1904 in criticising the education given in the Indian universities is still true. and even to-day (this is what I write) "the greater portion of bigotry agitates not the bosoms of the ignorant and the illiterate but excites to fury and to madness the little-learned of the land." And it is not the love of our own religion that makes us quarrel with our fellow-countrymen of other faiths, but self-love and petty personal ambition. "The coming of the Mahatma" has meant the destruction of "the kingdoms of the nations" and the foundation in their place of the one United Kingdom of the Nation to be the Congress whose Chief Servant was his great glory. But these little 'kings' who had lost their little 'Thrones' were not reconciled to the idea of national service under the banner of the Nation's Chief Servant, and were pining for restoration. You have heard what Milton said with regard to self-rule: 'Better to live in Hell than to serve in Heaven.' These petty people who want to rule India to-day would better recognise this. Better to be privileged to be cooks than to be bulls' tails. So long as Mahatma Gandhi and his principal coworkers were free, they had not the courage to raise the standard of revolt, and there was no room for them in the economy of the Indian world except as openly despised slaves of the foreigner or as secretly discontented adherents of the National Federation. And so they chose the latter alternative. But, with the Mahatma immured at Yerrowda they reasserted themselves, and since they could not hope to occupy his position, they have persistently, though not professedly, addressed their appeals to communal passions and jealousies in order to destroy the National Federation and hasten the recovery of their petty principalities. Before the advent of Mahatma Gandhi several streams, some large and some small, were running more or less parallel to each other, and little boats were being rowed on them. I was in one of them. But soon after his advent, almost all of them were diverted into one channel and became tributaries of a mighty river rapidly moving on to join the sea. On the broad bosom of this Ganges there sailed a powerful ship, manned by lusty sailors, captained by the Mahatma and flying the national flag, which I had the honour to unfurl today. What the petty ambitions of petty men have been urging ever since the Mahatma's incarceration is that we should scrap the big ship and take to the little row-boats again. But since these little boats are not safe enough craft for the mighty river hurrying on towards the sea, they propose a revolution in Nature itself, and ask that the great river would flow back into its old tributaries. (Laughter) But nature cannot be thwarted, and the futility of the desire to make the Ganges flow backwards is a thing known even to our village fools. When party questions came up, I acted in the name of the Congress. When such questions came up and I am asked to settle, if I can do so I do it in the name of the Congress. You will have to tell me whether I can do it or not. In the name of this Congress and of the Indian Nation, nay, even in the name of that Destiny which shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we may, I warn this little breed of men that, God willing, they will never succeed, and that the Indian Nation cannot look upon their insidious activities with unconcern.

# Toleration and Fraternal Self-Sacrifice

Friends, to punish the guilty is not without its advantages even in the domain of politics; but the surest remedy for political disunion is, as I have already suggested, to create on all sides a disposition to forget and forgive. But this is not all, and if we desire to prevent a recurrence of regrettable incidents we must remove the causes of friction. Conformity in all things is only too often desired, and this not only by the bigots, but also by some of the most large-hearted of men. Religious reformers have at all times betrayed a fatal weakness for comprehension or the preparation of a religious compound formed of many simples gathered from many different sources. They have hoped that by adopting a policy of inclusion they would be able to form a faith embracing doctrines culled from diverse faiths and acceptable to all the followers of all these faiths. That is how they hope to attain uniformity and secure conformity. But

history has shown that the cause of peace and unity has not been greatly furthered by the formation of such electric faiths. Only too often have they added one more to the warring creeds existing before and have only increased the disunion they were creating. Such well-intentioned failures have at last made people fall back upon toleration. This is not the indifferentism and absence of strong convictions which often pass for toleration, but a far more positive principle in life which co-exists with beliefs passionately held. I could not define it better than by quoting an American who declared to a fellow-countryman of his holding very different views to his own: "I strongly disagree with every word of what you say; but I shall fight, Sir, to the last drop of my blood for maintaining your right to say it".

That, friends, is the best definition of toleration. The Quran which calls upon Musalmans even to fight in defence of their Faith whenever their freedom of faith is assailed or jeopardised, sums up its teaching on tolerance in these words: "To you your faith, to me mine." If we all agreed to act upon this principle, and at the same time emphasised the features common to different faiths and the spirituality characteristic of all, there would be no strife in the world but peace and tranquility everywhere.

# Application of this Principle to Outstanding Issues

Let us apply this principle to some of the outstanding issues between the various communities of India. If, for instance, processions can be taken out on public roads and no objection is taken to music being played thereon, a Musalman should not object to a procession with music taken out by Hindus, or by other non-Muslim neighbours of his, unless it interferes with his own exercise of some recognised right such as conducting Divine Service in a fitting manner. If, again, a long pole can be carried in procession through the streets without danger to life and limb, no non-Muslim should object to it if it is so carried "with musical honours." But then the Muslims indulging in such practices, which are, to say the least of it, of doubtful religious validity, have no right to demand that a non-Muslim neighbour of theirs should permit the lopping off the branches of a tree which he holds sacred whether with reason or without it and which

is growing on his land and is his property. If there is no law against smoking in public places, no Parsi should object to a non-Parsi's lighting a cigarette in a street even though he himself holds fire to be too sacred an element to be defiled in this way. Similarly, if it is no offence to slaughter animals, and a man kills a fowl, or a cow, or a pig, or kills any animal to provide food for himself or for others or for sacrificial purposes or in a particular manner not involving cruelty to animals, his neighbour should not object to it on the ground that he holds all life too sacred to be destroyed, or that he looks upon the cow as upon a mother, or that he considers a pig too unclean to be eaten, or that he is required by his own religion to kill animals in a different manner to his neighbour's. In all these cases it is of course, presumed that the animal slaughtered is the property of the man who slaughters it or causes it to be slaughtered, and not his neighbour's whose property he may not unlawfully seize and use or destroy. But we have not, alas, reached a stage of toleration in India when the free exercise of his right by one of us can escape being resented by some others. In fact, the worst of it is that some of us while they insist upon the exercise of their right, sometimes exercise it with the desire to annov their neighbours, and in a manner that is sure to annov them. The jeering at men of other faiths when one is taking out a procession required or sanctioned by our own faith, the beating of tom-toms and playing other instruments, which often produce more noise than music, with special vigour before a house of worship of another community, and particularly when Divine Service or some other religious rite is in progress and is likely to be thereby disturbed; the needless lopping off of trees held sacred by Hindus which overhang public thoroughfares, or doing it in an exultant manner; the blowing of cigarette smoke in the face of or too close to a Parsi or a Sikh; the wanton destruction of a good deal of animal life in the sight or immediate neighbourhood of Jains; carrying a garlanded cow in procession through a locality inhabited by Hindus as well for purposes of slaughter; or slaughtering it in a place where Hindus cannot help seeing it—these and many other such are things that occur only too frequently whenever there is a tension of feeling between the communities concerned. And provocation and insolent exultation of the nature described above often lead to hot words. and not seldom to blows which sometimes end in loss of human life.

#### How to Deal with such Matters

There can be no measure sufficiently comprehensive to safeguard public tranquility and peace in all such cases, and I can think of no National Pact embracing all such situations, even if it is permitted to assume inordinate proportions, and to include details that must make us the laughing-stock of the world. The best remedy, I must repeat, is the creation of the correct spirit in which the different communities exercise their rights. But it is possible for a national body such as the Congress to deal with some of the principal causes of friction, and to remove them by bringing about an agreement between leaders of the communities concerned. And this it must do. But, while attempting to influence public opinion, and to regulate public action through the agency of such leaders, with courage and confidence, a body like the Congress must be careful not to demand from any community that it should relinquish any rights which may, in the present circumstances involve a sacrifice, far beyond its capacity. It must be remembered that Swaraj, although it is our destined goal, and is soon likely to be in sight, has yet to be won, and before it is won we have no sanctions of which we can make use like a Government. We must depend exclusively upon persuasion and example. But even if we had a Government of our own, it could not rightly, or even successfully, compel large sections of the people to give up the exercise of any right unless it provided for them corresponding facilities in some other direction.

# Cow-Killing

The question of cow-killing is an instance in point. I know how sacred a cow is in the eyes of my Hindu brothers, and who knows better than my brother and myself how anxious our absent Chief was to secure its preservation? His action in so self-lessly leading the Khilafat movement was no doubt characteristically generous and altruistic; but he himself used to say that he was trying to protect the cow of the Musalmans, which was

their Khilafat, so that this community which had learnt from its Scriptures that there could be no return for kindness save kindness, would be induced to protect his own cow in return. This was, however, only Gandhiji's way of emphasising his love for the cow. And even before he so picturesquely called the Khilafat our cow, my brother and I had decided not to be any party to cow-killing ourselves. No beef is consumed since then in our house even by our servants, and we consider it our duty to ask our co-religionists to act similarly. As for sacrificing cows, my brother and I have never done it, but have always sacrificed goats, since a sacrifice of some such animal is a recognised religious duty. Much can be done in this way, and we have learnt by experience during the three or four years following the Hindu-Muslim ENTENTE and co-operation that it is not difficult to reduce cow-sacrifice, even before Swaraj is won, to insignificant proportions.

But, much as I desire that even ordinary cow-killing throughout the year for the purpose of providing food should be altogether discontinued, or, at least reduced to similarly meagre proportions, I am only too conscious of the fact that in looking forward to an early realisation of my wishes I am hoping against hope. Musalmans in India who can afford to purchase the dearer mutton eat beef only on rare occasions. But for the poorer towns-folk among the Musalmans it is the staple food. Coming from the centre of Rohilkhand, or the land of the Rohillas, I know how difficult it is for them to discontinue the use of beef in the present circumstances. The Pathan cannot suppress his surprise when he comes across people in India who "eat corn with corn": and Rampur wags say: "Let there be meat, even if it be a dog's". When following the fashion of British Indian Municipalities, Rampur also closed many meat shops and opened in their place a Central Meat Market, it was found difficult to cope with the demand for beef, and so disastrous proved the results of a keen competition for the reduced supply that the Market, as it used to be called, was now descriptively rechristened MARPERT? In the case of this class of Musalmans the use of beef is at present a more or less acutely felt economic necessity.

The only safe and sure way of stopping cow-killing in this case is to take steps to lower the price of mutton which is

prohibitively high, and thus reduce the very large margin that there is at present between the prices of mutton and beef. I am far from desiring that the cost of living should be still further increased for any section of this impoverished land, not excluding my own community, which is admittedly one of the poorest; but I cannot help pointing out that by far the most numerous owners of cows are the Hindus, and that if they did not sell cows after they had ceased to give milk, there would be much less cow-killing than there is to-day. Even now we can encourage goat and sheep breeding in order to save the cow, but when we can frame our budgets for a Swarai Government it should be a comparatively easy matter to utilise a considerable portion of the savings from military expenditure for the same purpose. Nevertheless I appeal to my co-religionists even to-day to discontinue the use of beef and not to wait until Swaraj is won when their sacrifice would be worth much less. The Joint Family system of India and not the free competition of the Manchester School must be our social and political ideal for India's different communities. But if there is to be competition among the communities that form the Indian Joint Family, let it be a competition in forbearance and self-sacrifice, and I maintain that the community which willingly surrenders more of its cherished rights and strongly-entertained sentiments for the sake of sister communities and the peace and harmony of India will prove the most invincible in the end.

Adjustment of Communal Shares in Representative Bodies and in the Administration

I have already explained to you what I think about the main cause of communal quarrels and the share of the educated classes in misleading the masses and using them in order to serve their personal ambitions. But matters like cow-killing and processions with music are not the only things that provide sources of friction. The adjustment of communal shares in representative institutions, local, provincial and All-India, and in the administration also, gives rise to bitter communal dissensions, and here it is clearly impossible to shift the blame on the masses. Once more personal ambitions well or ill disguised as communal interests play a great part, and specious phrases,

such as greater efficiency and superior educational qualifications, are used to cover the injustice intended. This is all the more surprising because similar pretexts when put forward by the foreign bureaucrats are exposed by the selfsame people. Since this fallacy of the higher efficiency of monopolists has not yet received its quietus. I am compelled to sav that the intelligence of the few can never be proper safeguard of the interests of the many. And when people are not actuated by motives of broad-minded patriotism, the superior intelligence of one group or section cannot be regarded by other groups and sections as a rather dangerous possession. It may, however, be that even where the motives are pure they are none the less suspect. That, friends, is our 'karma', the legacy left by the injustice of past generations, and instead of taking undue offence, we must live down such reputations. In politics as in business credit has first to be established, and a good balance-sheet and a moderately good dividend are far more useful in the long run than the most attractive prospectus. We could have gone much further on the road to Liberty and Self-Rule if minorities had been quite sure of the company which they were being invited to join. But the common platform of the Congress has now provided an excellent opportunity to all of us to prove the patriotic character of our motives, and however long it may be before we succeed in establishing our credit, nothing can be done without it; and losing our temper over unmerited suspicions, or hustling those who entertain them and trying to jockey them into and expression of confidence that they do not yet feel in us, is poor business.

The Lucknow Compact which forced the hands even of the bureaucracy and compelled it to agree to such poor reforms as have been doled out to India would in all likelihood suffice for the present for such of us as have decided to enter the Legislatures; and even if it does not, this should spur us on, to quicken the pace and try to reach our national destination of Swaraj all the earlier so that we may re-adjust communal shares in representative bodies. Friends, let me tell you frankly that I do not consider it likely that for some time yet we can afford to dispense with separate electorates. But I can assure you no one would rejoice more than myself on the day that the minorities themselves announced that they needed no such protection. It

may perhaps help you to judge of my bonafides in this matter if I tell you that I had strongly urged the adoption of the Indian plan for the protection of the Christian minorities in the Eastern Vilayets of Turkey known as Armenia.

But two intermediate steps may be taken before we abolish separate electorates altogether. The first is that the minorities should be free to elect any Indian as their representative. I shall deem it a great honour the day a non-Muslim minority elects me in preference to its own members to represent it in the national assembly. And I know of no Muslim to whom I could give my vote with greater confidence than to that great Khilafatist, Mahatma Gandhi.

Another step that we could well take would be the progressive creation of mixed electorates, gradually to replace separate electorates. Some of you may perhaps remember that I had opposed that Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali who did not wish to risk any seat by agreeing to the intention of some mixed electorates, and wanted safe, even if fewer, seats for the Musalmans when the Minto-Morley Reforms were being discussed. An intercommunal relations improved the number of seats thrown open for contest in mixed electorates may be increased and those allotted to separate electorates decreased, till all come to be contested in mixed territorial electorates. The same policy should be adopted in throwing administrative posts open from communal to general competition.

All the foregoing considerations have to be kept in view in dealing with the composition of local bodies where, although the issues may often be petty, the passions of the people concerned are more liable to be excited.

A sad enough confirmation of this is furnished by the unfortunate dissensions in the Punjab over the distribution of municipal seats. The conditions in that province sometimes make me wonder whether Jallianwala Bagh and the Crawling Lane are really situated in the Punjab.

# Mental Myopia

In the short passage which I quoted in the earlier part of this address from another address of mine, delivered as long ago as in 1904, I had warned my audience against placing any

reliance on the "misleading unity of opposition", and I would be the last person to believe that we can remain a united people merely by feeding on the memory of Martial Law terrors. Many a coalition formed in Opposition and adversity has broken down after the first flush of victory at the polls and in the very first days of Government, and if Swaraj is not only to be won, but also to be retained thereafter, our unity must be based on something more lasting than the memories of common suffering. And yet I am compelled to remind both Hindus and Musalmans who complain so bitterly to-day of one another's injustice that I know of nothing more difficult for either to endure from the other than the cold-blooded decision taken by General Dyer to shoot and to shoot strong at Jallianwala Bagh and the calculated national humiliation of the Crawling Lane. It seems to me that we in the north suffer from a mental myopia, and as we move forward our sufferings are left behind, and gradually recede into obscurity, so that even at a very short distance of time the troubles of to-day blot out all recollection of the terrors of yesterday. And what is worse, each community remembers only that which it has itself suffered, retaining in its memory no record of the sufferings it had itself caused to others.

# The Community of the Badmashes

But in referring thus to communities we are apt to forget that it is not communities that cause suffering to other communities in the course of popular affrays, but rowdy elements of India's population which cause injury to the peace-loving. The badmashes belong to no community but form a distinct community of their own, and to it all is grist that comes to the mill. I was greatly impressed by an article contributed by Lala Lajpat Rai from his American exile during the War when Hindu monied classes had suffered greatly in some districts of the Punjab from the depredations of Muslim badmashes. There was great danger of inter-communal strife, but the Lalaji hastened to point out that the Hindu sufferers had not suffered because they were Hindus but because they belonged to the monied classes. It was a case of the Haves and the Have-Nots and not a case of the Hindus and the Musalmans. This has always to be borne in mind, particularly when there are not only the two contending

parties but a third as well, which laughs just as heartily as we fight and abuse one another.

Dr. Tagore has spoken a great deal since the outbreak of rowdyism in the North on the subject of inter-communal quarrels; but the reports of his lectures made me doubt a little whether he remembered what he wrote on the same subject when similar rowdyism, but more deliberate and previously planned, had broken out over cow-killing in Bihar in 1917. He happened to be travelling in a compartment shared with him by a British military officer who sneered at Indian aspirations and asked the poet how his fellow-countrymen could talk of Swarai when he a foreigner had to be called in every now and then to take his troops to the disturbed areas and keep the peace between Indians of different faiths. Then, at least, the poet remembered that there was a third who laughed while we suffered, and reminded the British officer of his existence. The latter asked whether there were no such quarrels before the advent of the British, and the poet admitted their previous existence as well but he was then prompt to point out that there was one difference. They quarrelled even then, but they did not let many suns go down upon their wrath because the moment they recovered their lost tempers they also recollected that they had to live together for better or worse, and since life would be infinitely dull without more or less friendly intercourse, the sooner they made up their differences and became friends again the better. But ever since the TERTIUS GAUDENS had come on the scene such quarrels had become more frequent and such reconciliations fewer and farther between.

# The Hand of Esau and the Voice of Jacob

European husbands and Indian wives have a horror of that triangular family life in which the third side is represented by the mother-in-law. (Loud and continued laughter) Imagine then the blessed state of that union in which the mother-in-law is not only a permanent feature of family life and never dies, (Laughter) but in which she alone runs the household. And worse than all, the mother-in-law that makes each of us pine for single blessedness combines two distinct natures in one person, and with ever ready sympathy combles either party, as the

occasion demands, and, better still, condemns the other, in the joint role of the mother of both! This would indeed be matter for laughter if we had only sense enough not to be the dupes of this double-dealing mother-in-law.

But the moment a cow is killed by a Musalman in a provocative manner, or a noisy procession is taken out by a Hindu in front of a mosque where prayer may be going on, we are ready to rush at one another's throats forgetting that Musalmans have never been known to be wanting when it was their own co-religionists that had to be denounced to the Government as seditionists and rebels, and that Hindus have had no better record of communal cohesion in similar circumstances. Have no Hindus reported against Mahatma Gandhi and no Musalmans against me? Our own sufferings have taught us that there is never a lack of one's co-religionists to do all the dirty work that may be required of them, and when a Musalman is so ready to hurt a brother Muslim, or, for that matter, the entire Muslim community, why need we be surprised if a Hindu is employed to do the same? No, friends, like badmashes, traitors belong to no community, but form a tribe of their own. Some of you must have read Labour's denunciation of "International Finance". We have even better reason to denounce "Inter-Communal Goondaism". A Musalman may throw beef during the night into a temple or break an idol, and yet the Muslim community may be just as innocent of this provoking sacrilege as the Hindu community itself; and in similar circumstances the Hindu community may be wholly blameless even though a Hindu certainly threw pork into a mosque or desecrated Holy Quran. Some people asked me to disown the Musalman Minister in the Punjab. I said to them that I was prepared to disown him, if they said I had ever owned him. (Laughter) What is the difference between him and the European official? They are both limbs of the same body. They belong to the Government and not to me.

But even more clear than this is the case of a Muslim Minister who may have shown favouritism towards Musalmans in the matter of patronage, and of a Hindu Minister similarly showing undue favour to Hindus. Obviously they are members of a foreign Government whatever caste-mark they may bear. The hands are the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob.

And yet the people of a province that has still to stop the pensions of a Dyer and an O'Dwyer are prepared to co-operate with those who insist on paying for Indian murder out of Indian funds, and to cease to co-operate with their neighbours and fellow-sufferers, only because a Minister who happens to belong to the community of latter dispenses such petty patronage as the Reforms empower him to do in a manner that does not meet with their approval. After this one wonders what Non-Co-operation means. When the Congress publicly is welcoming Indians who resign their posts, even though it thinks it is perhaps too much just yet to call upon them to resign, there are people who call themselves Congressmen but forget all that Mahatma Gandhi had taught them of Non-Co-operation only because a Minister in their province is giving a few more petty posts to members of his own community than they think he ought to do. Friends, it is not a little embarrassing to me that this Minister happens to be a co-religionist of mine; but believe me. I would have felt even more ashamed than I now feel embarrassed if the complaint about such petty posts had come from my co-religionists. Hakim Aimal Khan Saheb, for whose speedy and complete recovery we all pray, has related to me what unspeakable shame he felt when co-religionists of his and mine had the hardihood to show some scratches on the walls of the mosques at Multan and some broken pitchers in justification of their counter-claim that if Hindu temples had been destroy. ed their own mosques did not altogether escape.

# The Parable of the Wise and the Foolish Mother

Let me add that I would never have mentioned this had I wanted to complain about the Hindu attitude in the matter. I have done so because I feel certain that the Muslim mentality does not seem to be any better, and neither community is above these petty considerations. But even if the Musalmans had been any better I would not have complained of the Hindus, for experience teaches us that it serves no purpose for a member of one community to rebuke the members of another. That task must be left to its own members. How often have we not seen little children living in the same quarter of a town playing together and then quarrelling over little things? Every boy rushes back to his own mother with a woeful tale of the wickedness of

his playmates, and of course, an equally pathetic description of his own virtues. The wise mother uniformly decides against her own child and rebukes him; and if he still persists in his complaint, he is told not to make such unsociable creatures his playmates any more. The street which is usually the common playground is thence forward declared beyond the bounds. But solitude soon begins to fall upon our virtuous young friend, and a little separation begins to purge his playmates of all their sins so that by the second or third day they are completely absolved, and he asks for, and secures, his mother's permission to play with them once more, though not before he is told that he is not to come to her again with the tale of his undeserved sufferings. And this is the way that peace is secured.

But, alas, I have seen foolish mothers as well as wise ones, and perhaps the former constitute a majority. The moment their young hopeful comes to them for sympathy and, even worse, for effective support, they shed motherly tears of deep anguish over him, and when they have exhausted one emotion they make use of another, and, going to the mother of the wicked boy who had been so unjust to their little angel, bitterly complain of him and drop not a few hints that his upbringing has evidently been neglected. This leads to still plainer hints from the other side that the complainant was a devil incarnate. and that with such parents to bring him up it was not altogether the poor creature's fault. And then the fray begins. The big guns of abuse are sent up at a gallop, and long range howitzers which leave none scot-free up to the seventh generation are brought into action. Then appears the male auxiliary, and if he is equally devoid of common-sense and equally jealous of his IZZAT, he opens fire instantly with something that shatters the IZZAT of the adversary for ever. Thus when the other male auxiliary rushes up to the scene of action on hearing the noise of this bombardment, he calls a truce to this wordy warfare, and, like the practical creature that he is, he promptly breaks the hand of the other male. And it is a lucky quarter of the town if hostilities remain confined to the families directly concerned. The best commentary on all this is furnished by the action of the brace of young barbarians with whom hostilities had commenced walking off arm-in-arm to enjoy another game of 'gilli-danda' or 'kabaddi' just as police may be marching the Big

### Four off to the lock-up!

It is such experience as these which have taught us that the best method of settling inter-communal quarrels is neither to advocate the cause of your community, as in my time I have often done, nor even to pose as an arbitrator with an open and a judicious mind, but to earn the abuse of your own community. And since my brother and I have received an earnest of this already, I feel satisfied that not only am I qualifying myself for the office of a genuine patriot, but that I may begin to entertain hopes that the two communities will soon be reconciled. After this, need I say I recommend this course of "political exercises" to all my friends of every community?

### Sanghatan

Having explained my own attitude at such length I do not think I am called upon to say much about the Sanghatan. I have certainly never publicly opposed it, and if anyone thinks so he is mistaken, and must have been misled by some illreported speech or interview. This is entirely an affair to my Hindu brethren, and if they think they need a Sanghatan they should be allowed a perfectly free hand in the matter. Every community is entitled to undertake such social reform as it needs, and if the Sanghatan is organised to remove untouchability and to provide for the speedy assimilation of the Antyaj and their complete absorption into Hindu society. I must reioice at it both as a Musalman and as a Congressman. Ever since the Congress at Nagpur called upon the Hindu delegates "to. make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability" and "respectfully urged the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes", this question has enlisted the direct interest and sympathy of the Congress. I remember very well that towards the closing months of the year 1921, Mahatma Gandhi was making the removal of untouchability the test of the Hindus, yearning for Swaraj, and if orthodox Hindu religious bodies have now seriously decided to make the required reform in Hinduism, it is bound to rejoice the hearts of that large-hearted Hindu and of all his followers.

But I cannot help recalling that this matter remained in

abeyance for a considerable time, and that it was not taken up with any great zeal until after the tragic events in Malabar had caused some months later a wave of indignation and resentment to sweep over the distant Punjab, and Multan Hindus had themselves suffered from the unruly passions of the Muslim mob. It is this combination of circumstances which causes uneasiness to many of those who yearn for the unification of India and know how little weight our recently achieved unity can just yet sustain. A broken limb which has just come out of a steel frame should not be too severely strained. We may not believe every suspicion or rumour, but we must not overlook their potency for mischief if they are not quickly removed or disproved; and there is no doubt that people are busy creating the suspicion that the removal of untouchability is not intended to result in the absorption of the suppressed classes into Hindu society, but merely to use them as auxiliaries on the Hindus side in future affrays. This being so, I ask if there is no ground for the uneasiness of Mahatma Gandhi's followers who have been sedulously taught, in the words of our resolution at Nagpur, "to lay special emphasis on non-violence being an integral part of the Non-Co-operation resolution", and to invite the attention of the people to the fact that "non-violence in word and deed is as essential between the people themselves as in respect of the Government", and, finally, that "the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy, but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of Non-Co-operation". If in removing the reproach of untouchability we give cause to the world to reproach us with adding to pre-existing violence, will it not sadden the heart of the Mahatma? Friends, let us befriend the suppressed classes for their own injured sakes and not for the sake of injuring others or even avenging our own injuries.

Another feature of the Sanghatan movement is the increase of interest in physical culture. This is all to the good, and if flabbiness and cowardice can be removed from any section of the Indian people there is cause only for joy. Here, too, however, there arises the question of the spirit, and I am sincerely glad that the frank discussions at Delhi last September gave an opportunity of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to proclaim to the world that he himself favours the creation of common

AKHADAS in which young men of all communities can take their share. As for the protection of life and property and—I regret that I should have to add—the honour of our sisters, he again proclaimed his original intention that common territorial Civic Guards should be formed. It was only because he was told that the Hindu Sabha by which his motion was being discussed could not constitutionally bind other communities that he altered his resolution and agreed to the creation of Hindu Guards.

### The Sanghatan of the Congress Conciliation Committee

But in entire agreement with Hindu leaders the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee recommended certain resolutions to the Congress for adoption on all these subjects, and since they were immediately passed by the Congress let us now see that we give full effect to them. To prevent the possibility of disunion we have, in the first place, to establish at the headquarters of every district, under the supervision of the District Congress Committees, and in consultation with Khilafat Committees, Hindu Sabhas and other responsible local associations, mixed Committees, for the maintenance of peace and security throughout the districts. In case of any incident likely to disturb such peace and security, they would endeavour to minimise its evil consequences and provide for a speedy and satisfactory settlement, and would encourage the people, in case of any provocation, to conduct themselves with restraint, and to refer the matter to such Committees for redress of their grievances, instead of themselves resorting to retaliatory measures. I have since then realised with grief and pain that in some districts the Congress Committees have ceased to function, and that Congress workers have in some cases themselves taken a leading part in exciting inter-communal hostility. This would necessitate for some time at least the formation of supervisory bodies to check the work of the District Committees and to be a substitute for them in areas in which such Committees have not been formed. A permanent Provincial and a similar National Conciliation Board also seem to me to be called for, and had such Boards been in existence perhaps they could have averted unfortunate collisions in some localities. These Boards could perhaps be utilised also for making enquiries into similar incidents that occur in future in spite of all our precautions, and, if necessary, to apportion the guilt between the communities concerned. Let us be ready with our machinery, and if the people know that we mean to stamp out such rowdyism and to maintain peace, security and inter-communal friendship, there is little likelihood of our having to sit in judgment upon contending communities.

#### Civic Guards

In the next place the Congress resolved at Delhi that its local Committees be instructed to form and maintain, under their own supervision and control, local Corps of Civic Guards (open to all communities), throughout the country, for the maintenance of peace and order and for the performance of other civic duties. Local Committees of the Congress were also to be instructed to induce and encourage the people to take up physical culture and to provide necessary facilities for this purpose so that our people may be enabled to undertake their selfdefence. I have heard of communal DALS and AKHADAS, but I fear the local Committees have not yet had sufficient time to organise Congress Corps of Civic Guards and open Congress akhadas. I, however, know of one School of Physical Culture at Aimer which sent some of its members of the Delhi Congress. and while pleased with their physical development. I rejoiced still more when I learnt that, in spite of much persuasion to throw in their lot with their community during the unfortunate affray there and indulge in partisan violence, these young men remained wholly non-violent and refused to take sides. Can any one say after this that the Congress exercises no influence in favour of national unity and non-violence? Wherever we have men like our Arjunlal Sethiji, Maulana Moinuddin and Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg, we may confidently look forward to the maintenance, or, at least, the earliest possible restoration of peace. Dr. Hardikar has, I am happy to say, interested himself in the creation of Volunteer Corps, and let me confess, friends, that even to-day when I am presiding over the Congress I feel I would be more in my element if I were working in Dr. Hardikar's place. If only the Government knew how necessary is the formation of volunteer corps of Civic Guards to keep our crowds even more peaceful than they already are and far more orderly and self-restrained, it would not dream of using its Criminal Law Amendment Act against them and their organisers, provided, of course, it too desired peace and order to prevail in the land. In this matter I have a personal end to serve also. Travelling as constantly as I do, and attending mass meeting by the dozen, and being unfortunately only too often carried in processions, I feel the need of such Corps more than the stay-athomes among us, and I am often tempted to take in hand the local volunteers attending on such occasions, forgetting for the moment that no man can attend at his own funeral!

# Sense of Honour of our Badmashes

But let me say one word on the subject of the protection of the honour of our women before I take leave of the Sanghatan question, and let me preface my last word on the subject with the admission that it is not really mine but my wife's. At Almora, where she was addressing a ladies' meeting composed mainly of her Hindu sisters, she said that if in a place such as Almora, where Musalmans form a very insignificant minority, she found that an anti-Muslim riot had broken out, and her male relations were not available to help her to protect her own or her daughter's honour, she would unhesitatingly appeal to the first Hindu as to a brother even if she knew him to be a badmash (Hear, hear) and ask him to take her and her children under his personal protection. She said she had enough confidence in the sense of honour even of India's badmashes and in their "sportsmanship" so to speak, and I doubt if there are many badmashes in India on whom such a personal appeal of a sister in distress will fail to have any effect. Friends, trust disarms even wickedness and succeeds where six-chambered revolvers fail and Shakespeare knew human nature better than some of us seem to do when he wrote:

"There is a soul of goodness in things evil".

I cannot do better than to appeal to my sisters to teach us to trust each other more than we do at present, and by their own courageous confidence develop in the worst of us that Godgiven "soul of goodness".

#### Shuddhi

Another movement that has affected Hindu-Muslim relations is Shuddhi. I myself believe in a missionary religion, and by a missionary religion should be taken to mean one in which, in the words of Professor Max Muller, the spreading of the truth and the conversion of unbelievers are raised to the rank of a sacred duty. It is the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers which cannot rest unless it manifests itself in thought, word and deed, which is not satisfied till it has carried its message to every human soul, till what it believes to be the truth is accepted as the truth by all the members of the human family. Christianity and Buddhism as well as Islam are known to be missionary religions, but Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Hinduism are generally regarded as non-missionary.

Now, this has been my complaint for a long time against Hinduism, and on one occasion, lecturing at Allahabad in 1907, I had pointed out the contrast between Musalmans and Hindus by saving that the worst that could be said of a Muslim was that he had a tasteless mess which he called a dish fit for kings, and wanted all to share it with him, thrusting it down the throats of such as did not relish it and would rather not have it, while his Hindu brother who prided himself on his cookery, retired into the privacy of his kitchen and greedily devoured all that he had cooked, without permitting even the shadow of his brother to fall on his food, or sparing even a crumb for him. This was said not altogether in levity; and, in fact, I once asked Mahatma Gandhi to justify this feature of his faith to me. It will be strange, then, if to-day, when there are evidences of a missionary zeal in the activities of my Hindu brethren, I should resent their efforts in spreading their faith. More than that, if the Malkana Raiputs are in reality so unfamiliar with Islam as to be taken for Hindus, Musalmans must thank Hindu missionaries for so forcibly reminding them of their own duty to look to the condition of millions of Musalmans whose knowledge of Islam is as defective as their practice of its rites is slack.

Both communities must be free to preach as well as practice the tenets of their respective faiths. There are competing types of culture in the world, each instinct with the spirit of propagandism, and I hope we live in an age of conscious selection as between ideal systems. We cannot surely wish to practice that wasteful, and, at best, a precarious, elimination of "false doctrine" by actual destruction of those who hold it. I hope the age of the Spanish Inquisition has gone for ever, and no one would think of abolishing heresy by wiping out the heretic. Progress is now possible along the more direct and less painful path of conversion. But it must be the result of the exercise of the power of rational choice, and the man whose conversion we seek must be free to choose his faith. What true Muslim could be satisfied by the kind of "conversion" which some fanatical Moplas are believed to have effected during the period of the Malabar troubles by forcibly depriving some Nairs of their tufts of hair indicating their Hindu faith? No better in the sight of God is that outward conformity which is forced upon a person by bringing undue worldly pressure to bear upon him.

Allegations of such pressure by zamindars and money-lending and by a numerical majority of neighbours in the surrounding areas have been made and denied, and counter-allegations have been made. This cannot but react unfavourably on national unity; and when over a very small matter the decision to put a stop to all demonstrative and inflammatory methods of mass conversion and reclamation was given up, the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee at Delhi recommended to the Congress a resolution which was duly adopted, that a Committee be formed to enquire into incidents connected with "Shuddhi" and "Anti-Shuddhi" movements, to visit places wherever coersion. intimidation, exercise of undue pressure or influence, or use of methods of proselytisation inconsistent with such a religious object is alleged or suspected, and to recommend such means as it thinks necessary for the prevention of such practices. Every political party in the West is, or, at least, pretends to be, jealous of its honour, and willingly consents to have Corrupt Practices Act passed by the Legislature. We who pride ourselves on our greater spirituality must be truly jealous of our reputations, and a national body like the Congress is a proper authority to advise all communities in this matter, if not to enforce a Corrupt Practices Act as part of the unwritten law of the nations. My own belief is that both sides are working with an eve much more on the next decennial Census than on heaven itself, and I frankly confess it is on such occasions that I sigh for the days when our fore-fathers settled things by cutting heads rather than counting them.

### Absorption or Conversion

The quarrels about alams and pipal trees and musical processions are truely childish; but there is one question which can easily furnish a ground for complaint of unfriendly action if communal activities are not amicably adjusted. This is the question of the conversion of the Suppressed Classes if Hindu society does not speedily absorb them. The Christian missionary is already busy and no one guarrels with him. But the moment some Muslim Missionary Society is organised for the same purpose there is every likelihood of an outcry in the Hindu Press. It has been suggested to me by an influential and wealthy gentleman who is able to organise a Missionary Society on a large scale for the Conversion of the Suppressed Classes, that it should be possible to reach a settlement with leading Hindu gentlemen and divide the country into separate areas where Hindu and Muslim Missionaries could respectively work, each Community preparing for each year, or longer unit of time if necessary an estimate of the numbers it is prepared to absorb or convert. These estimates would of course be based on the number of workers and funds each had to spare, and tested by the actual figures of the previous period. In this way each community would be free to do the work of absorption and conversion or rather, or reform without chances of collision with one another. I cannot say in what light my Hindu brethren will take it, and I place this suggestion tentatively in all frankness and sincerity before them. All that I say for myself, is that I have seen the condition of the kali parai in the Baroda State and of the Gonds in the Central Provinces and I frankly confess it is a reproach to us all. If the Hindus will not absorb them into their own society, others will and must, and then the orthodox Hindu too will cease to treat them as untouchables. Conversion seems to transmute them by a strong alchemy. But does this not place a premium upon conversion?

# The Duty of the Press

Once more the best and surest remedy is a change in the

spirit of proselytisation; but that cannot be expected with a Press so unrestrainedly partisan as we have to-day in parts of India. I am myself a journalist, and you all know that I have undergone some little suffering for the sake of securing the freedom of the Indian Press. At least, I can claim the honour, if honour it be, to have figured in the leading case under the late lamentable Press Act, and it was I who started this fox even if I could not be at the kill. The removal of these external fetters makes it all the more necessary that we should exercise greater restraint than before over ourselves. But what I have seen of the Vernacular Press in the Puniab makes me apprehend that if it is not checked by the combined efforts of all Congressmen it will make us sigh for the resurrection of that dead and damned piece of bureaucratic legislation. Not that the bureaucracy would find much in our Punjab papers to which it would be inclined to apply the provisions of the Press Act even if it were resurrected, for in the estimation of the bureaucrat the offence punishable under Section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code is not to be named in the same breath with that punishable under Section 124-A of that Code. And even though the Press Act is no more, the Penal Code and the Civil Courts, where damages can be claimed by officials financed by the Government for alleged defamation, serve the Government well enough. But the nation remains wholly unprotected, and it is up to us not to leave it so exposed.

It was I who strongly urged the Hindu-Muslim Unity Committee last September to recommend to the Congress a resolution on the subject of the Press. The Congress was asked to instruct its Working Committee to issue a manifesto inviting the attention of the Indian news papers to the extreme necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely affect inter-communal relations, and also in reporting events and incidents relating to inter-communal dissensions and in commenting upon them. It was asked to appeal to them not to adopt an attitude which might prove detrimental to the best interests of India which might embitter the relations between different communities. It was also recommended to the Congress that its Working Committee might be instructed to appoint in each province a small Committee which should request such newspapers as publish any matter likely to create inter-communal

dissensions that they should desist from following such a course of action, and that if, in spite of this friendly advice, no useful results were achieved, these Committees should proclaim such newspapers. If even after this they did not alter their attitude, a boycott of them by Congressmen was to be declared in the last resort. The Congress adopted this resolution also, but I fear its executive has not yet had to carry out the instructions issued by Congress. The most important work that we have to do apart from this, of restoring Hindu-Muslim unity, is to organise an adequate permanent establishment for Congress and its Provincial and Local Committees; for it is no use passing Resolutions in the Congress which cannot be attended to by the honorary executive for lack of a paid, permanent establishment.

Friends, you may perhaps say I have taken up too much of your time in describing and detailing what the Congress did at Delhi and have hardly any proposals to place before you to-day. My answer is that you need few fresh proposals if you are determined to carry out those which you have already accepted. At Delhi we were able to proclaim to the world that we were not satisfied with the existing state of affairs and that we were resolved to remain united. That itself cleared the air to a great extent; but this was not all. We had provided remedies essentially sound in principle for our national ills; only we have not so far had time to use them. We spent perhaps too much time in examining, analysing and criticising the resolutions we had passed at Delhi, and a large section of Congressmen has been kept busy by the elections. Unless you adopt other measures to restore the national unity, it will be the duty of your executive to carry out the measures already adopted. But your executive will fail to accomplish anything of lasting value unless it has your ungrudging support and active assistance. In fact, you are your own most effective executive, and as your servant specially nominated by you for the year that is now commencing, I appeal to you to assist me in carrying out your own orders.

To the Indian Press I would address my most earnest appeal urging the Press to rise to the height of the occasion and not to disappoint the high expectations of one who is himself a journalist. When I was recently at Bijapur again and for the first time visited its famous dome, a friend of mine who was as deeply impressed as myself by that wonderful pile, asked me in a whisper

right across the dome if Europe with all its boast of superiority had a whispering gallery such as that of the 'Gol Gunbad'. It is no doubt a most astonishing experience to be able to hear distinctly across such a great space everything that is whispered. and the nine echoes heard in that gallery are equally remarkable. My friend was for the moment living the brilliant past of Bijapur over again and felt inordinate pride in achievements of his Muslim ancestors. It was no doubt a great shock to him when I whispered back that the Whispering Gallery of Europe was even more marvellous. And then I told him that Europe's Whispering Gallery was the Press, its Fourth Estate! Every lie softly whispered in the privacy of the Editor-Proprietor's sanctum was shouted across all the continents, increasing in pitch and volume with every reverberation till it ended in the united shriek of hundreds of millions, of fanatics and lunatics (Laughter), leaving no chance for poor tongue-tied Truth to be heard. And yet it is just as easy to make the world resound with the thunderpeals of Truth as with the shrieks of Falsehood, and it is for the Indian Press to choose whether it will serve as the Whispering Gallery of Truth or of Falsehood.

# Swaraj and Foreign Aggression

Before I take final leave of the Hindu-Muslim question I wish to declare that if India wins Swarai it will satisfy all the religious requirements of a Muslim in India. Swarai, Sarv-Rai, or the Raj of all, implies Swadharma, and must imply that in an Eastern country. It is not therefore necessary that a Musalman should sit on the throne of the Mughals at Delhi, and we have all seen how the greatest Muslim State has ceased to have a Royal Throne and has converted itself into a Republic. Every true Muslim looks back with pride upon the Thirty Years of the Truly Guided Khalifas during which the Successors of the Prophet and the Commanders of the Faithful (with whom Allah was pleased) were the Chief Servants of the Commonwealth. Islam spread over the major portion of the civilised world and its empire extended over all the continents of the known world; but no Muslim holds dear the memory of Islam's later conquests and expansion as that of the first thirty years when it was the pride of the Muslim envoy to tell the envoy of the Byzantine and Iranian empires who had been boasting of the despotic power of their respective rulers that the Muslims had themselves appointed their ruler and would depose him just as readily if he acted against the Law of God. Victory has not been snatched from the jaws of defeat and despair by the valiant and Godfearing Turks to no purpose, and I feel confident that once they are free from the distractions inevitable after the victories both of war and peace they will revive with God's assistance the glories not of the Omayyide or Abbaside Empire, but of the first Thirty Years of the Khilafat before they were any kings or dynasties.

I have my own views of the possible adjustment of the relations of all Muslim States and the Khalifa, but this is not the occasion to state them. It would suffice if I state here that Musalmans can satisfy all their religious requirements no matter who is their secular sovereign so long as they recognise that "there is no governance but God's", and that "Him alone are we commanded to serve." As in every religion, there are in Islam certain things which every Musalman is required to do, and certain things which he is required not to do. Between these duties and prohibitions lies a vast stretch of ground in which he is free to roam about except for certain things which are in the nature of preferences. Now a Musalman can obey no creature of God who commands him to neglect one of these duties or to disregard one of these prohibitions, and it makes no difference whether that person is one of his own parents or his master or ruler, whether he is an enemy or a friend, or whether he is a Muslim or a non-Muslim. So long as the temporal power of Islam is adequate and is always at the disposal of the Khalifa, it matters little whether a Muslim is a subject of a Muslim or of a non-Muslim. All he needs is the fullest freedom to obey none but God in the matter of his religious duties and prohibitions. Even if a Muslim sovereign, nay, even if the Khalifa himself, commanded him to disobey God, he must refuse; and it is obvious that he could not render unto a non-Muslim Caesar what he could not render unto a Muslim Caesar because it was due only to God. This being so, I cannot understand why there need be any question of a Muslim's unflinching loyalty to a Swaraj and Swadharma Government.

As for the bogey of His Majesty the Ameer of Afghanistan

attacking India with the assistance of Indian Muslims, it is the creation of fear and cowardice, and can only be laid at rest by courage and self-confidence. I must say it did my heart good to hear my esteemed friend Pandit Nehru say: "Let us win Swaraj and we shall see who comes." We shall certainly be ready to meet all comers, and it will be no easy matter to snatch away freedom from the hands that have succeeded in winning it back after a century-and-a-half of slavery. As for myself, if India ever needs a humble soldier to resist an aggressor, be he the Muslim or non-Muslim, your comrade whom you have to day called out of the ranks will gladly fill his place in the ranks. He certainly will be no deserter.

### Afghanistan

I have heard that my Madras speech of 1921, which had been considered in official circles to be highly treasonable, although it embodied nothing more or less than the sentiments my brother and I had expressed in a letter we had addressed from the Betul gaol to the Viceroy, had not found much favour even in Afghanistan. And I do not wonder that our Afghan neighbours feel a little hurt when they are so often described as if they were harbouring designs on India. If only we knew how difficult His Majesty the Ameer must be finding the task of organising his kingdom and developing its resources without the assistance of foreign personnel, we would not talk of the possibility of an Afghan aggression. Afghanistan is enough to keep him and his government fully occupied without the additional worry of the problem of how a Kabul pony can swallow an Indian elephant. If the Afghans are hurt merely because I explained my own position in the event of a hypothetical aggression from Afghanistan, what must be my own feelings in having to explain that position? Because I am a Muslim I have not ceased to be an Indian, and it is surely humiliating to any Indian's national pride to think that his fellow-countrymen regard his country and theirs as an easy prey for any foreign assailant, no matter how weak.

### "And the Fourth Would Knock Me Down"!

Friends, you will forgive me if I relate a story here which

seems so applicable to our own situation. I have to preface it with a special apology to my Banya friends because, whosoever may have been the author of the story, he had certainly lived in an age much anterior to ours when the most courageous leader that India has known in recent times happens to be no other than a Banya and one of his chief lieutenants and lovers is "my brave Banya" as I call my dear friend Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. The story is that four travellers happened to meet each other on the road and agreed to travel together for safety's sake. It happened that after dusk they were met by some highwaymen who demanded the surrender of all their belongings. Then they discovered that their assailants were also only four. One of the travellers who was a Raiput whispered to his companion who was a Pathan that he could successfully tackle the biggest of the highwaymen. Thereupon the Pathan assured the Rajput that, for his part, he too could manage to deal with the next biggest. Thus encouraged the third of the travellers who was a middle-aged Brahmin said: "And I could knock down the third." Then came the turn of the fourth who was a Banya, and equally promptly came his declaration: "And the fourth would knock me down!" This led the Brahmin to apprehend that in that case he might be required to tackle not one but two, and he decided to give in. The Pathan too gave it in for fear he might have to deal with three assailants, and, finally the Rajput also surrendered because obviously he was no match for all the four. And all this because one traveller out of the four had felt just as convinced that the fourth highwayman would knock him down as his three companions were convinced that they could knock down one highwayman apiece!

# Need of Courage and Confidence

May I not ask you, friends, if it is not now time when we have a Banya for our brave leader for all of us to give up such conviction of defeat before the battle is joined? Why, only recently a Delhi paper published the remarkable discovery of its secret investigator that a delegation consisting of two aged Arabs and one young one who have come from Palestine with the permission of the government to raise funds from Indian Musalmans for the repair of the Masjid-ul-Aqsa and the

Qubbat-us-Sakhra at Jerusalem is the vanguard of an invading force of Arabs! Not with such fears and suspicions and tremors can freedom be won. This, friends, is the way to lose even the little we have. It reminds me of the curse of the Lord on Israel which is recorded in Deuteronomy:

- The Lord shall send upon thee cursing, vexation and rebuke, in all that thou settest thine hand unto for to do, until thou be destroyed and thou persist quickly.
- Thy Lord shall curse thee to be smitten before thine enemies, thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them; and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.
- And thy carcase shall be meat unto all the fowls of air, and unto beasts of the earth and no man shall fray them away.
- The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart:
- And thou shalt grope at noonday as the blind gropeth in darkness, and thou shalt not prosper in thy ways: and thou shalt be only oppressed and spoiled evermore, and no man shall save thee.
- Thou shalt build an house, and thou shalt not dwell therein, thou shalt plant a vineyard and thou shalt not gather the grapes thereof.
- Thy sons and thy daughters shall be given unto another people, and thine eyes shall look and fail with longing for them all the day long; and there shall be no might in thine hand.
- The fruit of thine land and all thy labours shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed always.
- So that thou shalt be mad for the sight of thine eyes which thou shalt see.
- And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a byword among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee. The stranger, that is within thee shall get up above thee very high; and thou shalt come down very low.
- He shall lend to thee and thou shalt not lend to him; he shall be the head and thou shalt be the tail.

Moreover all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall persue thee and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed. And they shall be upon thee for a sign and for a wonder and upon thy seat for ever.

# The Turks' Message

The duty of the Musalmans to-day is a double one. They owe a duty to themselves as Indians to secure freedom for themselves and for their posterity. India is no less their country than the Hindus, and even if the Hindus were to shrink from the sacrifices required in freedom's battle, though they will certain ly never do so, it would still be their duty to persevere and to say that they would win Swaraj for all India even if they received no aid from the rest of India. But as Musalmans too they are to secure Swaraj for their country. When I met the Turks in Paris, in Switzerland and in Rome they wondered how the same country that had despatched a large army, which included so considerable a proportion of Musalmans, to fight against them could also send a delegation like ours to plead for better terms for them after their defeat. When I solved this riddle for them by explaining the paradox that many of the Muslim warriors that were not afraid of the Turkish sword or the German gun and could pass months and years in those death-traps called trenches, were yet afraid of policeman's truncheon and of police lock-ups and prison cells, my Turkish friends told me that in that case I must take the first boat back to India, and, instead of endeavouring to prevent their enslavement, I should go and break the fetters of my own countrymen. "We have beaten, the English", they said, "on the soil of Turkey and in the Straits; but we could not keep at bay for ever your Indian hordes that pressed us hard in Palestine and in Mesopotamia. Once you are free and no Indian Muslim can any longer be driven to fight against the forces of the Khalifa. Both Turkey and Islam will be safe. It is your duty to us as well as to yourselves that you first win freedom in your own country." But they added, "let not your Hindu and Sikh fellow-countrymen think that they owe a duty only to themselves and none to us. It is in order to keep them enslaved that Britain has forged such heavy chains for us".

#### An Eastern Federation

Friends, I am glad to hear that so many of my Hindu fellowworkers are thinking of establishing a relationship with other Eastern countries. Their political ideas have scaled the ramparts of the Himalayas and crossed the moat of the surrounding seas. They recognise that the freedom of every Asiatic nation helps their own freedom, and they contemplate the organisation of an Eastern Federation. The first step had already been taken by Mahatma Gandhi when at Amritsar he identified himself with the cause of the Khilafat. It would be a strange thing if while the Hindus set about organising an Eastern Federation. Indian Musalmans should cease to co-operate with them all because one newspaper correspondent realised in the suffering of Musalmans at Saharanpur the tragic scenes enacted at Smyrna. Nothing could be more foolish and more absurd than this, and if the Turks ever came to hear of this comparison they would not feel an excess of gratitude for us.

## A Final Question to the Musalmans

But one question and one only I shall ask those who point to the episode of Saharanpur—where no doubt it is the Hindus that have suffered most—as a sufficient reason to veer round from Non-Co-operation to co-operation. And that question is this. Was there no British Government ruling in India when Musalmans had to undergo such unmerited sufferings? Was a Hindu administering the district or even a Non-Co-operating Muslim? Finally, was not the department of justice administered by a Musalman who had broken away from the community of which he used to be a great leader at one time and had co-operated with the foreign Government? These are not three separate questions, but one, viz., if neither the Government nor those Musalmans who co-operate with it were able to save the Musalmans of Saharanpur, what prospect is there of any greater safety for them if these conditions are perpetuated by our cooperation? I pause for an answer, but I fear I shall not get it.

In the meantime the Holy Land of Islam remains in the custody of non-Muslim mandatories. Five times a day every Musalman who offers his daily prayers with regularity turns

his face towards the Ka'ba. While I was still in the Bijapur gaol a question occurred to me which I put into verse, and it still remains unanswered.

"His Ka'ba facing which we were daily offering prayers, what shall we say to Him how it was left under the enemy's control?"

## The Blow Recalled After the Fight

Friends. I have said all that I could say on the Hindu-Muslim question and if after all this lengthy dissertation I leave any Hindu or Musalman still unconvinced of the necessity of cooperation among ourselves and Non-Co-operation with our foreign masters, I can say no more and must acknowledge myself beaten. One thing is certain, and it is this, that neither can the Hindus can exterminate the Musalmans to-day nor can the Musalmans get rid of the Hindus. If the Hindus entertain any such designs they must know that they lost their opportunity when Mohamed Bin Qasim landed on the soil of Sindh twelve hundred years ago. Then the Musalmans were few, and to-day they number more than seventy millions. And if the Muslims entertain similar notions, they too have lost their opportunity. They should have wiped out the whole breed of Hindus when they ruled from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Chittagong. And as the Persian proverb says, the blow that is recalled after the fight must be struck on one's own jaw. If they cannot get rid of one another, the only thing to do is to settle down to co-operate with one another, and while the Musalmans must remove all doubts from the Hindu mind about their desire for Swarai for its own sake and their readiness to resist all foreign aggression, the Hindus must similarly remove from the Muslim mind all apprehensions that the Hindu majority is synonymous with Muslim servitude. As for myself, I am willing to exchange my present servitude for another in which my Hindu fellow-countrymen would be the slave-driver instead of the foreign master of my destiny, for by this exchange I would at least prevent the enslavement of 250 millions of my co-religionists whose slavery is only another name for the continued existence of European Imperialism. When at Lucknow in 1916 some Hindus complained to my late chief, Bal Gangadhar Tilak Maharaj,

that they were giving too much to the Musalmans, he answered back like a true and far-seeing statesman: "You can never give the Musalmans too much." To-day when I hear complaints that we are showing great weakness in harping on Hindu-Muslim unity when the Hindus show no desire to unite, I say, "You can never show too great weakness in your dealings with Hindus." Remember, it is only the weak who fear to appear too weak to others. With this observation I take my last leave of this question without a proper and a lasting settlement of which we can effect nothing.

# Chapter 13

### INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

SPECIAL SESSION 1923

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD (EXTRACT)

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad delivering his address in Urdu said that the Congress had already given up its old attitude of criticising and protesting against instances of bureaucratic wrong doings. Their efforts were now directed against the system itself which had continued to exist, not on account of any innate strength of its own but because of their own neglect and weakness. Injustice was the essence and not an accident of that system. He was, however, glad that three years' working of reformed councils, the salt tax, and the unfulfilled promise about Indianisation of the Services and, latest of all, Kenya decision had disillusioned the Moderates and he hoped that if the Liberals sincerely believed that the time had come for protecting Indian honour they should sink their petty differences as to method and unite to guard that honour. He then turned to the Turkish victory and the Moslem attitude and then to the more pressing problems of the day, and said:

Britain wished to crush Turkey, but Turkey grew strong in spite of British intrigues and designs. Britain refused to yield to the claims of justice, but she has bowed her head before the will of a nation. She often wrote her decisions with the pen. They were torn to pieces with the sword. India must make common cause with the universal struggle of eastern nations to shake off the fetters of slavery and should assure Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Morocco of her sympathy with their struggle. In

particular India should reaffirm her determination to secure the independence of "Jazirat-ul-Arab". This was required not only because it formed part of the religious faith of Mohammedans. but the cause of advancement of India's freedom was bound with its independence. Geographically the fortunes of India. Egypt and Arabia were linked for ever. The desire to perpetuate the slavery of India made the possession of the Suez Canal necessary for the British and now the independence of Arabia was being sacrificed to maintain India's evil plight by keeping a stronghold of the British power in Arabia. Indians having been responsible for the slavery of Middle Eastern countries were now washing their sins and were marching to jails so that justice may be done to the Turks and Arabs in appreciation of India's services. Mr. Gandhi's name had become a watchword in Cairo and Constantinople. By supporting the Khilafat cause Indians were also advancing their own national cause by producing a will from freedom. It was his belief that the support to the Khilafat movement was the greatest service of Mahatma Gandhi.

#### The Bardoli Shock

In their march for freedom if they had come to a dead halt, they must start afresh. If there was a rift in the unity, it did not matter, and they should reunite. "The lightening which has stricken us is one of the ordinary accidents of this venture. In the course of a national struggle it has overtaken many before us and will overtake many who will come after us. There are rises and falls. We make a mistake in interpreting a fall as a cessation and rise as a new birth. We would be in error in regarding the suspension of any national activity as cessation of activity, an error similar to that of concluding that tides of ocean will not rise tomorrow because they have ebbed today. Thus our struggle suffered by suspension at Bardoli after it was proceeding at a rapid pace. This sudden pause produced a shock and the general inactivity of the movement caused a split in the Congress. The rupture of Hindu-Muslim unity, failure of all attempts to bring about union, all these are natural results of the Bardoli shock. But there can be no question of our relinquishing the struggle owing to temporary despair. Unity is all we need and it is in order to establish it that we have gathered here."

Of the three alternatives before them all, acquiscence in the present conditions, armed revolt, and Non-Co-operation, they had chosen the last and meant to pursue it. History had taught that freedom never came as a free gift. The question was should the will of a people prevail or only such rule as had been established by armed forces? The object of the Non-Co-operation movement was to deprive by boycott its enemy of the finest troops supplied by various institutions. The experiment had succeeded to the greatest possible extent. Not only the mentality of the masses was completely changed, but so completely did it eradicate the fear of punishments and pains in the cause of liberty that imprisonment has become a sport and formidable law courts the "theatres of public entertainments." The Viceroy's Calcutta speech for a Round Table Conference showed the desire to secure either a truce or peace by any means possible and proved that the course of Non-Co-operation was effective and unerring. But the Bardoli mistake brought a reaction and a fall which was aggravated by undue importance being attached to the Council controversy.

Now the first question to consider is whether the difference about Councils was one of principle or details, because where a policy was involved each was entitled to hold his opinion but in the matter of details the discipline of the organisation and its mandate must be observed. He asserted that the difference on the Council issue was really not one of the principle. "The principle of Non-Co-operation is our principle. For the attainment of this goal we have adopted a programme every one of whose items is a means to the end. We cannot change the creed or renounce the principle, but we can change our tactics any moment at will. If we refuse to introduce such changes, it means that we refuse to fight." He regretted to find that such energy had been wasted on the Council controversy as if the very life of the national struggle hung upon it. If after Gaya they had remained united and not frittered away the valuable year 1923 in the controversy. Hindu-Moslem unity would not have been breached. A united army was more essential for the fight than even arms. For the last one year they had been quarrelling about the nature of weapons, not troubling about the state of the army. Even admitting that the entire victory consisted in the capture of the Councils when their organisation had become chaotic, he

suggested that either we successfully boycott the Councils or capture the seats? "I regret to say that the party opposed to all changes must beware lest we should inadvertently be betrayed into blind obedience or total inertia and the party insisting on the introduction of changes have failed to realise that we must not ruin the discipline of our organisation for the sake of a minor difference".

#### Hindu-Muslim Unity

The last subject touched by the President was Hindu-Muslim unity which, he said, must be the foundation for any political structure and without which freedom of India must remain a dream.

He recalled that only so far back as 1912 the Mohammedans were keeping communal aloofness because they feared that being in a minority and being backward, their existence might be endangered by an alliance with the Hindus. In the national struggle he was the first Mohammedan to urge his co-religionists in 1912 to join the Congress, but his voice then was not heard. In 1916 when interned at Ranchi he learnt Mohammedans had at last realised the truth and were eagerly entering the Congress. What was the position to-day? When the world was turning its ears to hear the tale of freedom, India had prepared a tale of slavish shamelessness and mad riots. Instead of 'Swaraj' and 'Khilafat' cries were heard: "Save Hindus from Musalmans and save Musalmans from Hindus." "I beg of you who represent the intellect and voice of India to remember that it does not matter in the least whether you decide that Non-Co-operators should or should not go to the Councils. For God's sake decide here and now whether India is to protect the maimed hopes of her freedom and emancipation or whether she is to bury them in the blood-stained soils of Saharanpore and Agra." As he deprecated the communal standard and aloofness of Mohammedans in 1912, so he was opposed to the standard of Hindu Sangathan and Shuddhi movements. He was not opposed to them in principle. He knew its promoters always ended with a message of peace and love, but although Christ exhorted the people to forgive their enemies, the world had not been able to forgive even friends.

In an atmosphere of jealousy and revenge love could not be maintained. If they wanted the country to be free they must postpone all such activities for the sake of the bigger cause, no matter how dear they might be. He deplored the Multan excesses of the Mohammedans and urged the preparation without delay of a national pact to elucidate and define the national goal and future relations between the communities. "India is a wonderful land. It is quite possible that the freedom of three hundred millions of people will be delayed because a procession passed by a Mosque singing and beating drums or the branches of a tree on the high road were lopped!" To put an end to such a state of affairs a committee of select members of the two communities should be appointed to prepare a draft pact for submission at the next session. India being inhabited by people of different religious persuasions and prejudices, disturbances now and then were quite possible but the remedy lay in not giving them a sectarian colour but to blame the guilty and sympathise with the wronged party. The Maulana concluded: "Today in the name of our common Motherland from this platform. the cradle of United Indian Nationalism, I appeal to both communities not to trample so cruelly upon the national aspirations and hopes. To-day we can achieve the greatest possible success but the greatest possible failure may fall to our lot. Our determination, our courage, our patriotism are under a very great trial. Come, let us succeed in our task by devoting ourselves to the building up of our common destiny".

# The Efforts at National Unity



# Chapter 14

# REPORT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL PACT COMMITTEE

The following is the report of the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Indian National Congress in 1923 to enquire and report on the question of the Hindu-Muslim unity. The report was signed by Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai, and it proposed the following National Pact.

#### THE INDIAN NATIONAL PACT

Whereas India being a dependency of the British Government has been deprived of all the rights and privileges of a free country and Indians are denied even full citizenship rights in several parts of the British Empire and the present foreign Government does not use, and in the nature of things cannot be expected to use, all its resources to uphold the dignity and protect the elementary rights of Indians;

Whereas it is essential for the free and full moral and material development of her citizens and the enforcement of due respect for their human rights and their liberties in all parts of the globe that Indians should before all else, possess in India the rights and privileges that the free nations of the world enjoy in their persective countries;

Whereas it is necessary that all the peoples of India, of whatever religion, race or colour, should unite together and apply all their resources, moral, mental and material, for the attainment of Swaraj and the only obstacle is the want of co-operation among the different communities due to misunderstanding and mutual suspicion about each other's aims and intentions; and

Whereas a joint declaration by all communities of the goal

which they seek to attain and the rights which they wish to secure for the people which a Swaraj Government will be pledged to guarantee and safeguard will be beneficial to the creating of that confidence and toleration which are absolutely essential for a common endeavour;

It is hereby resolved that all the communities and committees represented by the signatories to this document shall enter into an agreement in terms of the following resolution which shall be known as the "Indian National Pact"

#### TERMS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL PACT

In pursuance thereof it is hereby resolved that:

#### Complete Swaraj

(1) It shall be the firm and unalterable object of the communities represented by the signatories to this Pact to secure complete Swaraj for India, that is to say, the Swaraj which will secure and guarantee to Indians the same status, rights and privileges in India as every free and independent nation enjoys in its country.

#### Federal Government

(2) The form of Government under Swaraj shall be democratic and of the federal type; but the exact nature of this Government shall be fixed and determined hereafter by a national convention consisting of representatives of political opinions.

#### Hindustani to be Lingua Franca

(3) Hindustani shall be the national language of India. It shall be permissible to write it in either script, Urdu or Deonagri.

#### Full Religious Liberty

(4) Full religious liberty, that is, liberty of belief, worship, propaganda, association and education is hereby guaranteed to all the communities forming the Indian nation and shall form a

constitutional right which it shall never be lawful for any Government to annul, modify, suspend or otherwise interfere with.

The afore-mentioned liberties shall however be exercised subject to such disciplinary rules and regulations as may be found necessary to preserve peace and order and to eliminate force or compulsion by any one party in derogation of the rights of others.

#### No Preference of Particular Religious Denomination

(5) To prevent any particular religious denomination being given undue preference over any other, no Government funds or fund collected by local bodies from public revenues and public taxes including cesses shall be devoted to the promotion and furtherance of any denominational institutions or purposes.

#### Defence of Swaraj

(6) When once Swaraj has been achieved, it shall be the sacred duty of every Indian, be he a Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or of any other denomination, to defend it against all attack, external or internal.

#### Protection of Minorities

(7) In view of the present state of feeling prevailing in the different communities and in view of the insufficient development of political sense and responsibility in them, it is necessary for some time to afford adequate protection to the interests of minorities.

#### Communal Representation

It is therefore hereby agreed that the various communities shall have separate representation in the Legislatures, both State and Federal.

#### NATIONAL PACT COMMITTEE

#### Dissentient Notes

#### Dr. Ansari's Dissent

Dr. Ansari wishes to extend this principle to municipalities and local boards.

#### Lala Lajpat Rai's Dissent

Lala Lajpat Rai does not agree to this. As an alternative Lala Lajpat Rai proposes that a time limit may be fixed during which communal representation will be enforced and at the expiry of which it will be abolished altogether. Such representation shall throughout the country be in proportion to the numerical strength of each community in the constituencies.

Lala Lajpat Rai wants that a special provision shall be made for the representation of the Sikhs and some other communities who are in a very small minority, such as Christians and Parsis, etc.

Dr. Ansari suggests that large minorities such as the Sikhs and the Christians may be given special representation in the Federal Legislatures, but only very small minorities such as Parsis should be given a special representation both in the Federal and State Legislatures. But the electorate in all cases will be joint. There shall be no communal or colour or caste distinction in public services and in the educational institutions.

#### No Cow-Slaughter Except at Id

(8) In order to achieve national unity and out of regard for the religious feelings of their Hindu compatriots the Musalmans of India do hereby, by a solemn self-denying Ordinance, bind themselves to give up cow-slaughter except in connection with Id-ul-Zuha when it will be done in such a manner as will not injure the feelings of the Hindus.

#### No Music Before Places of Worship

(9) In order to secure and preserve a calm atmosphere for

public worship, it is hereby declared that no music shall be allowed in front of places of public worship at such time as may be fixed by Local Mixed Conciliatory Boards.

#### Religious Processions

- (10) Religious processions of different denominations when falling on one and the same date shall follow such different routes as may be fixed and at such different times as may be determined by Local Mixed Conciliatory Boards.
- (11) In order to prevent friction and settle all questions giving rise to differences and conflicts between different religious communities, e.g., on the occasion of Dusehra, Moharrum, Rath Yatra Processions, Sikh Diwans etc, etc., Provincial and Local Joint Boards will be appointed to act as conciliatory and arbitration boards.

#### Eastern Federation

(12) While cherishing feelings of the most friendly nature towards all the nations of the world at large, it is further resolved that the people of India should participate in the formation of a Federation of Eastern Countries to be established for the purposes of mutual help in trade and commerce and the emancipation of the East from the economic exploitation and domination by Europe and with a view to encourage and support Oriental culture and generally to maintain good and friendly relations between the various Nationalities all over the East.

#### Dr. Ansari's Note

(Dr. Ansari wishes to incorporate in the National Pact a clause which runs as follows: Further that no bill for any clause thereof nor a resolution affecting any community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislature concerned, shall be proceeded with if three fourths of the members of that community in the particular Legislature, Federal or State, oppose the bill of any clause thereof or resolution).

## Chapter 15

#### THE UNITY CONFERENCE

Delhi, September 26, 1924

The "Unity Conference" commenced its session at 3 O'clock on the 26th September in the Sungam Theatre, Delhi. Nearly three hundred delegates attended. The Hall was well decorated with mottos in English, Urdu and Hindi. Just above the President's dais was inscribed Rousseau's dictum: "Man was born free, but he is everywhere in chains". Among the other mottos were—"There is no redemption for India without liberty"; Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity is impossible"; "Self-Government is the goal of our political ambition"; "No Swaraj without any unity and no unity without love; "Spiritual force is the greatest force; Charka is our machine gun" etc. On the dais there was a large size enlargement of Mahatma Gandhi's portrait.

Among those who were seated on the dais were Dr. Besant, Mrs. Naidu, Sarala Devi Chaudrani, Mrs. Anusuya Bai, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C.R. Das and Swami Shardhanand. Among the invited members there were the Metropolitan of India, Rev. King and Rev. Tilt of the Cambridge Mission, Principal Cannon Davis, Mr. Arthur Moore, Mrs. Stanner, Mr. H.S.L. Polak, Hon. Mr. Rangaswamy Iyengar. Hon. Mr. Vedamurthi, Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, Mr. Andrews, Mr. S.K. Nariman, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. Chintamani and other prominent leaders.

Mr. Mohammed Ali opened the proceedings with a prayer for the long life of Mahatma Gandhi and everyone present prayed according to his own faith. Mr. Mohammed Ali, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates.

Mr. Mohammed Ali said that their quarrels were petty in the extreme and were very often under the name of religion. All the

bitterness, rancour and ill-will between the communities had unfortunately crept in the name of religion. Their quarrels had nothing to do with religion. No patched-up peace would suit the present condition of the country. He believed in everyone following his own religion and not attempting to impose his religious obligations upon others. He firmly believed that toleration was the solution for the evil. In 1920, he said, they all thought that unity was a solid fact, and out of that unity they expected to grow true national progress. But they were wrong in their opinion. He wondered how many of its rights each community was prepared to surrender in favour of the other. By surrender he did not mean surrender of religious obligations. No community could make a demand on another community to surrender any of its rights, and if such a demand was made there would be no peace in this land. The surrender was to be optional and self-imposed. In religion there was no compulsion, there was no common denominator. No Musalman could force his convictions on non-Muslims, and no non-Muslim could force his convictions on a Musalman.

Pandit Motilal Nehru was then proposed to the chair.

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru read out to the Conference a large number of messages received from all parts of the country where meetings were held to pray for Hindu-Muslim unity and for the long life of Mahatma Gandhi. Messages from prominent men wishing success to the Conference and expressing inability to attend were also read.

The following letter from the Metropolitan of India was read out to the Conference:

#### My dear Mahatma Gandhi,

I have read with deep concern the message which you have published announcing your fast. With the distress of mind which has prompted your action, I have every sympathy and pray God that your suffering may achieve the purpose which has prompted it and lead men of both parties to seek a true basis of unity and peace. I would urge you to consider that your fast itself cannot provide the basis of such a unity though it may stir men to seek it and that having, as I believe, accomplished this purpose you should abandon it. While in the cause of the right, man should be ready to suffer even unto death at

the hands of others, because the laying down of his life may be the most effective means of assuring triumph of right, I would remind you that the weapon which threatened your life is wielded by your own hands, not those of others, and if fatally used is calculated to estrange rather than conciliate. As a Bishop who at his consecration was pledged to get forward quietness, love and peace among all men, I have welcomed the invitation to take part in the Conference on Friday next. May this effort at conciliation which your action has called forth be abundantly fruitful in good to India and may it suffice to convince that your fast has accomplished its true end.

Pandit Motilal Nehru in his presidential address, which he delivered both in Urdu and English, said that he was not in his own place and that he was usurping the place of another and that other was Mahatma Gandhi. They had met there in conference under the shadow of a great national humiliation. On the one hand they had internecine quarrels resulting in bloodshed, plunder, rapine and desecration of places of worship and on the other the one man to whom India owed all her present awakening was not present there, for he was fasting as a penance, not for any of his own sins, but for sins of the land. Meetings of Hindus and Musalmans have been held all over the country and resolutions passed during the last few years. He would not say that these resolutions were not acted upon; all that was done during the last 20 years had come to nothing.

He then read the statement of Mahatma Gandhi which was issued a couple of days ago and appealed to the House to help him to conduct the proceedings in the spirit of that message. If it was only the question of passing resolutions then they need not have met at all. It was a question of searching their own hearts and asking themselves whether they were keeping up to the principles laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. If anybody in the Conference disagreed with those principles for communal unity laid down by Mahatma Gandhi, it was his clear duty to retire from the Conference, and if there were a considerable number of people who disagreed with his principles of unity then it was high time for them to say good-bye to all hopes of unity.

#### Pandit Motilal Nehru then moved the following resolution:

#### MAHATMA GANDHI'S FAST

This Conference places on record its deep grief and concern at the fast which Gandhiji has undertaken. This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the utmost freedom of conscience and religion is essential, and condemns any desecration of places of worship to whatsoever faith they may belong, and any persecution or punishment of any person for adopting or reverting to any faith, and further condemns any attempts by compulsion to convert people to one's faith or to secure or to enforce one's own religious observances at the cost of the rights of others. The members of the Conference assure Mahatma Gandhi and pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavours to enforce these principles and to condemn any deviation from these even under provocation. The Conference further authorised the President to convey personally to Mahatma Gandhi the solemn assurance of this Conference that Mahatma Gandhi should immediately break his fast in order to permit this Conference to have the benefit of his co-operation, advice and guidance in deciding upon the speediest means of effectively checking the evil which is fast overspreading the country.

In moving the resolution which, he said, was in agreement with the principles laid down by Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Nehru appealed to the House to pass the resolution unanimously. He begged the House to authorise him to take this resolution to Mahatma Gandhi and pray to him to break his fast and come and help them in the deliberations of the Conference. He did not believe that Mahatma Gandhi could easily be persuaded to break his fast before the completion of 21 days, even if the Hindus and Musalmans could demonstrate immediately their absolute agreement in all vital matters: yet it would impart new strength to him to sustain the fast.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

After some discussion about the election of members to the Subjects Committee, it was decided to appoint a small committee consisting of the President, Maulana Mohammed Ali, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Abul Kalam Azad, and Lala Lajpat

Rai to select 80 members out of these attending the Conference to form the Subjects Committee of the Conference.

#### The Subjects Committee

Next day September 27th, the following ladies and gentlemen were nominated to form the Subjects Committee of the Unity Conference: Hakim Ajmal Khan, Swami Shraddhanand. Moulana Mohammed Ali, G.K. Nariman, Sardar Mangal Singh, Dr. S. K. Dutta, Most Revd. the Metropolitan, Dr. Annie Besant, Mr. Chikode, Mufti Mahommed Sadio Saheb of Quar dian, Mufti Kifayatullah Saheb, Pandit Hirdayanath Kunzru Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviva, Pandit Dindaval Sharma. Khwaja Hasan Nizami, Lala Hansraj, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Lala Laipat Rai, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. C.R. Das, C. Rajagopalachari, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Dr. B.S. Mooniee Mr. N.C. Kelkar, Sved Suleman Nadvi, Mohammed Shafi Hussein Ahmed, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Moulana Hasrat Mohani, Mr. M.R. Javakar, Dr. Kitchlew, Moulana Shaukat Ali, Messrs. Vallabhbhai Patel, Jairamdas Daulatram, Dr. Mahmud, Gangadhar Rao Deshpande, Arthur Moore, C.Y. Chintamani, T.A.K. Sherwani, Purshottamdas Tandon, Rai Kedarnath Saheb, Pirzada Mohammed Husain, Vithalbhai Patel, Babu Bhagwan Das Ramchandra of Delhi, B.F. Barucha, S.M. Paranjpye, Chaudhri Mohammed Abdulla Khan, Manzar Ali Sokhta, Pt. Harihar Singh Shastri, Master Sunder Singh Lyallpuri, Dr. Murlilal Sunderlal, Sarala Devi Chaudhrani, P.D. Kakkar of Lucknow, Nawab Syed Mehdi Hussein, Syed Jalib of Lucknow, Syed Zahur Ahmed of Lucknow, Maulana Ranbir Ahmed of Deoband, Jaji Jan Mohammed of Peshawar, Amir Bhamwar of Peshawar, Manilal Kothari, Dr. Choitram, Professor Ruchiram Sahani, Raja Rampal Singh, Pandit Gokarnath Misra, Professor Vaman Patnaik, Pandit Nekiram Sharma, Lala Duni Chand of Lahore, Chaudhari Raghbir Narayan Singh, Shanker Lal Banker, George Joseph, Hafiz Abdul Aziz of Delhi, Shiva Prasad Gupta, Lala Dhanpat Rai of Jagraon, Khwaja Abdul Majid and a gentleman from Kohat to be nominated by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviva.

The Secretaries were M. Saheb Qureshi and Pandit Jawa-harlal Nehru.

On this day the Subjects Committee met at 8 O'clock at the Sangham Theatre. The visitors' galleries were packed and most members of the Committee were present.

Pandit Motilal Nehru, President of the Conference, announced that he had visited Mahatma Gandhi and delivered the message of the Conference to him. Mahatma Gandhi appreciated it greatly. He was pleased with the resolution, and said that his intention was to produce the state of mind which had resulted in the resolution. He said, however, that his fast did not depend on this. That was a penance. But he wished to assure the members of the Conference that he did not intend to kill himself by his fast. If at any time the doctors assured him that his life was in danger by the continuation of the fast, he would break the fast, but the danger to life was not imminent. He would like to keep the fast for the full period of 21 days.

The President then invited general remarks on the present situation. Among those who spoke were the Metropolitan of India, Mr. Arthur Moore, Dr. Besant, Swami Shraddhanand and Maulana Mufti Kifayatullah.

Dr. Westcott made a touching speech, emphasising the brotherhood of man and the necessity for toleration. All religions taught men to respect other human beings and the necessity for toleration was much greater in India, where there were so many different religions and communities.

Mrs. Besant who followed him made an eloquent appeal for unity. In her flowing robes and silvery hair she looked a most impressive figure and her speech had a wonderful effect.

Pandit Malaviya, who was the next to speak was clear and to the point. He laid emphasis on the fact that the only basis of settlement between the different communities is that all places of worship should be considered equally sacred and the honour of women should be held above communal distinctions. Quoting from the Vedas and the Quran he emphasised the underlying unity of religions and the brotherhood between man and man preached by all religions.

Moulvi Kifayatullah, the President of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, also spoke in the same strain. He was questioned about the law of apostasy as to whether it was not a point of Islamic Law that a Muslim who was converted should be punished with death. He held that the law was applicable only to Islamic countries.

Among other speakers at the Conference were the Editor of the "Statesman" whose speech was much appreciated, Mr. Hansraj, who represented the Arya Samajists' point of view, Mr. Nariman and Swami Shraddhanand.

The Committee adjourned at 11.30 to meet again at 3 P.M. when after a prolonged discussion, it unanimously passed the following resolution moved by Maulana Shaukat Ali. This resolution was to be moved in the open Conference next day.

#### COMMUNAL DISSENSIONS

This Conference deplores the dissensions and quarrels that are now going on between Hindus and Mohammedans in several places in India resulting in loss of life, the burning and plunder of property, and the desecration of temples. The Conference regards them as barbarous and contrary to religion. The Conference tenders its warm sympathy to the sufferers.

This Conference is of opinion that it is unlawful and irreligious for a person to take the law into his own hands by way of retaliation or punishment. The Conference is of opinion that all differences, no matter of what nature should be referred to the arbitrator, or if that be impossible even to a Court of Law.

This was the first resolution of the Conference.

Pandit Motilal, the President, said that he had received a letter from Mahatma Gandhi written and signed in his own hand. He read the letter to the Committee and it ran as follows:

#### The Mahatma's Letter

Dear Motilalji,

Moved by affection and pity, the Conference guided by you has passed the resolution kindly read to me last night. I would ask you to assure the meeting that, if I could have complied with its wishes, I would gladly have done so; but I have examined and re-examined myself and find it is not possible for me to recall the fast. My religion teaches me that a promise once made or a vow once taken for a worthy object may not be broken. As you know, my life has been regulated on that basis for

more than forty years. The causes of the fast are much deeper than I can explain in this note. For one thing I am expressing my faith through this fast. Non-Co-operation was not conceived in hatred or ill-will towards a single Englishman. Its non-violent character was intended to conquer the Englishman by our love. Not only has it not resulted in that consequence, but the energy generated by it has brought about hatred and ill-will against one another amongst ourselves. It is knowledge of this fact which has weighed me down and imposed this irrevocable penance upon me. The fast, therefore, is a matter between God and myself and I would therefore not only ask you to forgive me for not breaking it but would ask you even to encourage and pray for me that it may end successfully. I have not taken up the fast to die; but I have taken it up to live a better and a purer life for the service of the country and God. If, therefore, I reach a crisis, of which humanly speaking I see no possibility whatsoever, when the choice lies between death and food, I shall certainly break the fast; but Doctors Ansari and Abdul Rehman, who are looking after me with the greatest attention and care, will tell you that I am keeping wonderfully fresh. I would therefore respectfully urge the meeting to transmute all the personal affection of which the resolution is an index into a solid. earnest and true work for the unity for which the Conference has met.

Yours sincerely, (Sd.) M.K. Gandhi

The Committee then passed the third resolution appointing a National Panchayat Board.

#### Delhi, 28th September, 1924

The Subjects Committee met again the next morning, September 28th, and resumed discussion of the resolution relating to the respective rights and duties of the members of the various communities. The discussion lasted several hours and eventually a sub-committee consisting of eleven members was formed to consider the various resolutions proposed and prepare, if necessary, a new draft. The sub-committee consisted of the following members: Hakim Ajmal Khan, The most Rev. the Metropolitan of India, Lala Laipat Rai, Maulana Mohammed Ali,

Swami Shraddhanand, Babu Bhagwandas, Mufti Kifayatullah, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Moonje and the President.

It was arranged that the Subjects Committee would not meet till this sub-committee had concluded its deliberations and that main Conference would not meet till the Subjects Committee had considered and passed the resolutions recommended by the sub-committee. Accordingly the sub-committee met in camera and after prolonged deliberation drafted certain resolutions.

On the 29th the Subjects Committee considered these resolutions. The discussion lasted from 11 a.m. to about 11 p.m. almost without a break. Of the ten clauses of the main resolution, the Committee passed two clauses and adjourned discussion on the third clause relating to cow-slaughter till the next day.

Next day, September 30th, the same discussion was continued. The purposelessness of these discussions in the committee was amazing. Many hours were wasted on wordy warfare and reasonable people were surprised that so much theology should be flung at the country when the whole world was watching. Thus the clause recommending to the Musalmans to reduce cowslaughter took many hours of discussion and finally could not be passed. Strong criticisms were expressed at the irresponsible way the committee was dragging on while the general conference was kept waiting. The result was that many leading men left Delhi in disgust. If the whole conference consisting of the three hundred and odd people had converted itself into a committee the whole matter would have been easy.

Eventually the other resolutions that emerged from the Subjects Committee were as follows:

#### PRESS FOMENTING PREJUDICE

This Conference is of opinion that a section of the Press, specially in the north, is responsible for increasing the tension between the different communities by publishing wild exaggerations reviling each other's religion and by every means fomenting prejudice and passion. The conference condemns such writings and appeals to the public to stop their patronage of such newspapers and pamphlets, and advises the central and local

panchayats to supervise such writings and from time to time to publish correct versions.

#### ACTS OF IMPROPRIETY TO MOSQUES

It having been represented to this Conference that in certain places acts of impropriety have been committed in relation to mosques, the Hindu members of this conference condemn such acts if and wherever committed.

#### **COMMUNAL TOLERANCE**

The Hindu and Muslim members of this Conference call upon their co-religionists to extend the same tolerance to the minor communities of India such as the Christians, Parsis, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Israelites, etc. as has been extended by them to each other and to deal with them in all questions of communal intercourse with justice and generosity.

#### COMMUNAL ILL WILL

This Conference is of opinion that attempts on behalf of members of one community to boycott members of any other community and to stop social or commercial relations with them made in certain parts of the country are reprehensible, and are an effective bar to the promotion of good relations between the various communities in India. The Conference, therefore, appeals to all communities to avoid any such boycotts and exhibitions of ill-will.

#### FAST BY GANDHIJI

This Conference calls upon the men and women on all communities throughout the country to offer daily prayers during the last critical week of the Mahatmaji's fast, and to organise mass meetings of the 8th October in every town and village, to express the nation's thankfulness to the Almighty and to pray that the spirit of good-will and brotherliness may pervade and unite all communities of India, and that the principles of full religious toleration and mutual good-will declared in this Conference may be adopted and given effect to by members of all communities in India.

After an adjournment of four days, during which the Subjects Committee was busy discussing, the draft resolutions, the Unity Conference met on October 1st at 5 O'clock in the evening in the Sungam Theatre. Owing to the inconvenience caused by the long adjournment, several representatives, including the Most Rev. the Metropolitan in India, Mr. Chintamani, some members of the Legislative Assembly and others who came from distant parts, had already left Delhi for home. There was, however, still a large number present, and some new arrivals were added to the number.

Pandit Motilal Nehru, the President, briefly explained the delay in bringing the draft resolutions before the open Conference. He said that the resolutions had been fully discussed in the Subjects Committee, which consisted of about 80 members and was fully representative. A resolution passed by that body must be acceptable to the open conference, and he considered that further discussion would be superfluous. He moved the following Resolution from the chair:

#### COMMUNAL DISSENSIONS

This conference deplores the dissensions and quarrels that are now going on between Hindus and Muslims in several places in India, resulting in lose of life, burning and plunder of property, and desecration of temples. The Conference regards them as barbarous and contrary to religion. The Conference tenders its warm sympathy to the sufferers.

This Conference is of opinion that it is unlawful and irreligious for any person to take the law into his own hands by way of retaliation or punishment. The Conference is of opinion that all differences, no matter of what nature whatsoever, should be referred to arbitration and, if that be impossible, even to a court of law.

The resolution was passed unanimously and without discussion.

#### A CENTRAL NATIONAL PANCHAYAT

The next resolution which was also passed unanimously, without discussion, was as follows:

There shall be a central National Panchayat of not more than 15 persons, with power to organise and appoint local panchayats, in consultation with the local representatives of the different communities, to enquire into and settle all disputes and differences, including recent occurrences, where necessary and desirable. The said National Panchayat shall have power to frame rules and regulations for carrying out this resolution.

The Conference appoints the following to act as the Central National Panchayat, with power to add to their number up to 15, and to co-opt local representatives as additional members: Mahatma Gandhi (Chairman), Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mr. G.K. Nariman (Parsee), Dr. S.K. Dutta (Christian) and Master Sundar Singh Lyallpuri (Sikh).

In putting this resolution to the vote the President said that it was originally proposed to appoint 15 members to constitute the National Panchayat, but at present only six were appointed with power to co-opt up to 15 and to add local men as occasion might arise.

Maulana Azad's name was suggested as a substitute for Hakim Ajmal Khan, in case he was unable to attend owing to ill-health, but Hakim Ajmal Khan agreed to serve so far as his health permitted.

#### **DECLARATION OF RIGHTS**

Next resolution which had earlier been adopted by the Subjects Committee, was then laid before the Conference, and further discussion was adjourned. It runs as follows:

With a view to giving effect to the general principles for promoting better relations between the various communities of India laid down in the Resolution (passed on the first day of the Conference), and to secure full toleration of all faiths and religious practices, this Conference records its opinion:

(a) That every individual or group shall have full liberty to hold and give expression to his or their belief and to follow any religious practice with due regard to the feelings of others and without interfering with their rights. In no case may such individual or group revile the founders, holy persons, or tenets of any other faith.

- (b) That all places of worship, of whatever faith or religion, shall be considered sacred and inviolable, and shall on no account be attacked or desecrated, whether as a result of provocation or by way of retaliation for sacrilege of the same nature. It shall be the duty of every citizen of whatever faith or religion to prevent such attack or desecration as far as possible and where such attack or desecration has taken place, it shall always be promptly condemned.
- (c) (1) That Hindus must not expect that the exercise of the right of cow slaughter by Muslims can or will be stopped by the use of force, resolution of a local body, act of the Legislature, or order of the Court, but only by mutual consent, and must trust to the good sense of Muslims and the establishment of better relations between the two communities to create deeper respect for their feelings. (2) Nothing stated in the above clause shall unsettle or affect any local custom or agreement between the two communities already in existence, nor will it authorise cow-slaughter in a place where it has not taken place before. (3) Any dispute of facts should be settled by the National Panchayat formed under the Resolution. (4) Cow slaughter shall not take place in a way offensive to the religious sentiments of the Hindus. (5) The Muslim members of the Conference hereby call upon their co-religionists to do everything in their power to reduce cow-slaughter.
- (d) (1) That Muslims must not expect to stop Hindu music near or in front of mosques by force, resolution of a local body, act of a Legislature, or order of a court, except by mutual consent, but must rely upon the good sense of Hindus to respect their feelings. (2) Nothing stated in the above clause shall unsettle or affect any local custom or agreement between the two communities already in existence, nor shall it authorise the playing of music in front of mosques where it has not been played before. Any dispute with regard to the latter shall be referred for settlement to the National Panchayat formed under the Resolution. (3) The Hindu members of this Conference call upon their co-religionists to avoid playing music before mosques in such a manner as to disturb congregational prayers.
- (e) (1) That Muslims must not expect to stop by force, resolution of a local body, act of Legislature, or order of a court, except by mutual consent, the performance of arti, or the

playing of music, including the blowing of Shankhas by Hindus during worship and on other occasions in their houses or temples or public places at any time, even if the house or temple in question is situated in close proximity to a mosque, but they should trust to the good sense of the Hindus to accommodate them. (2) Nothing stated in the above clause shall upset or affect any local custom or agreement between the two communities already in existence. Any dispute of facts should be settled by the National Panchayat formed under the resolution.

- (f) That Muslims are at liberty to chant Azan or offer prayers in their own houses or in any mosque or public place not set apart for the religious observance of any other community.
- (g) (1) That where the slaughter of an animal or the sale of meat is permissible on other grounds, no objection shall be taken to the method of slaughter, whether by jatka, beli or zioni. (2) Wherever there is any dispute regarding the sale of any kind of meat in a particular locality or quarter, it shall be referred for settlement to the Local Panchayat.
- (h) That every individual is at liberty to follow any faith and to change it whenever he so wills, and shall not, by reason of such change of faith, render himself liable to any punishment or persecution at the hands of the followers of the faith renounced by him.

That every individual or group is at liberty to convert or reconvert another by argument or persuation, but must not attempt to do so, or prevent its being done by force, fraud or other unfair means, such as the offering of material inducement. Persons under 16 years of age should not be converted, unless it be along with their parents or guardians. If any person of another faith, he should be promptly handed over to persons of his own faith. There must be no secrecy about any conversion or re-conversion.

(j) That no community should attempt to stop by force the construction of a new place of worship by a member of another community on his own land, but such new place of worship should be built at a reasonable distance from an existing place of worship of any other community.

preliminary remarks on the Resolution, said that he had just returned from Europe where he did not find religious strife in such a state as it was in India. No other European country was so poor as India was to-day. He had seen the mill labourers of Bombay living in places unfit for human habitation. The poverty of India was due to their own internecine quarrels. Although they were numerically strong, they could not boast of any strength as they were still slaves. They could not boast of their spiritualism as long as they quarrelled with each other. Mahatma Gandhi preached spiritualism, and there was not a man in Europe who did not know him or respect him. The failure of Non-Co-operation was due to the fact that the foundation stone of the movement, namely Hindu-Muslim unity, had been shaken. They were themselves responsible for the disunion, though the third party too had accentuated such a disunion. Both the Hindus and Musalmans should boldly confess their responsibility. There was to-day a section of the Press which was spreading communal discord, but they must positively stop reading the poisonous columns of such papers. They could not speak of Asiatic federation before they could free their own country. Unless they uprooted religious strife they would not attain liberty. He was sorry to say that there was an agency in Europe which, not only through newspaper columns but also by means of pictures, the theatres, the cinema and pamphlets, was trying to put before the whole of Europe a very wrong picture of Indian life. The lower type of Indian life was presented to Europeans, and it was said these people claimed Swarai for India. It was his opinion that the Hindus and Muslims had a mutual distrust of each other. The Hindus were afraid of a Muslim Raj and the Musalmans were equally afraid of an Hindu majority. It was the duty of the Hindus to meet Muslims in terms of equality.

Speaking of the Hindu Sangathan, he said that the Hindus were physically weak, and if there was a movement for developing their bodies it should not be looked upon with mistrust. The Hindus on their part should neither be aggressive nor provocative. There was nothing to be afraid of in Sangathan or the Muslim Tanzim movements. The present strife was a quarrel of cowards. It would be better for both parties to fight like men than disgrace their name by dastardly acts. He regretted that for the last five days they had wasted their time in discussing

the masjids and temples. If he were left alone he would support the resolution that some young friends of his suggested. that no mosques and temples should be built in future. It was not the temples of the Hindus that saved India from the Muslim invasion, nor was it the mosques of the Musalmans that saved them from Europeans conquest. They should enthrone God in their hearts. They would never be free if their quarrels about mosques and temples were not ended. If they were to continue quarrelling, the Hindus who were confined to India would never see the bates of freedom, while the Mohammedans would only help in enslaving other Islamic countries. He had visited a part of Jazirat-ul-Arab, where he had seen that not only were Arabs being enslaved, but there it was that the links of slavery of Indian Musalmans were being tightened. They were fighting for communal representation and service, and the third party was pleased to see them breaking each others' heads. He warned the Musalmans that if they did not help India to free himself, Islam in Africa would be in great danger. It was absolutely necessary to free their country first by their own efforts. He has seen different nations and communities in other parts of the world living side by side in common brotherhood, and he hoped that similar conditions would prevail in India for ever.

#### Work of Subjects Committee

Hakim Ajmal Khan, who was absent at the meetings of the Subjects Committee owing to ill-health, said that the work of the Subjects Committee of the Conference was fit to be included in the future history of India. Communal strife had weakened their strength and morals. Many people, while strongly condemning these quarrels, were taking part in one way or another. The first and foremost question before the Hindus and Musalmans was to attain Swaraj. The past history of those great communities was glorious, but what of the present? Asia was trying to free herself from the domination of Europe, and India was an essential part of Asia. He asked what part they had played in the awakening of Asia. The only thing they had to their credit was communal strife. He considered that the duties of Musalmans towards Hindus were great, and if Hindus did

not advance towards Swaraj it was the duty of the Musalmans to help them. So long as India did not enjoy complete freedom, Afghanistan, Persia, Egypt, Turkey and Jazirat-ul-Arab could not be made free. The Musalmans would not be doing any service to the cause of Islam if they continued to quarrel in the manner they had done in the name of religion. Religion should be put aside in these quarrels. They should not drag religion into them. They should fight against all satanic influence. Islam taught them not only to free themselves but to help their neighbours to attain freedom. He was glad that after five day's deliberation they had come to an understanding, but they must remember the mere passing of resolutions would not help them, It was a change of heart and spirit that was wanted, and which they had shown in their deliberations. They must forget all incidents of the past and prepare themselves for the attainment of Swarai which was their goal. He hoped that the spirit of toleration displayed in the Subjects Committee would be copied in the open Conference and outside. If there remained a few differences still unsettled they would settle them when India attained Swarai.

The Conference adjourned till the next day.

Next day, October 2nd, the Unity Conference met at 4 p.m. to consider the remaining resolutions.

#### Amendments Deprecated

Pandit Motilal Nehru, in placing before the Conference the resolutions adopted by the Subjects Committee, said that all the resolutions proposed to be moved in the Conference were passed in the Subjects Committee with the mutual consent of the members of both communities and he hoped that the resolutions would be passed in open Conference in the same spirit. He had received two amendments, one from a Hindu about the question of "arti" and another from a Musalman on the question of cow-slaughter. He would not permit these amendments to be moved, unless the majority of the community to which the movers belonged supported the amendments, but he would all the same give an opportunity to the movers to justify the necessity for the amendments. He then briefly outlined the purpose for which the Conference had met. They did not

come there as representatives of different communities but as men with a following and influence in the country. Therefore, he appealed to them to go back to their homes and try to spread the spirit of the resolutions they had agreed to. He thought that without such an attempt on the part of the members the purpose of the Conference would fail. These resolutions did not cover all that had caused dissensions between the communities but they had dealt sufficiently with all important questions that stood in the way of reconciliation.

The President then separated the two communities into two different groups to find out the support which each community would give to the movers of the two amendments. He next asked Pandit Neki Ram Sharma whether we would like his amendment to be put to the vote of the members of his community. Pandit Neki Ram replied that he would leave it to the President. His idea in proposing the amendment was that there were places where "arti" and "azan" were stopped and by this amendment he desired to remove such stoppage, but since the President had ruled that he would not allow it to be moved unless supported by a majority of his community, he would abide by that decision. The amendment was eventually withdrawn.

Pandit D. Sharma, Secretary of the Hindu Sabha, drew the President's attention to the fact that in some places "arti" was forcibly prevented. He did not, however, put forward any amendment.

Mr. Jairam Das Doulat Ram and two other gentlemen from Sind pointed out to the President that they disagreed with the wording of some of the clauses of the Resolution regarding the declaration of the rights of each community, but as they did not wish to upset the arrangements agreed to they would not vote against it.

The President then explained that in case "arti" and "azan" were stopped by force or otherwise at any place, the spirit of the present resolution would set it right. He therefore found no necessity for any amendments.

Resolution regarding the declaration of rights of the communities was then put to the vote and, with the mutual consent of both the communities, was carried unanimously.

The other resolutions were then passed unanimously.

#### Concluding Scenes

The concluding scenes of the Unity Conference were marked with manifestations of mutual good-will and friendship by leaders of the communities. A number of complimentary and congratulatory speeches were made expressing gratitude for the very happy termination of what they considered the most momentous Conference in the history of India. Speaker after speaker dwelt upon the absolute necessity for Hindu-Muslim unity. Mrs. Naidu, Mr. C. R. Das, Maulana Shaukut Ali and Mohammed Ali, Swami Shraddhanand and Pandit Gokarnath Misra and others who spoke said that the Hindu-Muslim Unity which was the foundation stone for real Swaraj was laid there.

The President, in winding up the Conference, appealed to all members to work whole-heartedly on the agreement arrived at in the Conference. He congratulated the members once again on the mutual good-will and toleration shown at the meetings. He paid an eloquent tribute to the convener of the Conference and the hard-worked Secretaries. Concluding, he appealed to all Indians to offer congregational prayers during the last week of Mahatma Gandhi's fast and give full effect to the last resolution of the Conference.

#### Mahatma Breaks his Fast

On October 8, Mahatma Gandhi at last broke his fast. Just before noon he invited everyone present in the house to join him in prayer. He thanked the doctors who had attended him and then called upon the Imam Sahib Abdul Kadir Bawazir, who was associated with him in South Africa and at Sabarmati Ashram, to recite a prayer from the Quran. The Imam Sahib chose the first 'Surah' for his recitation. Mahatma Gandhi next asked Mr. Andrews to sing the Christian hymn: "When I survey the wonderous Cross", after which Mr. Vinoba recited some 'slokas' from the Upanishad, and Mr. Balkrishna sang Mahatma Gandhi's favourite Gujarati hymn.

Addressing Hakim Ajmal Khan, Moulanas Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali and Abul Kalam Azad, Mahatma Gandhi said: "Hindu-Muslim unity is not a new interest with me. It has been my chief concern for 30 years, but I have not yet succeeded in achieving it. I do not know what is the will of God. You

know how originally my vow consisted of two parts. One of them is fulfilled, another part I held back in response to the wishes of friends who were present at Mr. Mohammed Ali's house that night. Even if I had retained this second part, my fast would now have been broken in view of the success of the "Unity Conference".

Addressing the Musalmans through Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulana Mohammed Ali, Mahatma Gandhi said: "To-day I beseech you to promise that you will, if necessary, lay down your life for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity. For me Hinduism would be meaningless if that unity is not achieved, and I make bold to say the same thing about Islam. We ought to be able to live together, the Hindus must be able to offer their worship in perfect freedom in their temples, and so should Musalmans to able to say their Azan and prayers with equal freedom in their mosques. If we cannot ensure this elemental freedom of worship, then neither Hinduism nor Islam has any meaning. I want this promise from you, and I know I have it, but as I am about to break my fast, I am so weighed down with the sense of responsibility that I am asking you to renew the pledge".

Hakim Ajmal Khan, replying, said that he trusted that all the labours of Mahatma Gandhi would bear fruit, and that they (the Musalmans) were ready to work hand in hand with him in such a sacred cause, and to give up all other work in preference to the work of Hindu-Muslim unity. If it was necessary, he renewed the promise on behalf of his community.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad said that Hakim Ajmal Khan had given the promise on behalf of all Musalmans present. He himself had no doubt that Hindu-Muslim unity would be achieved soon. One could do no more than lay down his life for it and that he was prepared to do.

Dr. Ansari then brought Mahatma Gandhi some orange juice with which he broke his fast.

### Chapter 16

#### THE ALL-PARTIES' CONFERENCE

Delhi, January 23, 1925

The All-Parties Conference Committee convened as a result of the discussion held at Bombay in November 1924, met at the Western Hotel Raisina, Delhi. On Friday, the 23rd January, Mahatma Gandhi presiding. Lively discussion took place on the proposal of Mahatma Gandhi to appoint a sub-committee which would suggest the line of agreement between the Hindus and Musalmans and among all the political parties and also drew up a scheme of Swaraj. Speeches were made by representatives of the various communities and parties explaining their respective positions.

The Conference was attended by a large number of members and also by several Indian members of the Central Legislature. Among those present were Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. M.A. Jinnah; the Ali brothers, Sir Mohammed Shafi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Annie Besant, the Lady Emily Lutyens, Sir Purushotamdas Thakurdas, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sardar Mangal Singh, Dr. S.K. Datta, Mr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, Lala Sukhbir Singh, Mr. R.P. Parandikar, Babu Bhagwandas, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyenger, Mr. Kitchlew, Swami Sharddhanand, Sir Abdul Qayum, Mr. C.Y. Chintamani, Mr. Bharucha, Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. Satyamurthi, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, Lala Lajpat Rai, Lala Harkishen Lal. Mr. M.R. Avakar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Ramalinga Reddy, Mr. V.J. Patel, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Babu Bepin Chandra Pal and Mr. Shunmugam Chetty.

Mahatma Gandhi explained that the objects of the conference were to explore the avenues of communal and political

unity and formulate a scheme of Swaraj. He suggested the appointment of a Sub-Committee to suggest the lines of agreement.

Mr. Chintamani (Liberal Federation) thought that no useful purpose would be served by the appointment of a Sub-Committee but he did not object to its appointment.

Dr. Besant thought it would be impertinent, nay, anarchical on the part of this Conference suddenly to make new resolutions which might run counter to those passed by the Belgaum Congress thereby unseating Mahatma Gandhi from his Presidentship.

Mahatma Gandhi said that his suggestion for a Committee did not go so far as Dr. Besant feared. That suggestion was made to show that Congressmen were not hide-bound to anything, but the new franchise or creed of Congress could not be lightly altered merely because the proposed Sub-Committee might come to certain conclusions. The Congressmen knew their mind and they would prosecute their programme, but if non-Congressmen join the Congress and convince them of error of their ways and propriety of altering the creed of franchise then they would undertake to call a Special Session of the Congress. Personally he did not expect that any alteration was called for.

Mr. Jinnah said that there must be no delay in appointing a representative Committee to arrive at the Hindu-Muslim Unity without which there could be no political unity and there could be no Swaraj without United Congress. It did not matter what the Liberal Federation had laid down or what the other organisation had done. Resolutions passed by the political organisations were not like laws of Medes and Persians unalterable. The object of this meeting was to put everything in the melting pot and see if unity could be achieved.

Mahatma Gandhi at the request of Mr. Dalvi read the Liberal Federation's resolutions—(1) that the Liberal Party would rejoin the Congress only if the object of the Congress was defined as Dominion Self-Government to be obtained by constitutional methods; (2) If Non-Co-operation and Civil Disobedience were definitely abandoned as also the Franchise; and (3) If the Swaraj Party were not constituted the only accredited representatives of the Congress in Legislatures. Mahatma Gandhi added that the suggestions from other political bodies

were almost along the same lines.

Mr. Chintamani explained that anything emerged out of the proceedings of the Conference which would suggest reference to the Liberal Federation then its representatives here would do so.

Mr. A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, President of the Non-Brahmin Congress at Belgaum, emphasised that the settlement of inter-communal differences was far more important than the questions of the Congress creed, franchise or means for attaining Swaraj. The problem of Brahmin, Non-Brahmins was as acute in Madras as Hindu-Muslim problem in North India. (Mr. Satyamurthi: Certainly not) Mr. Mudaliar continuing said that the acuteness of the problem was evident in the acute denial of Mr. Satyamurthi. (Laughter) If any definite resolution was passed in the Conference, it will be placed by him before the Non-Brahmin Conference.

Mr. K. Datta, representing Indian Christian Association, said that he had a watching brief. "We are not going to make any separate demands but we feel we ought to have opportunity of discussing our relationship to others. We desire to know where we come in. (Hear hear) Inter-communal problem is one in which we are greatly interested and therefore every opportunity should be given for a frank discussion leading to a right atmosphere for settlement of the communal relations."

Pt. Malaviva had no objection to the appointment of a committee which would bring about political unity. He agreed with Mahatma Gandhi that it was shown that the Congress should alter its creed and franchise. There could be a special session summoned for the purpose. Indeed Mahatma Gandhi had eliminated some of the differences among the political parties by himself agreeing to certain changes in the Congress programme but the time had come for the revision of the programme of all the political parties in the light of the decisions arrived at by Mahatma Gandhi, by the Swaraj Party, and by the Liberal Party. A common programme really representative Congress. But the proper time had not yet arrived for a committee to consider the Muslim question and the Swaraj scheme. The Committee appointed by the Hindu Sabha, the Central Sikh League, and the Non-Brahmin Conference had not yet met to consider their respective communal demands. Moreover the

Muslims had not explained what their demands really were. The Hindu opinion so far as he has been able to gather, was from the first opposed to communal representation and the experience of the last few years had only deepened their conviction against it. Communal representation and National Government could not exist together, but, so long as Muslims wanted to stick to communal representation on the basis of the Lucknow Pact, the Hindus would in honour be bound to adhere to it. But there could be no extension of principle of communal representation. There was no use in appointing a Committee unless the Muslims fully explained in what respect they wanted a reconsideration of the Lucknow Pact.

Mr. Jinnah: I have not come to say what Musalmans want. We have come to sit with you as co-workers. Let us put our heads together not as Hindus or Mohammedans but as Indians. Do you want to discuss or do you want to wait? The choice is yours. (Applause)

Lala Lajpat Rai said he was not opposed to the appointment of a committee, but the party which wanted revision of the Lucknow Pact must place its cards on the table so that there might be no misunderstanding of the position. As for the Committee of the Hindu Sabha Lala Lajpat Rai informed the Conference that it had prepared a questionnaire based on the views of several Muslim leaders as collected from time to time on the question of revision of Lucknow Pact. This questionnaire would shortly be circulated to a large number of individuals whose answers would be collected and then only could any definite view be formed as to the Hindu Community's demands.

Mr. N.C. Kelkar vigorously supported the appointment of a committee. Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas said the delay in formulating the scheme of *Swaraj* would be dangerous and this fact should not be lost sight of while they were discussing Hindu Muslim differences.

Mr. M.R. Jayakar further supporting the appointment of a committee warned the conference against approaching questions of *Swaraj* from the point of view of proportion of benefits that each community would get. As soon as the committee for communal unity would submit their report, the question of *Swaraj* should be gone into, and Dr. Besant's scheme might be taken as the basis for discussion.

Mr. C.R. Reddi also supported Mr. Gandhi's proposal.

Swami Shraddhanand saw no use in appointing a Committee when the Mohammedans had not expressed their demands. As it was now quarter past eight Mahatma Gandhi adjourned further discussion till the next.

#### Delhi, January 24, 1925

Next day the Committee of the All Parties' Conference resumed the last day's discussion and after important speeches by representative spokesmen including Mr. Jinnah, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Dr. Annie Besant, a fully representative Sub-Committee, consisting of 40 members, was appointed:

- (a) To frame such recommendations as would enable all parties to join the Congress;
- (b) To frame a scheme for the representation of all communities, races and sub-divisions on the Legislative and other elective bodies under *Swaraj* and recommend the best method of securing the just and proper representation of the communities in the services with due regard to efficiency; and
- (c) To frame a scheme of Swaraj that will meet the present needs of the country.

#### Mahatma Gandhi's Introductory Speech

Mahatma Gandhi presiding thought that if the meeting could arrive at a satisfactory, real and honourable solution the Hindu-Muslim problem and the Brahman and Non-Brahman problem etc., they would have made a very substantial advance towards Swaraj. If the meeting could find a scheme which would commend itself to all parties, they would have taken a very long step towards Swaraj. If the representatives present at this meeting could see eye to eye on these main questions, then there would be no difficulty in all parties uniting on the Congress platform and making an unanimous demand in the name of the nation.

#### Mr. Jinnah on Muslim Standpoint

Mr. Jinnah, addressing the meeting, said that the dispute between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, particularly with regard to their representation in the various legislatures and other elective bodies and with regard to their share in the services, was a question which had been a terrible monster in the way of the country's progress. It was not for the Hindus nor Mohammedans alone to ask what they wanted and it was up to everyone to try and find a solution of the question. Without removing this terrible obstacle they could not make any progress in any direction. "We have come in a spirit of meeting you as friends, and as responsible men who occupy eminent and representative positions in their respective communities, let us put our heads together". Pandit Malaviya had said vesterday that communal representation was an evil standing in the way of nationalism and as the Hindus had accepted it in the Lucknow Pact they would stand by it. But, if the Mohammedans wanted a change then they must explain what they wanted. The Lucknow Pact, said Mr. Jinnah, was arrived at in a scheme formulated as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete Self-Government. For the purpose of establishing that first step by a constitution which they framed and was accepted by the Congress, they wanted an adjustment of the representation of all communities. As a party to the Lucknow Pact Mr. Jinnah declared that it was never intended to be permanent. But the important and fundamental principle of protecting minorities, wherever they were, was accepted. That was the principle which was reiterated in the proposition of Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Assembly asking immediate steps towards establishing responsible Government.

Proceeding, Mr. Jinnah explained how the details of the Lucknow Pact were settled. Mohammedans were in a majority in the Punjab and Bengal, they being at that time fifty six per cent in Bengal and fifty four per cent in the Punjab. On account of the general backwardness of the Mohammedans, it was argued that if the Mohammedans were given their share upon a population basis, it would be putting premium on ignorance and incompetence, and it was suggested that the Mohammedans in both these provinces should submit to joint or mixed electorates. But the Mohammedans pleaded that in such an electorate their voting strength would become almost nil and they would never get even ten or fifteen per cent of the seats, and here Mr. Jinnah pointed out that despite the advance that had been

made by both the communities there was still the fact that in polling booths feelings and sentiments largely played and voters exercised their powers by giving votes to their own co-religionists. When it was pointed out that a premium should not be placed on incompetence, it was agreed that the Punjab Mohammedans should get fifty per cent and the Bengal Mohammedans forty per cent. When the Reform Bill was in Parliament the Government of India in despatch made a formidable indictment against the decision at Lucknow in respect of Bengal which only got forty for a fifty-six per cent population. But the Hindus and the Mohammedans admirably stood by the terms of the Pact and the Joint Parliamentary Committee agreed to the Pact. The trouble then came from the Punjab and Bengal.

The Congress appointed a Committee with Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. Ansari and a Sikh gentlemen to revise the Pact and while this Committee was in the middle of its labours Mr. C.R. Das struck a Pact in Bengal. But the Bengal Pact was turned down at Cocanada. It was, therefore, correct to say that the Lucknow Pact was intended to be a permanent thing.

#### Protection of Minorities

Now this Conference was contemplating the establishment of Swarai and there was every justification on the part of Hindus as well as Mohammedans to get the Pact revised. There were both among Hindus and Musalmans a few nationalists who wanted that separate representation should be done away with while a few might desire an Utopia. Facts must be faced. The large bulk of both the communities had no real confidence in each other. Mohammedans in the Punjab and Bengal felt that they should be restored to their majority. The Lucknow Pact was calculated to protect minorities by two methods. One was greater representation than the number warranted; that was why Bombay Mohammedans with 28 per cent population, C.P. and Madras Mohammedans got 15 for 7 per cent. This was recognised in the Reforms Scheme. The other principle of protecting a minority was a provision that no resolution concerning a community should be proceeded with if three-fourths of the members of that community in the Legislature were opposed to it. This provision, however, remained a dead letter.

Mr. Jinnah, concluding, said on behalf of Muslims that they claimed that the Bengal and Punjab Mohammedans should not be reduced to a minority and that in the other provinces the two principles of safeguarding minorities should be accepted as in the Lucknow Pact. The question of representation on the Services could be taken up separately.

Lala Lajpat Rai said he was not a party to the Lucknow Pact like Mr. Jinnah, but he personally considered the Pact a great blunder. He gave a history of how the Lucknow Pact has arrived at and why the revision of it was undertaken by the Congress Committee of which he was a member.

Lala Laipat Rai said that long before the Pact was thought of Musalman leaders in the early life of the Congress thought that if India got representative institutions it would be a Hindu Raj and Mohammedans being in a minority should not join in any movement with Hindus at that stage. This was the position taken up by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and a large portion of Musalmans; only a minority section among the Mohammedans stuck to the Congress. When the Congress at its Calcutta session presided over by Dadabhai Naoroji made the first demand for Swarai some Mohammedans said they should not join int he demand and argued that without their being in it the British Rai would not concede any demand. The question therefore when the Lucknow Pact was thought of was how to satisfy the Musalman demand for communal representation in order to safeguard minority interests. The Musalmans said they could not accept any scheme without some kind of communal representation in order to safeguard minority interests. The Musalmans said they could not accept any scheme without some kind of communal representation. Hence the figures of representation which were quoted by Mr. Jinnah. It was said that arrangement was a temporary one to be changed afterwards in the interests of the country as a whole. Therefore, it was not only the figures of representation but the fundamental character of representation that was the foundation of the Lucknow Pact.

Proceeding, Lala Lajpat Rai explained that the Congress Committee was appointed to consider the representation of not only Hindus and Musalmans but also the Sikhs who were not present when the Lucknow Pact was drawn up. The Sikhs complained that they must get communal representation in the same

way as the Musalmans in U.P. and there was a feeling in the minds of both Hindus and Musalmans that some thing should be done to appease them. But before the Committee's report was published the terms of the Bengal Pact were announced by Mr. C.R. Das. Then the report of the Congress Committee was soon published. The Bengal Pact was rejected by the Congress Committee and was submitted to it for reconsideration. But feeling in the country over the Bengal Pact was so immense that it was not considered opportune to proceed with the Committee's labours. Moreover Mahatma Gandhi was then released from jail and it was thought he would take up the question. Dr. Ansari had collected the material and submitted it to the All-India Congress Committee.

Lala Lajpat Rai observed that communal representation was a negation of nationalism and it was practically dividing the country into water-tight compartments. If the principle of communal representation was extended it was not known how many divisions and sub-division might be created. "I ask you to consider this question, not in the interests of the Hindu or the Mohammedan community, but as one united nation which should stand against those who do not want to give us self-government. If any solution is put forward which will further our country's progress I shall whole-heartedly support it. But remember we have not only to win our liberty but also to keep it. Any patched up agreement by way of altering the figures of representation would only be a backward step. Let us not try to divide the loaves and fishes, but try to evolve a scheme which would further the interests of Swaraj, of unity in the country".

Pandit Motilal Nehru, who was requested to speak, said he was constitutionally incapable of thinking communally. He could not carry his thought in that channel. But he thoroughly agreed with both Mr. Jinnah and Lala Lajpat Rai. He then suggested the names of members for the Sub-Committee.

Dr. Besant suggested that if they wanted to get business done they must appoint two separate committees to sit simultaneously and discuss the question of the Pact and the Swarajya Scheme. Vital as the question of Hindu-Muslim Unity was, she felt that more vital was the question of Swaraj. They were all. Indians. They had lived in India for thousands of years. They had been under foreign rule for the last hundred and fifty years.

It was in the interest of those foreign rulers to keep them divided and whatever pact might be concluded, the foreigner would find some apple of discord or others to keep them apart. Their quarrel would never cease until they became self-governing and were face to face with problems of Government. She knew Indian history and it was intolerable that England, one of the younger branches in the development of self-governing institutions, should claim dominion over the mother of them all, India. Would Indians, she asked, continue to quarrel while India was dying? Did they realise the position of their peasantry? Did they know that the average life in India was 23.5 years? Did they realise that epidemics took almost double the toll of life compared with western countries, because Indian children were born of starving mothers and were generated by starving fathers? These were questions that faced them to-day; not whether one should get this place or other that place. They must be ready with their scheme of Swaraj and tell the British Parliament to take their hands off India.

Mr. Jinnah, Mrs. Besant said, had given her credit about the preparation of the Commonwealth of India Bill which she did not deserve. She wished she had drafted it herself. The fact was that Committees appointed by the National Convention had done the laborious work which resulted in the drafting of the bill. She was presenting it to them merely as a draft, as something to work on. They could alter and amend it. Briefly put, she wanted complete civil Government at once as soon as Parliament passed the Bill. They must have Cabinets responsible to the Legislatures and the Governor-General and Governor reduced to constitutional head. But Swaraj must be laid on solid foundations. The villages of India where India lived provided this foundation. They must have in villages real Panchayats and not sham ones and lay their foundation on self-governing villages. There would be five self-governing areas covering the whole of India, namely Village, Taluqa, District, Province and Central Government. This scheme should provide the right to amend the constitution in future, so that hereafter they should not have to go to Westminster. When they were self-governing, if they made even ten blunders, they would be less fatal than even one blunder by a foreign ruler. These were points they had to consider. She informed the committee that she had pledged her word that the scheme of Swaraj shall be in Parliament within the course of a few months. They should sit down and draw up a scheme at least in broad outlines, if not in full details. If they dispersed without formulating a scheme, it would show that for the sake of squabbles they could not come to any decision.

Maulana Shaukat Ali supported Dr. Besant's idea of a separate committee. He expressed himself in favour of drawing up a skeleton scheme of Swaraj. He was, he said, an outlaw while Dr. Besant was a constitutional fighter; but in their conclusion they agreed. He, however, deprecated the use of tactics in settling the Hindu-Muslim question. One party saying that they must ask for so much, to get that much only irritated him.

Mr. Satyamurthi opposed the idea of a separate committee because, he said, Swaraj scheme and Hindu-Muslim Pact could not be divorced from each other. He particularly emphasised the necessity for the finding out of the minimum necessary in order to secure united political action. What was needed was that when they drew up a scheme and the British Parliament refused to enact it, then all parties, Congress, Muslim League, Liberals and others must stand shoulder to shoulder to enforce their demand, just as South Africa did it when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the British Premier, asked the House of Commons either to reject the South Africa Union Bill or to pass it without even the change of a comma.

Sardar Mangal Singh then explained the attitude of the Sikhs. They were ready to take their chance at the polls in a general electorate. They deprecated the fight for loaves and fishes. They would be ready to live under any permanent political majority. But that majority must be political and not religious. If there was a political majority ruling, then a minority could win majority. But a permanent religious majority would be fanatical and not be in the interests of the country. So long as this idea of a religious majority existed, so long would Shuddhi and Tabliq movements flourish, because every religious community would try to smell its numbers. Personally he considered the Lucknow Pact a great blunder.

At this stage Mr. Chintamani suggested that the terms of reference to the proposed Sub-Committee be read out to clear misunderstanding.

Pandit Motilal said that the committee which had been anpointed by the All-Parties Conference at Bombay and the terms of reference to the sub-committee would be the same as those passed by the conference for the general committee. They could not go beyond those terms which were quite comprehensive and included all points of views expressed. Pandit Motilal said that he did not make a speech before, because he thought speeches already made were business like. They had all the same objective of Swarai, but the unfortunate position was that he did not find people ready to discuss Swaraj before the petty quarrels were settled. Swaraj was unattainable and unthinkable until the Hindus and the Muslims came to a better understanding. He entirely agreed with Dr. Besant that the Government would throw some apple of discord or other. Government must do that. It was the business of the Indian leaders to make the best of their position. He was prepared to confess that some pessimists had declared that unity would never be attainable. The other day he was travelling with a friend from the Puniab who asked whether the speaker seriously thought that Hindu-Muslim unity would be attained. The Pandit replied that was why he was working for it and he was not a mad man. The Punjab friend replied that he took the Pandit to be mad at least in entertaining that hope. (Laughter) Such people, added the Pandit, went even to the length of saving that they must reconcile themselves to British rule for all times to come. The attainment of unity was therefore vital for the movement of Swaraj.

After this the Committee agreed to the appointment of a sub-committee of over forty members with instruction to report on or before the 15th February. It was also decided that the general committee will meet in the first week of March to consider the report.

Mr. Jinnah, in urging an early decision, gave expression to his surprise that the Government would let the Assembly discuss the Reforms Enquiry Committee's report in February. As much has been made of Hindu-Muslim differences in connection with the work of the Committee, he wanted to tell the Government, when the time for the discussion of the report came, that Hindu-Muslim differences had been made up and they stood united in their demands.

Mahatma Gandhi replied that Mr. Jinnah's purpose would

be served by the publication of the sub-committee's report. The sub-committee would soon sit to work from day to day till it finished its labour and prepared a report. It will consist of the following:

Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Chintamani, Sir Sivaswamy Iver, Mr. Jayakar, Lala Lajpat Rai, Babu Bhagwan Das, Mr. Srinivasa Ivengar, Pandit Malaviva, Swami Shraddhanand, Mr. B.C. Pal. Mr. T. C. Goswami, Mr. Jairamdas, Mr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mr. C. R. Reddy, Dr. S. K. Datta, Sardar Mangal Singh (or Jodh Singh), Mr. Kelkar (or Mr. Abhyankar), Colonel Gidnev. Mr. Ramachandra Rao, Mr. Hridayanath Kunzru, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. Anantram, Dr. Annie Besant, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. Satvamurthi, Mrs. Naidu, Lala Harkishen Lal. Dr. Kitchlew, Mr. Abdur Rauf, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mr. Mohammed Ali, Maulana Azad, Dr. Ansari, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Mr. Zafar Ali, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Mr. Raza Ali, Mr. Mohammed Yakub, Sir Mohammed Shafi, Mr. Barkat Ali, Syed Murtaza Sahib, Mr. Samiullah Khan, Mr. Ahmed Ali Khan, Mr. Shamsudin, Mr. Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Sir Abdul Qayyum and Maulana Shaukat Ali.

The sub-committee appointed sat later and some members formed themselves into a smaller committee for drawing up a scheme of *Swaraj*. The whole of the sub-committee and this smaller committee held their deliberations from day to day.

# Chapter 17

#### REPORT OF THE SWARAJ SUB-COMMITTEE

The following is the report of the Swaraj sub-committee issued by Dr. Mrs. Annie Besant, the Chairman, and submitted to the General Committee of the All-Parties Conference:

The Committee appointed by the All-Parties Conference held in Bombay, met on January 23rd and 24th and elected a subcommittee which divided itself into two groups, one to deal with the Hindu-Muslim union and the other to outline a scheme of Swaraj which should establish India as a self-governing dominion free from interference with her internal affairs.

The group dealing with the scheme of Swaraj consisted of 19 members to whom three were added by co-option at its first and second meetings. I was elected as Chairman and at the third meeting Lala Lajpat Rai was elected in my stead during my absence in Benares where I had to fulfil a previous public engagement which I could not break. The Committee ordered that the reports of the sub-committee should be handed on or before February 15, and considered by the full committee on February 28. The last engagement has, I understand, been altered but the sending in of our report is binding on us.

The list of the Swarajya Sub-committee is:

Dr. Annie Besant, (Chairman), Messrs C. Y. Chintamani, Shaukat Ali, Mohammed Ali, Jawaharlal Nehru, Hridayanath Kunzru, Jairamdas, H. S. Jayakar, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, S. Satyamurthi, K. Ramchandra Rao, S. K. Dutta, Lala Lajpat

Rai, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Bhagwan Das, Mangal Singh, Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Bipin Chandra Pal, N. M. Joshi.

Co-opted members: Messrs A. Rangaswami Iyengar, T. Rangachari, B. Sivarao.

Of these ten were called away by their engagement before the fourth meeting leaving seven members of the Assembly and the Chairman and Messrs Lajpat Rai, Shaukat Ali, Mohammed Ali and B. Siva Rao, twelve in all, to carry on the work. The Sub-committee met on January 25th, 26th, February 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th, 9th and 11th. After some general discussion it was decided to lay down certain general principles and to take the draft Bill prepared by the National Convention as the basis. The following outline was decided on.

#### Fundamental Rights

- 1. Following the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress in December 1914 at Madras it was decided that India should be placed on equality with the Self-Governing Dominions sharing with them privileges and responsibilities enjoyed by them as free nations.
- 2. There should be a strong Central Government in India and therefore residuary powers should be vested in it.
- 3. The following fundamental rights were passed by a majority:
- (a) No person shall be deprived of its liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, expropriated or confiscated save in accordance with law and by ordinary courts of law. (b) Freedom of conscience and free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order of morality, guaranteed to every person. (c) Right of free expression of opinion as well as right to assemble peaceably and without arms and to form associations or unions is guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public order or morality. (d) All persons residing within the Commonwealth are equal before law and shall be tried for similar offences in courts of the same order and by judicial officers of same grade and no person shall be immune from penalty annexed to any breach of law nor shall such penalty be varied on account of nationality or caste or class or occupation. (e)

There shall be no sex-disqualification with regard to franchise, membership of Governments, of Legislatures and Local Boards, and all offices, functions and powers shall be open equally to both sexes.

4. To shorten discussion the following principles were accepted for all elected bodies (to be inserted in the Bill in their several places); (a) All such bodies shall elect their own President; (b) Each Legislature shall have power to increase or diminish its membership subject to change being created as a change in the constitution; (c) Membership of the elective body—its term shall give franchise for the next higher body; (d) Members of one Legislative body shall be ineligible for another simultaneously; (e) The age of twenty one shall be the necessary qualification for all franchise; (f) Disqualifications: No person shall be capable of being chosen or of sitting as members who (1) is an unrehabilitated insolvent, or (2) is a lunatic so found, or (3) holds any office of profit under the Crown within the Commonwealth, provided that the following persons shall not be deemed to hold an office of profit under the Crown for purposes of this clause: (i) A Minister, (ii) A person in receipt of a pension from the Crown, (iii) Officer or member of His Majesty's Military, Naval or Air Forces retired or on half pay; (g) Each Legislative body shall make rules and orders for itself; (h) The Franchise shall be graded.

#### Legislative Assembly

- 5. The Legislature: (The Legislative power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in the King represented by the Governor-General, Senate and Legislative Assembly, hereinafter called "The Parliament".
- 6. (a) The Senate shall be elected by proportional representation by: (i) Members and ex-Members of the Legislative Councils and Parliament, (ii) Members and ex-Members of the District and Taluka Boards and Municipalities, (iii) registered graduates of not less than seven years' standing from a panel of candidates constituted as follows: (1) Before each election of the members of the Senate the Panel shall be formed in each province consisting of three times as many qualified persons as

there are members to be elected in that area of which one-third shall be nominated by the Legislative Council and one-third by the Senate. (2) Such other persons who have been members of the Senate or of the Council of State under the Government of India Act 1919 as shall signify by notice in writing addressed to the Prime Minister their desire to be included in the panel;

- (b) Age of the members shall be at least thirty years;
- (c) Duration of the Senate shall be six years;
- (d) Half the number of the members shall go out every three years;
- (e) The number was first fixed at three hundred but at a subsequent meeting reduced to the maximum of 150 and later still fixed at 150.
- 7. The Legislative Assembly: (a) The number of members shall be three hundred; (b) age of members shall be at least twenty-five years; (c) duration of the Assembly four years.
- 8. The following shall constitute the electorate for Assembly in each provinces: (a) Members and ex-Members of Legislative Councils and of Indian Legislature representing the Province since the Government of India Act 1919; (b) Members and ex-Members of the District and Taluka Boards and Municipalities; (c) All with education up to the graduate level or diploma granted for training after High Schools or equivalent general or technical education; (d) Members of recognised Chambers of Commerce, Landholders' Associations, Trade Union Councils, Industrial Associations or such other bodies, or all individuals paying such taxes or enjoying not less than such monthly income or allowance as may be recognised by rules.
- 9. (a) The Parliament: The Parliament shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good Government of the Commonwealth in respect of all subjects not assigned exclusively to Legislative Councils, provided that until such time as Parliament shall, in pursuance of the recommendation of the Defence Commission hereinafter specified by its own act, signify its readiness to assume control over Naval, Military and Air Forces of the Commonwealth, it shall have no power to make any law with regard thereto without the previous approval of the Governor-General.
- (b) The Defence Commission: At the establishment of the Commonwealth and after a period of every five years thereafter

the Governor-General in Council shall submit names of persons, the majority of whom shall be Indians, for the approval of His Majesty to act as a Commission. The persons whose names are so submitted, if approved by His Majesty, shall be commissioned for the following purposes: (i) to fix the minimum of expenditure on Military, Naval and Air Forces of the Commonwealth to form charge on consolidated revenue fund of the Commonwealth; (ii) to report on the steps to be taken on the Indianisation and training of the Defence forces of the Commonwealth so as to enable the people of India to undertake their own defence as soon as practicable.

- (c) Joint Session: In cases of disagreement between the two Houses of Parliament, except on financial questions, a joint session shall decide the case under dispute after the second passing of the Bill, provided that not less than a year shall have elapsed between its first and second passing in the Assembly.
- (d) Money Bills and laws appropriating revenue shall not originate in the Senate nor be amended by it except with the consent of the Assembly.
- 10. (a) The Parliament shall have power of establishing or admitting new provinces and of making laws for their Government. (b) In all cases of altering limits of existing province the opinion of Legislative Council or Councils concerned shall be ascertained and considered.
- 11. The Executive: The Governor General shall be appointed by the King as his representative. The Governor-General-in-Council shall mean the Governor-General acting with the advice of the Cabinet.
- 12. The Cabinet: (a) There shall be a Cabinet to aid and advise the Governor-General in the Government of the Commonwealth. (b) The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the Governor-General. (c) The Cabinet shall consist of the Prime Minister and not less than seven Ministers of the State for the Commonwealth appointed by the Governor-General on nomination of the Prime Minister. (d) No Minister of State shall hold office for a period longer than three months unless he is or becomes a member of one of the Houses of Parliament. (e) The Cabinet shall be collectively responsible for all matters concerning the departments of the Commonwealth. (f) The Cabinet shall resign when it ceases to retain the support of majority in

the Legislative Assembly.

- 13. The Commander-in-Chief of the Military, Naval and Air Forces of the Commonwealth shall be vested in the Governor-General as the King's representative, subject to the proviso in Article (9) (B).
- 14. The High Commissioner for India shall be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council for the performance of Agency duties in England.
- 15. The India Council shall be abolished and the Secretary of State for India shall be placed on the same footing as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in relation to the Self-Governing Dominions.
- 16. The Judicature: (a) There shall be a Supreme Court of not less than three Justices with such jurisdiction as Parliament shall determine. (b) The Justices shall be appointed by the King and removable by him on an address from the Parliament showing the ground of misbehaviour or incapacity.
  - 17. All Sessions trials shall be by jury.
- 18. Finance and Trade: The revenues of the Commonwealth shall be received by the Executive Government with the consent and on behalf of Parliament to form a consolidated revenue fund.
- 19. India shall be responsible for all liabilities of the present Government of India.
  - 20. Trade within the Commonwealth shall be free.
- 21. India shall have a gold standard with a gold currency and a gold mohur of the weight and fineness of English sovereign and standard of currency.
- 22. India shall have the power of borrowing in any one of the world's markets.
- 23. The Provinces: The Legislative power of the province shall be vested in the Governor as the King's representative and a Legislative Council.
- 24. The Power of deciding upon the establishment of a Second Chamber in a Province shall be left to the Province concerned.
- 25. (a) The powers of the Legislative Council shall be scheduled; (b) The size of and the franchise for the Legislative Council shall be determined by means of rules; (c) The duration of the Legislative Council shall be for four years.

- 26. The Executive: The position and functions of the Governor shall be analogous to those of the Governor-General.
- 27. The Constitution and Powers of the Provincial Cabinet shall be analogous to those of the All-India Cabinet; but there shall not be less than three Ministers including the Chief Minister in a Province.
- 28. The Judicature: The existing High Courts shall be the Chief Judicial Tribunals in the Provinces.
- 29. Local Self-Government: The Government of India shall direct Provincial Governments, within the first year of their coming into power, to reform the local Governments which should consist of District, Taluka and Village Panchayats suited to the conditions of their provinces based on the following principles: (i) The unit to be the village with universal adult suffrage and annually elected panchayats vested with powers to administer village affairs and civil and criminal jurisdiction exercised by an appointed bench sitting in the village. (ii) The suffrage for Taluka and District Panchayats to be graded on lines given in a schedule and the general division of functions therein stated to be followed with such modifications as local conditions may require.

NOTE: On the above question division of opinion was marked and no decision was taken.

- 30. The Services: Recruitment to Services shall be in the hands of a Public Services Commission. The Powers and functions of the Commission shall be defined by Parliament.
- 31. Alteration of the Constitution: The Power to alter the constitution shall vest in Parliament subject to the consent of a majority of Legislative Councils and also of a majority of members of the Legislative Councils voting on the subject after the next general election provided that for a change affecting only a single province the consent of the Legislative Council concerned and of Parliament shall be sufficient.

Note: The above was only partly discussed and Referendum rejected above is proposed instead.

# Chapter 18

# REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

The Sub-Committee of the Committee of the All-Parties Conference appointed on the 23rd January to frame a scheme of Hindu-Muslim unity met at Delhi on the 1st March and adjourned sine die without coming to any conclusion. Mahatma Gandhi presided and those present numbered about fourteen including Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Motilal Nehru, M.A. Jinnah, Sir Abdul Qayyum, Dr. Syed Mahmud, N.C. Kelkar and Swami Sharaddhanand.

Prominent among the absentees was Lala Lajpat Rai. His criticisms of Mahatma Gandhi's views on the Hindu-Muslim question as published in the "Leader" of Allahabad attracted considerable attention. In this article Lala Lajpat Rai said there was no immediate hurry for a fresh pact and declined to accept the view that a Hindu majority in some provinces and a Muslim majority in others was the only remedy.

It will be remembered that the Committee was asked to frame a scheme for representation of all communities, races and subdivisions of Legislative and other elected bodies under Swaraj and recommended the best method of securing a just and proper representation of the communities in the services with due regard to efficiency. This sub-committee held a few sittings after its appointment and dispersed to meet again on this day and draw up a report. But it could not arrive at any agreement on the main question of the revision of the Lucknow Pact and the method of representation on Legislative and other bodies.

Mahatma Gandhi in the course of his remarks stated that it was impossible in the prevailing conditions of suspicion to frame

any scheme that would be called a united scheme. After a short discussion the Committee adjourned sine die.

Subsequently, Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru issued the following statement explaining the reasons which led to the adjournment of the sub-committee of the All Parties' Conference over Hindu-Muslim question:

#### The Gandhi-Nehru Statement

"It was decided at the meeting of the sub-committee appointed by the committee of the All Parties Conference to adjourn the proceedings sine die with the proviso that the meeting shall be called on a requisition from the majority of the members of the sub-committee. We were also required and authorised by the meeting to give a resume of the position as it stands to-day. The meeting was attended by very few members, 14 out of 53. They were Maulana Mohammed Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Swami Shraddhanand, Pandit Jawaharlal, Dr. S.K. Datta, Mr. Ahmed Ali, Raja Ahmed Ali Khan of Salempur, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum, Mr. Mohammed Yakub, Mr. N.M. Joshi, Mr. N.C. Kelkar besides ourselves. Mr. Jinnah came in for a few minutes from another meeting (Independent Party's meeting) he was attending at that time.

"Lala Lajpat Rai had asked for a postponement by reason of the inability of Messrs Jayakar, Srinivasa Iyengar and Jai Ram Das to attend. We were unable to postpone the meeting on our own responsibility. We therefore informed Lala Lajpat Rai that the question of postponement be placed before the meeting. This was consequently done but apart from the absence of Lala Lajpat and of the gentlemen named by him the attendance was otherwise also too meagre for coming to any decision. In our opinion there was moreover no material for coming to any definite conclusions nor is there likelihood of any being reached in the near future. We, therefore, see no hope of being able to convene a general meeting of the Conference within the described period except upon a requisition referred to by us.

"The failure to reach a decision is likely to disappoint the public. We would, however, advise publicists and others not to despond. That the sub-committee has not been able to reach at any decision is no reason for individuals or groups to relax

their efforts towards the solution. There still remains to mention the *Swaraj* scheme framed on the sub-committee under Dr. Besant. The dissenting notes are being received by us from the members of that Committee. In view however of the meagre attendance and the failure to reach a decision on the Hindu-Muslim problem the scheme could not be considered by the meeting".

# The Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind

### Chapter 19

#### JAMIATUL ULEMA-E-HIND

#### FIRST SESSION

Amritsar, Dec. 28, 1919-Jan. 1, 1920

Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind as an organisation of the Ulema was formed at a conference of the Ulema at Delhi towards the end of November 1919 under the Chairmanship of Maulana Abdul Bari. The primary purpose of the formation of this organisation was to provide leadership to the Indian Muslim in their religious and political affairs. Mufti Kifayatullah and Hafiz Ahmed Saeed were elected Provisional President and Secretary respectively. They were also entrusted with the task of formulating rules of the organisation. The conference decided to hold the first session of the Jamiat at Amritsar towards the end of December next to coincide with the session of the All-India Muslim League.

The first session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind was held at Amritsar from December 28, 1919 to January 1, 1920, under the Presidentship of Maulana Abdul Bari (from Dec. 28 to 30) and Mufti Kifayatullah (from Dec. 31 to Jan. 1).

The following resolutions were passed:

#### RESOLUTIONS

#### KHALIFA

This session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind earnestly believes that the Sultan (of Turkey) is the Khalifa of Muslims and that his name should be included in the Address (at Friday's Congregational prayers).

#### KHILAFAT QUESTION

This session of Jamiatul Ulema-e Hind prays to H. M. the King Emperor to allow representatives of Hindus and Muslims, Mr. Isfahani, Mr. Bhurgri and Mr. Mushir Husain Qidwai to accompany Mr. Lloyd George at the Peace Conference to help in the settlement of questions pertaining to the Khilafat and Turkey, as they have an apprehension that a settlement of these questions which is not in conformity with the tenets of Islam may disturb and agitate the minds of millions of His Majesty's subjects.

#### COMMUNICATION TO HIS MAJESTY

This session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind resolves that Resolution No. 2 (on Khilafat Question) should be sent to His Majesty and the proceedings of the session to the press.

#### **RULES AND REGULATIONS**

The draft of the Rules and Regulations should be printed as it is and circulated among members and other Ulema for opinions. It should then be presented to the Executive Committee along with opinions received. Revised by the Executive Committee the draft will then be presented to the General Body for approval.

#### INTERNMENT OF ULEMA

This session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind expresses concern at the continued internment of Maulana Mahmudul Hasan and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in spite of the Royal Proclamation. It authorises the President to communicate this resolution to the Viceroy by wire.

#### **EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

Election should be held for the posts of the members of the Executive Committee. Written consent should be obtained for their election as members from those elected.

# Chapter 20

#### JAMIATUL ULEMA-E-HIND

#### SECOND SESSION

Delhi, December 17-19, 1920

The second annual session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind was held at Delhi on December 17-19, 1920, under the president-ship of Maulana Mahmudul Hasan. More than 500 delegates from all over the country attended the session. Prominent among these present were: Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Maulana Abdul Majid Badauni, Maulana Abdul Kafi Allahabadi, Maulana Abdul Wafa Sanaullah, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, Maulana Fazlullah and Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani.

The following resolutions were passed:

#### COMMANDMENTS OF SHARIAT

This meeting of the Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind calls upon the Muslims to sincerely try to honour and observe the commandments of Shariat. It is essential that our manners, dress, morals and conduct, specially our duties should conform to it.

#### RELATIONS WITH BRITAIN

This session of the Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind after deep deleberation, makes this announcement according to the dictates of religious commandments that it was a cardinal sin to cooperate or have dealings with the British Government and in furtherance of that, the following points have to be taken into account.

- (1) Surrender of the titles and honorary offices.
- (2) Resigning from the membership of the councils and refusing to vote for the candidates for membership.
- (3) Depriving the enemies of Muslim Faith of Commercial benefits.
- (4) Refusal to accept financial aid from the government for schools and colleges and disassociation from the government universities.
- (5) Refusal to enlist in the army of the enemies of Muslim Faith and refusal to extend any kind of military aid to them.
- (6) Refusal to take cases to the courts and refusal by the lawyers to plead the cases there.

#### **STUDENTS**

This session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind considers it essential from the points of view of Shariat that as a measure of non-cooperation the students should boycott schools and colleges which are affiliated to Government Universities that receive grants from the Government and considers the conduct of those scholars who have left such schools and colleges as compliance of the behests of Islam.

#### NON-MUSLIM SUPPORT TO KHILAFAT

This session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind appreciates the cooperation of our fellow countrymen to the cause of Khilafat and hopes that the Muslims of India would try to cultivate more cordial relations with fellow countrymen within the limits prescribed by Shariat.

#### NATIONAL BANK

This session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind resolves, that considering the requirements of the cause of Khilafat and numerous other national as well as communal needs it has become necessary that a National Bank be established and to begin with a special committee may be appointed to organise it and submit its report to the office of the Jamiat within three months.

#### NON-COOPERATION

This session of Jamiat resolves that a special section for publicity in respect of the Non-Cooperation movement be opened and delegations be sent in all directions for the purpose and the elections, for the executive of Preachers Committee be held at the earliest.

#### PRAYERS IN ALIGARH COLLEGE MOSQUE

This session of Jamiat regards the conduct of a responsible section of Aligarh College, who object to the offering of prayers by the teachers and students of the National University in the mosque of the college as violation of the tenets of Islam and denegration of the sanctity of the mosque.

#### ATROCITIES TO INTERNEES

This session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind expresses its disgust and abhorance at the atrocious treatment extended by the authorities to the interned Ulema and Khilafat workers, as well as the tortures to which these innocent persons are subjected in jails and considers them below human dignity and morals and expects that the victims shall face these inflictions with courage and firmness unflinchingly.

#### ULEMA AND THE NON-COOPERATION

This session of Jamiat regretfully expresses its disagreement and disassociation with the conduct of some of the Ulema of the time, who have denied the legality and enforcement of such an express religious commandment as Non-Cooperation and have put forth doubts and suspicions regarding it, and announces that the Ulema-e-Hind are not responsible for this conduct and warns the Muslims in general that they should not regard the words and conduct of these persons as emanating from the Ulema in general.

#### **EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS**

This session of Jamiat declares that all those persons who

are managers or members of the executives of national educational institutions and have refused to give up Government aid and the affiliation with Government Universities, have betrayed Muslims and have sided with the enemies of Islam and so, as long as they do not desist from their present conduct, all the Muslims should withdraw their support from them, and the students and parents should have nothing to do with those schools and colleges.

#### NADWATUL ULEMA

This session of the Jamiat looks upon the conduct of the members of Nadwatul Ulema who in their devotion to the right cause have refused the Government aid, with great appreciation and thanks them for the sacrifice that they have made for the nation and the community.

# Chapter 21

#### JAMIATUL ULEMA-E-HIND

#### THIRD SESSION

Lahore, November 18-20, 1921

The third session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind was held on November 18-20, 1921 at Lahore under the Presidentship of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

The following resolutions were adopted:

#### CONFISCATION OF 'FATWA'

This conference of the Jamiat confirms the decision of the meeting of the Executive of Jamiat held at Delhi on 21st September 1921, which it had given unanimously about the confiscation of the Fatwa (religious mandate). The decision was as follows:

This meeting of the Executive of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind declares that the religious mandate (Fatwa) which has been confiscated by the order of Chief Commissioner of Delhi dated July 12 in Delhi and some other provinces too is based on the Commandments of the Islamic Shariat which are in force for the last thirteen hundred years in all their finality without any change and it is the duty and obligation of every Muslim to have faith in them, to practice them and to propagate them. Therefore the Ulema of Islam cannot tolerate any situation which interferes in the preaching and propagation of these commandments. The Ulema of Islam, in accordance with these commandments, declare it to be the duty of Muslims to continue printing and publishing the

mandate, disregarding the interference of the confiscation order, and remain engaged in preaching and propagation. The members of the Executive of the Jamiat too shall continue to publish and propagate.

#### KHILAFAT RESOLUTION

This session of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind confirms the decision of the meeting of the Executive of the Jamiat held at Delhi on 21st September, 1921 about the Karachi Resolution. The decision was as follows:

This meeting of the Executive of the Jamiat declares that the resolution of the Khilafat Conference held on 8-10 July 1921 for which the Government has arrested, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Mohammed Ali, Maulana Husain Ahmed, Pir Ghulam Mujaddid, Dr. Kitchlew and Maulana Nisar Ahmad, is one of the explicit and final commandments of Islam in force for the last thirteen hundred years and have been duly propagated in India too. Under no circumstances, can Muslims be prevented from propagating them and their propagation shall continue as long as Islam is there. Jamiatul Ulema calls upon all the Muslims to get ready for the trial of their sense of duty and in every way possible engage in the publication and propagation of this Commandment of the Shariat and thus strive to propagate the word of God.

#### SERVICES IN THE POLICE AND MILITARY

This conference of the Jamiat declares as follows about service in the police and the military:

- (a) Service in the Police and the Military of the British Government is a sin not only in the sense that it involves immediate killing of Muslims, but from the point of view of Shariat it is enough that the British army can be used or is being used against Muslim states for killing Muslim population, for promoting repression and riot and for trampling upon their legal and human rights.
- (b) It is a cardinal sin for a Muslim to engage in battle

against the Muslims, along with non-Muslim so that it adds to the grandeur of the infidels and hurts the power of Islam and the efforts to find excuses for it (service) from the examples of battles among Muslim camps cannot be justified.

#### LIBERATION OF INDIA

This conference of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind declares that it is the religious duty of the Muslims to try to liberate India from the tyranny of the present Government and it is our religious objective to use all proper means to that end and continue striving to the end. The Jamiat also declares that to attain the objective of the liberation of India which is before us, it is necessary from the point of view of Islamic Commandments:

- (a) That Muslims be independent and free in their religious life.
- (b) That there be no obstruction in the application of Islamic Commandments, rules and regulations for the Muslims. Jamiat recognises that we can secure such a freedom by uniting with other communities of India duly safeguarding the bounds of Shariat, and shall certainly do so.

#### KHILAFAT

This conference of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind proposes that as soon as possible delegations for the purpose of propaganda be arranged which may go to various provinces inside India and carry on propaganda in favour of Khilafat-e-Islamia and Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and other Islamic matters and authorises the President and Secretary of the Jamiat to arrange such delegates and send them off.

#### KEMAL PASHA

This conference of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind sincerely acknow-ledges the services of Ghazi Kemal Pasha and offers him felicitations on behalf of the Jamiat and reminds Muslims of their Islamic duty, that at this time, the highest form of piety and striving in cause of Islam is to help this great fighter for the cause of Islam.

#### FOREIGN GOODS

This conference of the Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind reminds the Muslims about the religious commandment which was repeated in the conference of Jamiat last year that in the present conditions all men and women should give up the use of foreign goods especially foreign cloth. People who purchase foreign cloth now participate in an activity destructive of Islam, by helping the enemies of Islam. Those who are in possession of such cloth are advised to donate it to the Smyrna Fund and the open use of such cloth is certainly objectionable being in flagrant disregard of the decisions of the nation.

#### AMIRUL HIND

This conference of Jamiat proposes that it is necessary in the interest of organisation of Muslims to appoint an Amirul Hind (Head of the Muslims of India). A committee be appointed to define the powers and duties of such a religious Head, put up the draft of proposal before the conference proposed to be held in December in Badaun. The members of the sub-committee shall be as follows:

Maulana Khalil Ahmed, Maulana Abdul Majid, Maulana Hubibur Rehman, Maulana Shabbir Ahmed, Maulana Mohd. Sajjad, Maulana Mohd. Ibrahim, Maulana Mohd. Kifayatullah, Maulana Mohd. Fakhir, Maulana Anwar Shah, Maulana Murtaza Hasan, Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Sanaullah, Maulana Subhanullah, Maulana Hamdullah and Maulana Mohd. Daud (Jamali).

#### **NEXT MEETING**

A special general meeting of Jamiat be held on 10th, 11th December at Badaun which may take steps for the election of the Amir after considering the report of the sub-committee.

#### MOPLA UNREST

This conference of Jamiat does not make bold to confirm the rumours published in the papers about the Moplas, that they have harassed their Hindu neighbours and have forcibly converted some Hindus to Islam, unless they are varified by trustworthy sources, and declares that if these rumours are proved true, the conduct of Moplas is against Islamic teachings and therefore condemnable.

#### **ELECTION OF PRESIDENT**

This conference of Jamiat approves the decision of the Executive Committee meeting held on 6th September 1920 at Lucknow, after the demise of the late respected President of the Jamiat, that the Vice-President Maulana Mohd. Kifayatullah shall perform the duties of the President till the next meeting and elects Maulana Mohd. Kifayatullah to be the President for one year.

#### ARREST OF ULEMA

This conference of Jamiat considers the arrest of Maulana Hafiz Ahmed Saeed, secretary, Jamiat and Abdul Aziz Ansari by the Government at Delhi, and leaders of the community, Murad Husain Sahed, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Mohd. Ali, Maulana Nisar Ahmed, Pir Ghulam Mujaddid Sindhi, Dr. Kitchlew and Seth Yakub Hasan at Karachi for publishing and propagating religious commandments, and thus in a way declaring the propagation of religious commandments a seditious act and crime, as a declaration of war against the religious freedom of Muslims and declares that religion is dearer to Muslims than their life and property and they shall not be cowed down by the arrest of even the dearest and the most respected leaders and shall not desist from the propagation of their religious commandments.

This session of Jamiat congratulates the people arrested for their courage in Faith and acknowledges their services in the cause of Islam, and thus expresses contempt for the tyrannical and repressive behaviour of the officers of Government of the Frontier Provinces and condemns the conduct of those Ulema who sell themselves to provide fatwas for cooperation with the Government and so misguide the people.

# Chapter 22

#### JAMIATUL ULEMA-E-HIND

#### FOURTH SESSION

Gaya, December 24, 1923

#### FIRST SITTING

The Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind opened its 4th Session at Gaya on December 24 in a very spacious and well-decorated pandal with several thousands of Muslim divines from all over India and a sprinkling of Muslim laymen and non-Muslim visitors. For the first time since its constitution the Jamiatul Ulema held its sitting during the Congress week.

Maulana Habibur Rahman of Deoband, the President-elect could not arrive in time. The Conference opened in his absence with recitations from the holy Quran and national poems. Thereafter Maulana Abdul Rauf of Dinapur read out his printed address as Chairman of the Reception Committee. The conference then adjourned for a short time for another sitting during the day.

The two addresses, that of the President-elect (Maulvi Habibur Rahman of the University at Deoband, which is a recognised centre of Islamic learning of the world), and of the Chairman of the Reception Committee (Maulvi Abdul Rauf), were remarkable for the exposition of clerical opinion on the controversy regarding the Khilafat. Both hoped Angora would keep in view that the Indian Mohammedans considered that the Sultanate and the Khilafat must be vested in one and the same person, who may be elected, but who should enjoy the title of 'His Majesty' and must possess both temporal and spiritual powers. A great decision about the question of Council entry was given by

the Conference even before the Congress and Khilafat Committees could make up their mind.

Unusually large numbers of delegates attended and there were also many Hindu and Sikh visitors. Several prominent Congress leaders were seated on the dais.

#### WELCOME ADDRESS OF MAULANA ABOUL RAUF

Maulana Abdul Rauf, Chairman, Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates read out a lengthy address. He said that the cross was to-day pitted against the Crescent, and Europe was trying to drive Turkey out of its small European possessions. British rule in India had not only deprived them of manhood, by always teaching the Indians to hate war, while the British are themselves making greater preparations for war, for the so-called purpose of maintaining peace, but the clauses of the Penal Code were placed above the laws of God and the Rulers wanted them to remain loval while Islam was being destroyed by them. In such a state of affairs the duty of the Indian Mohammedans was clear. They should be ever grateful to the Kemalists for saving Islam from extinction. But the Turkish victories had given birth to new problems, regarding the future of Islamic practices dealing with the position of the Khilafat. Maulyi Abdul Rauf said that the Khilafat could be both elected and nominated, and could be deposed. The Khilafat need not be confined in any family and he saw no reason why it should have been confined to Osman. No one could be a Khalifa unless he possessed both spiritual and temporal powers. He knew that the present time was against personal rule, that such a rule in the case of the Sultan had been abused. But Islamic law contemplated no other form of Government. A Khalifa may be deposed and a new one elected. But when a Khalifa was appointed he ought to enjoy both the spiritual and temporal powers.

The Speaker did not know how far the reports regarding Angora's decision depriving the new Khalifa of temporal powers was true, but if it was, he took exception to it. Rather than curtailing the powers of the Khalifa the Speaker's opinion was that the Khilafat should be a living force, that all Muslim States such as Turkey, Afghanistan, Persia, Bokhara, Khiva, Arabia

and Iraq should owe allegiance to the Khalifa who would grant them all internal autonomy and could control the foreign policy of all such Muslim States, so that in time of war the forces of all these States may muster to defend Islam. He added that in the case of countries like India which had passed from Muslim control the Shariat laid down that the Khalifa should send to such countries his own nominee who would settle their disputes and guide them. He hoped that the Jamiatul Ulema would now attempt to put right this shortcoming.

Touching political issues in this country Maulvi Abdul Rauf said that non-co-operation had revolutionised the Indians' mind, but its great success was prevented by the Bardoli mistake of its author in suspending the offensive. He ridiculed the idea of capturing Councils for doing nothing. Would not that mean useless waste of the country's energy and funds? Congress candidates would not be able to achieve more through Councils than the present Councillors and the talk about paralysing the Government through Councils was as futile as the promise of attainment of Swaraj in three months.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MAULVI HABIBUR RAHMAN

In the absence of the President-elect, who had not till then arrived, the Presidential Address was read out by Maulvi Shabbir Ahmed of Deoband.

Maulvi Habibur Rahman of Deoband gave a very lengthy address in Urdu, covering forty-two printed pages which took three hours to read. It was throughout listened with close attention and was occasionally punctuated with applause.

#### Cross Vs. Crescent

He said that throughout her life Islam had Christianity as its main and traditional enemy. The latest attempt of the victorious cross to destroy Islam was after the Great War when the Allies imposed on Turkey a treaty which smashed her power completely. Islam had in the past withstood several attacks solely because of her spiritual strength. For several centuries Turks had defended their faith against the aggressor. Muslims of the world owed a great debt of gratitude to Kemalists. He was

therefore surprised to find in some quarters hostile criticism of the Turks. He conceded that Turks being human were liable to err and Indian Mohammedans should respectfully represent their views to Angora. The Maulana said that the fact that Angora was summoning a conference of Muslim leaders from all over the world to frame the laws of Turkev in accordance with the Shariat proved the anxiety of the Kemalists to observe the Koranic law. He was sure that as spirituality had all along saved Islam. Kemalists would not go against the Shariat (God's law) or introduce innovations inconsistent with it. Touching the position of the Khalifa, the Maulana observed that the Khalifa may be elected and also deposed if undesirable, that his powers may even be made normal by constitutional delegation, but that the authority of the Khalifa as such must be supreme. The Sultanate and the Khilafat could not be separated and there could be no Khalifa unless he enjoyed both spiritual and temporal powers. His title must also remain "His Majesty". The speaker felt sure that Angora would pay attention to this respectful representation of the Indian Muslim view regarding the position of the Khilafat and that the Jamiatul Ulema would be recognised by the Turkish Government and its help sought in the solution of religious issues. The Maulana also praised the services of the Osman family whose members for over six centurics had ruled more than any other dynasty. He suggested that Mustapha Kemal Pasha be given the title 'Mujaddi-i-Khilafat' (Saviour of Khilafat) for his services in giving Islam a new birth.

#### The Indian Situation

The Maulana next dwelt upon the special responsibilities of the Jamiatul Ulema. He claimed for its superiority over all other Muslim organisations or conferences in India and declared that in time to come it would represent a unique position in the world so as to lead Muslim opinion in religious matters, but as politics and religion were inseparable in Islam, the Jamiat was also competent to give the lead on political issues. And as the betterment of Islam could be achieved only if India was autonomous, the Jamiat had placed above all efforts at securing independence. If they were to succeed in shaking off slavery it was

essential that Hindus and Mohammedans should work united, but as occasions had arisen when religious disputes had seriously interfered with unity, he suggested that a joint committee of fair-minded Hindu and Mohammedan leaders should sit and recommend measures to be adopted by both parties to avoid all possible chance of religious or other conflicts.

#### On Council Entry

Touching the controversy regarding the Congress programme, he emphasised that N.C.O. was a religious obligation on Mohammedans and, according to the last Fatwa of the Ulema, Mohammedans could neither co-operate nor take oath of allegiance. They could not therefore sit in the Councils, even if they succeeded at the polls. The only alternative consistent with the Fatwa was that pointed out by the resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of Jamiatul Ulema on the 11th November last. This decision permitted the capturing of seats but refusing to take the oath. The Maulana thought that this course offered a ground for compromise between the two opposite views, but asked whether all the other expenses of fighting the elections would be the compensatory gain. If it was, they may adopt that course and save division in their ranks. His own view was that best course to follow was to carry on vigorously the constructive programme of N.C.O. which offered real ground for solid and useful work.

In conclusion, Maulana Habibul Rahman urged the necessity for the widening of their organisation and arrying on propaganda to the masses. He hoped that soon provincial heads of the Shariat, and later on, an All-India Amir of Shariat would be elected to lead Mohammedans in the right course.

#### SECOND SITTING

The second sitting of the Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind commenced on December 24th at 2-30 p.m. Maulana Habibul Rahman of Deoband, the President-elect, arrived at 2 p.m. He was received on the station platform by Maulana Sajjad, Secretary Reception Committee, and other Reception Executive members amid loud acclamation of "Allah-o-Akbar" and followed by a number of

Ulema of Deoband who accompanied him all the way till he entered the pandal. Quazi Shah Sulaiman of Phulwari, thereupon, introducing the reverend Maulana to the audience in fitting terms proposed him to the Chair and was seconded by Maulanas Kifayatullah, Syed Suleman Nadvi, Mazharuddin Abudaood of Sind, Fazlullah of Madras and Abdulla of Egypt. The President thereupon was presented with an Aba and a badge on which was embroidered "President, Fourth Annual Session, Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind".

The Subjects Committee of the Jamiatul Ulema, consisting of about one hundred elected members, decided that standing for elections even under the condition that no oath be taken if elected, is against the Shariat of Islam and prohibited.

The Committee passed a resolution congratulating Kemal Pasha on his victories and giving him the name of the "Reformer of Khilafat".

The question as to the temporal power of the Khilafat came in for a good deal of discussion and as opinion was sharply divided, no understanding was arrived at.

The Jamiatul Ulema also decided that on the question of Councils it is forbidden as an evil by Shariat of Islam to stand for elections even on condition that the successful candidate should not take oath or sit in the Councils. This was passed in the Subjects Committee by 70 votes against four and was unanimously passed at the general body meeting. Maulana Azad Sobhani was the mover of the proposition.

At the concluding Session of the Jamiat on the 26th December six resolutions adopted by the Subjects Committee were all approved unanimously by the general meeting of Ulemas. The most important proposition passed was:

# Status of Khalifa

"That while expressing full confidence in Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Angora National Assembly, the Jamiat requested them that in future they should, along with safeguarding Turkey, Islam and Islamic nationalities from personal and bureaucratic rule, would keep intact the real prestige and power of the Khalifa as enjoined by the Shariat".

## OTHER RESOLUTIONS

# Council Entry

The Resolution regarding participation in the next general election declared it to be against the Shariat (Koranic injunctions) to stand for elections or to make efforts in that behalf even though the intention of the candidate be not to take part in Council proceedings and to refuse to take the oath. This resolution differs from that passed in November by the Executive Committee of the Jamiat in Delhi permitting election provided the oath of allegiance was not taken.

# Election of Khalifa

Acknowledging Sultan Abdul Majid as Khalifa in view of the great services of the Osman family to Islam and welcoming, as being more in conformity with the Shariat, the election of a Khalifa from the Osman family on individual merits irrespective of his being the eldest member of the Osman family.

# Hindu-Muslim Unity

Suggesting the appointment of a Joint Committee with representatives from Congress, Muslim League, Khilafat Conference and the Jamiatul Ulema to examine the causes leading to friction between different communities of India, especially Hindus and Musalmans, and suggesting means to remove so that the unity essential for the attainment of freedom be ensured.

## Felicitations to Kemal Pasha

Congratulating the Mustafa and Kemalists on their victories and presenting Mustafa Kemal Pasha, whom they termed "The great Crusader", with the title of Mujadid-i-Khilafat (saviour of Khilafat), for having given Khilafat a rebirth.

#### Maulana Azad

The Jamiat heartily accepted the services rendered by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to his faith and country and congratulated him and other Ulema and Khilafat workers on their helpless arrest and patience, and also objected to the confiscation of Maulana's written statement by the order of Bengal Government and finds it a newly invented form of religious interference.

#### Morocco

It also expressed sympathy with the Marakashi Brothers of Morocco who are fighting with the Spanish Government beneath the standard of their Sardar, Syed Abdul Karim, to obtain the freedom of their religion and country and are facing each and every danger with great perseverance and endurance.

## Selection of the Office Bearers

That an extraordinary meeting of Jamiatul Ulema-e-Hind be called at Delhi to settle the selection of the officers and the members of the Managing Committee of the Jamiat and other important matters.

# Insult of the Holy Quran

After going through the report of the Enquiry Commission of the Central Khilafat Committee, it found the details of the brutal treatment offered by the Gurkhas to the holy Quran in division Paisabagh, District Sylhet in Assam Province, which was a harsh and open insult to the Islamic religion and warned the Government that all responsibility would rest with the Government itself if any fresh troubles arose in this connection owing to its aggressive policy which was against and insulting to Islam.

# Publicity

It proposed that the proposals pertaining to the boycott

of British goods, Councils and Courts be published and distributed.

## Ameer-e-Shariat

It passed a vote of congratulation to the Jamiatul Ulema, Behar for the appointment of Ameer-e Shariat in that province and setting a leading example to others.

# Vote of Thanks

The last resolution offered grateful thanks to the President and others who had helped to make the conference such a unique success.

# - Chapter 23

# JAMIATUL ULEMA-F-HIND

#### FIFTH SESSION

Cocanada, December 29, 1923

The fifth session of the Jamiatul Ulema opened at 9 p.m. on the 29th December. The meeting continued till 1.30 a.m. Maulvi Mohammed Umar Karnauli, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates. In supporting the motion of election of Maulvi Syed Hussain Ahmad as President, Maulvi Badauni declared that the Jamiatul Ulema was a most competent body to speak on behalf of Muslims and to lead them. He declared that when Sir Syed Ahmed started the Aligarh College the Ulema opposed him because they believed that the College would do no good but much harm. The justification of the Ulema's views who at the time were considered as reactionaries was seen when the very students (Ali Brothers) who had loved that institution most took up their cudgels to break it. He declared it to be the religious duty of the Muslims to side with other communities to win freedom.

# PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MAULVI SYED HUSSAIN AHMAD

Maulvi Syed Hussain Ahmad who was one of the five who were tried at Karachi alongwith the Ali Brothers over the Ulema's Fatwa delivered a lengthy presidential address in Urdu. He first dwelt on the relation between Islam and Europe and England, and narrated how the European countries had, whenever and wherever possible been attacking Islam, depriving the

Muslim countries of their possessions, destroying their power and, beside all these, using their propaganda activities to prove to the world that the Muslims were uncivilised while they themselves were committing every uncivilised act and enslaving the Muslims. Among all European countries England, he alleged, was the worst enemy of Islam. At Sevres the Allied Powers had buried Islam and it was only Mustafa Kemal who had frustrated the evil designs of the enemies. He further declared that Turkey was left no alternative during the war except to join the Germans, and that another proof of British insincerity was that while they held out big promises to the Arabs and used them to crush Turkey they had now broken all those promises and enslaved them. The attitude of the British towards the Muslims in India was not better. The British, he declared, destroyed Indian trade, killed her industries and introduced a system of education injurious to India.

Railways, telegraphs and other systems were introduced not to benefit India but to further strengthen their hold on India and to exploit her more and more. Indians were employed in the Army only as soldiers although the officers ranks were kept open to them. The President further attacked the western civilisation which the Britishers had introduced in India with all its accompaniments of degrading moral by allowing gambling, cinematograph and theatrical performances, liquor consumption, etc. In fact, as was proved by the Karachi trial, the English Codes of Law in India were opposed to the commandments of God. The cause of all this degeneration of India and Islam was the British policy. The first and foremost duty of Muslims was to stand against the Government. The second duty in importance was to rid the holy places and Jazirat-ul-Arab of foreign control. The third duty of the Muslims of India was to work for the freedom of India, both political and religious, because unless India was free, her voice of protest against injustice in other Muslim countries would not be effective. He believed that as England derived its power from the rule of India, that power would wane the moment India was free and England would not be able to do any more mischief to Islam.

# Winning of Swaraj—A Religious Duty

It was, therefore, the religious duty of the Muslims to win Swaraj for India. Moreover, as a result of exploitation of India, a number of Muslims had become very poor and were embracing other religions which they would not have done otherwise. For political considerations also Swaraj was as essential for Muslims as for any other community. Under the present tute-lage they could neither improve their condition internally nor safeguard their interests outside or the interests of their countrymen abroad. Indeed, even if no other community worked for Swaraj the Musalmans should have to work for it.

## Hindu-Muslim Entente—A Religious Necessity

He said, Hindu-Muslim unity was vital. Islam enjoined reliance only on God. Even if after the attainment of Swarai the Hindu deserted them, they need not be afraid and should only rely on God. Moreover, as Islam required every Muslim to do his utmost to overcome his enemy, the Hindu-Muslim entente which alone could enable them to do so was religiously necessary. He fully believed that though differing in faith the communities of India could remain united on the fundamental issues. The army in India consisted of soldiers of different faiths and nationalities. When the trumpet sounded they all stood together and fought together for the common purpose but as soon as they returned from the battle-field all the soldiers separated and lived a life according to their tastes and faith. What was true in the case of the army would be true in the case of India (Applause). He emphasised that India was the motherland of the Muslims. Here they were to live and die and they must, therefore, work for Swaraj as zealously as any other community.

## The Shuddhi Movement

Referring to the Hindu Shuddhi Movement, he said that the manner in which that campaign had been carried on showed that its sponsors were the worst enemies of India. Carrying on 'Tabligh' (propagation) was their duty but propagation campaigns must keep in view that only those are to be converted who

really believed in that faith. The parties opposed to all conversions should keep certain points in view in order to avoid bitter feelings, for instance, no provocative words should be used in reference to the founders of the respective religions.

He also felt that considering the speeches and writings of its founders the Sanghatan movement would prove detrimental to the cause of Indian advance. He hoped Congress leaders would keep aloof from these two movements as the Congress was a joint political body. He urged the Mohammedans to improve their community but this must not be done with the intention of domination over the other communities.

# Khilafat Questions

He said that opinion regarding Khilafat in its relation to the Turkish republic must be postponed till all the facts were known. In fact, this would be decided by a congregation of Ulema of Islam. He repudiated the allegations made in some interested quarters that the Ulemas' Fatwa declaring it impious and against religion to enter the Councils had been issued to support Gandhi. The Congress policy, he declared, might change but the Ulema's Fatwa could not. Their opposition against Council-entry still stood and it had not been found out that many of those who were for entering the Councils to wreck them merely wanted to go there to work them and to use them for their gains.

#### RESOLUTIONS

The Jamiat passed the following resolutions:

# Angora and the Khilafat

One resolution regarding the position of the Khilafat declares full faith in the Angora Government, condemns propagandist activities of the enemies of Islam to create misunderstanding about the attitude of Angora, and deplores that even some Mohammedans have allowed themselves to be used by the enemies of Islam for this purpose. The conference asks Indian Muslims not to be disturbed because their Shariat can throw

enough light on the question of the power and position of the Khilafat. The Jamiatul Ulema expresses its conviction that the Angora Government will call a fully representative body of Islamic Ulema and leaders of all parts of the world to settle this vital question.

Maulana Ahmed Said, speaking on this resolution, said that Angora had only recently emerged from war and was busy settling its internal affairs. The Turks had assured them that they would ascertain Muslim opinion on the question. A republican form of Government and Khilafat were not incompatible. Koranic injunctions on the matter were quite clear and would enable a solution being reached. Musalmans all over the world including those in India must owe allegiance to the Khalifa whose authority over Indian Muslims would be as much as over the Turks and who should thus provide a link to unite Muslims all over the world.

# Support to Bengal Pact

The resolution on the question of Pact says that between the Indian National Pact prepared by Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai and the Bengal Pact, the latter is more equitable and more productive of helpful factors for the attainment of Swaraj. The Conference deplores the hostile attitude towards the Bengal Pact as it overlooks the requirements of a united nation and mutual agreement. The Conference appointed a committee to collect opinions, examine them and to report, keeping in view the principles of justice, toleration, preservation of rights and religious liberty. The Report is to be submitted by the end of February, and after its consideration by the Executive Committee of the Jamiatul Ulema, is to be forwarded to the Congress sub-committee. The Committee will consist of Maulana Husain Ahmed, Shabbir Ahmed, Syed Suleman, Abdul Alim, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Abdul Quadir and Mufti Kifayatullah.

Speaking on the resolution Maulana Abdul Majid declared that some Pact was essential to assuage doubts and give satisfactory assurance about the future relations between the two communities. Mr. Zama declared that Mohammedans who were at present hesitating to join the movement for freedom would

at once throw in their lot with them if a satisfactory Pact was concluded.

The Resolution was passed unanimously.

# Memorial to Mopla Martyrs

The Conference in another resolution condemned the atrocities committed on Moplas and declared the train tragedy as the darkest page in British history in India. To perpetuate the memory of Mopla Martyrs the Conference decided to raise a fitting memorial and appointed a committee for the purpose.

# Muslim Control of Holy Places

The next resolution declared that as it is essential that Jazirat-ul-Arab which included Aden should be free from non-Muslim control, Indian Muslims should work for its freedom and that as Jazirat-ul-Arab is a vital point, all Eastern nations should also work to secure its freedom.

# Swaraj and Hindu-Muslim Unity

The Conference also adopted a resolution declaring that as Swaraj depended on unity, both Hindus and Mohammedans should work together to bring about unity. The conference therefore condemned those activities which are likely to weaken the basis of unity and considered their promoters as enemies of the nation.

# Nagpur Muslims Congratulated

Another resolution passed by the conference deplored the excesses committed on Mohammedans at Nagpur and Jhansi and congratulated Mohammedans of those places on their patience and tolerance.

# Sympathy with Akalis

The Conference also passed a resolution sympathising with the Akalis and characterising as interference with religious liberties and inherent rights the order of the Government in declaring the Gurdwara Committee as an unlawful association. A Sikh speaker who was a member of the Gurdwara Committee thanked the conference and assured them of the Akalis' support in their struggle.

Among other resolutions the conference (1) condemned the shooting at Durgah in Ajmer, (2) congratulated the Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew, Maulana Hussain Ahmed and others who were tried at Karachi, (3) expressed anger at the action of Bombay Government against Maulana Hasrat Mohani and congratulated him, and (4) condemned the North Western Frontier administration in prosecuting those who took part in observing the Jazirat-ul-Arab Day.

# Chapter 24

## JAMIATUL ULEMA-E-HIND

## SPECIAL SESSION

Moradabad, January 11, 1925

The special session of the Jamiatul Ulema of 1924, unlike the previous two years, was held separately from the National Congress at Moradabad in the U.P. on the 11th January 1925.

Maulvi Abdul Hafiz, Chairman of the Reception Committee. read his welcome address in Urdu. After welcoming the delegates he mourned the death of Hafiz Mohammed Ismail, who had been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee and of Bi-Amman, whose place in the political world could not be filled by any other lady. He emphasised the necessity of maintaining a body of learned men like the Jamiat to cope with the problems mentioned in the presidential address of the late Sheikhul-Hind as well as the new ones like Council-entry, Shuddhi, Sanghatan and Irtibad. He approved of the scheme of Tanzim and asked the Jamiat to take all Muslim Wakfs under its control and spend the money realised therefrom on religious education and oriental learning for which it must draw up a comprehensive scheme and appoint a Finance Board. He denounced the British policy in Egypt which he characterised as being based on injustice and contrary to British pledges. He deprecated non-Muslim interference in Muslim religious places, and vehemently opposed Britain's policy in Hediaz and Iraq. Unless British and other non-Muslim influences in Hedjaz and Iraq were eradicated, Khilafat question could not be said to have been satisfactorily solved. He expressed satisfaction at the exile of King Hussain and welcomed Ibn Saud's summoning of the World Conference of Muslims.

With regard to the question of Hindu-Muslim unity, Maulvi Abdul Hafiz said that the success of this conference depends on its efforts to restore Hindu-Muslim relations. Difference in a country inhabited by 30 crores of persons were quite natural, but regarding arson, murder and loot as justifiable on religious grounds, he said, is based on ignorance and could not go under the cloak of religion. Ceremonies of mourning, music before the mosque, and compulsory prevention of cow slaughter were things mostly based on selfishness. Place-hunting and personal animosities are given a religious colour by narrow minded persons which were responsible for Hindu-Muslim dissensions, and for the policy of Government, which found a good opportunity for enhancing duties on salt, the appointment of the Lee Commission. the spurning of resolutions passed by the Legislative Assembly and lastly, the passing of the Bengal Ordnance by the Viceroy. In conclusion, he emphasised the necessity for the attainment of Swaraj, which was the very foundation of their national existence. He thought that a national Pact such as that prepared by Dr. Ansari and Lala Laipat Rai, or the one prepared by Mr. C. R. Das. was essential.

(The President, Maulana Abdul Mahasin Mohammed Sajjad read out some part of his address, which however, was not available in English).

# RESOLUTIONS

# British Policy Towards Egypt

Next day, January 12th, the Jamiatul Ulema discussed resolutions. Maulanas Abdul Kasim of Benares, Nazir Ahmed Khujandi and Mohammed Naim of Ludhiana discoursed on purely religious subjects. The last Maulana also spoke on resolutions on Egypt. He expressed sympathy of the Ulemas with Egyptians and condemned the British policy in Egypt which, in his opinion, was based on injustice. He declared that Government ought to realise that any wrong done to Egypt would be felt by 7.5 crores of Indian Muslims, as deeply as if the wrong had been done to themselves. The present policy would cause an awakening among Egyptians, in the same way as Jallianwala had caused among Indians.

# **Condolences**

Three resolutions expressing Ulemas' sorrow at the deaths of Saiyed Badruddin, Amir-i-Sheriat of Behar, Haji Mohammed Ismail who had been elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the present session, and Bi-Amman, were announced as having been moved by the President and passed by the Ulema.

The fourth resolution expressed the Ulemas' sorrow at the death of the son of the Amir of Afghanistan, while the fifth resolution offered congratulations to Maulana Shah Mohiuddin, on his election as Amir-i-Sheriat of Behar.

## The Kohat Riots

Maulana Daud Ghaznavi spoke on the resolution relating to the Kohat incidents and pointed out that soon after the expression of sorrow by Muslim leaders, on the happenings at Multan, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had started his Sanghatan movement, which, along with the Shuddhi movement, had dealt a blow to the cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims. which prevailed at the time of the speaker's incarceration for two years. He blamed the Government for its gross and culpable negligence and expressed himself against the Hindu move to obtain for frontier Hindus more rights than they were entitled to, because the latter must, on the basis of their numerical strength, have only 15 per cent rights. He traced the genesis of Kohat incidents to Shuddhi and Sanghatan, and said that at Kohat the Hindus had turned their homes into fortresses and provided themselves with ammunition and when Muslims were returning from the Deputy Commissioner's house, they were fired on by Hindus. Muslims could not escape except by setting fire to the houses the majority of which belonged to the Hindus and, as Hindus happened to be rich, there was considerable loss of property.

# Gulbarga Riots

Maulana Nazir Ahmed Khojandi spoke on the resolution regarding Gulbarga riots and said that the British Government,

which was setting two communities against each other in British India, had cleverly brought about the riots of Gulbarga. There could be no more just ruler than the Nizam, who had appointed Hindus as Kanungos and Patwaris in the majority of villages.

Maulana Mubarak Hussain spoke on the resolution congratulating Ibn Saud for summoning a World Conference of Muslims, and remarked that even if a dog had torn ex-King Hussain to pieces and thrown his bones outside the Holy Land, he too, would be entitled to the gratitude of Muslims. He accused Hussain of an unholy alliance with non-Muslim powers, which were out to destroy the Muslim religious centre.

# Rendition of Berar

Maulana Bashir Ahmed spoke on the resolution favouring rendition of Berar to the Nizam. Hindu-Muslim unity would not be achieved unless the Congress declared itself in favour of the rendition of Berar.

# All-India Khilafat Conference

# Chapter 25

# THE ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

**EIGHTH SESSION** 

Karachi, July 8, 1921

The eighth All-India Khilafat Conference opened at Karachi on 8th July, 1921 and continued for 3 days. Some 5,000 persons were present. Very few came from outside Sind with the exception of the Nationalist leaders. Maulvi Mohammed Sadiq, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his speech gave a lengthy recital of the well-known Khilafat grievances. Mr. Mohammed Ali, the President, delivered a lengthy Presidential address generally criticising the Government. In the course of his speech, with reference to his recent apology, he said:

"In the eyes of our enemies we are politically extinct to all intents and purposes! We have been represented by the Sircar that having apologised none is prepared to listen to us. But the wonder is that after my brother and myself made the statements at Broach I went to Bombay and I was repeatedly asked to address which however I could not do owing to other engagements. I was given a warm reception at Poona and also an address of welcome by the Municipality of Belgaum. If more evidence were needed for our undisturbed public life, Sindhis have given proof of it. If there ever were a doubt about it, it no more exists now. I shall now refer to an important matter and there is a deep secret in it. I shall begin and end with it. The degree of Government anxiety to malign us surpasses all. The cordial relations of unity between Mahatma Gandhi and ourselves are like a magic drug which cures all diseases. The Secretary of State for

India and the Vicerov have admitted it in the Montford Report. Some reactionary papers, like the "Daily Telegraph" and the "Morning Post", have repeatedly characterised the unity as an unscrupulous and unnatural alliance. Wonderful it is that a unity between master and slave should be considered natural. Regarding the so-called statement, apology, or whatever you call it. I wish to say that it was primarily meant for the public; but if mention of individual names were permissible, I declare it was meant for Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviva who entertained fears of an Afghan invasion. It was meant to set at rest the fears of the Pandit. But, as it would seem, it has unfortunately not sudceeded. But we have discharged our duty. The apology was only concerning violence in general, and not regarding any particular speeches. When copies of the speeches (complained of) were asked for, they were refused. The statement contained two things: (1) apology to you and Pandit M.M. Malaviva; (2) a declaration against violence unless the contrary is decreed in clear terms. I have given up carrying even a walking stick lest I should cause anxiety to Englishmen. The assurance that I have given is meant for all those who fear violence. Public assurance is given to all who may require it. I want you to understand that the apology is meant for you. We can never apologise to the Government.

"I have at this moment in my bag a document regarding my statement which I wish were published before I leave Sind. I have no authority to make it public. The Viceroy at a dinner in the Chelmsford Club boasted of having humiliated us. But that was a speech at 12 o'clock in the night and the intoxication was away in the morning. If the Viceroy does not agree to a joint announcement by Mahatma Gandhi and himself, the Mahatmaji would issue a separate statement and let the Viceroy then issue his own. The world will give credence to each on its merits and I know the Indian people would believe Mahatma Gandhi more than the Viceroy".

It seems that it was in view of the last statement that Government opened correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi the result of which was the issue of the "agreed statement" late in the month of July.

Mr. Mohammed Ali then reviewed at some length the British policy in the East. In concluding his speech he said that the matters to be dealt with by the conference were delicate and

required serious attention. He and his brother had pledged themselves to remain non-violent and to preach non violence, and they would respect that pledge in the face of all provocation.

## RESOLUTIONS

The following are the famous Karachi Resolutions on which the famous trial of the Ali Brothers was subsequently held:

## ALLEGIANCE TO KHALIFA

This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference declares allegiance of the Muslim population to His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey, the Commander of the Faithful, and gives him an assurance that they would not rest content until they had secured complete fulfilment of the Khilafat demands.

## CONDOLENCE (Jan Mohammed)

It records its sorrow at the death of Jan Mohammed who had led the Hijrat movement and sends its condolence to his family.

It further congratulates those workers in Sind who have undergone imprisonment in the cause of their religion and country and hopes that their efforts will meet with success.

## INTEGRITY OF KHILAFAT

This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference declares that so long as the demands of Indian Muslims regarding the integrity of the Khilafat and the preservation of the sanctity of Jazirat-ul-Arab and other holy places which are based upon their religious canons are not fulfilled, neither shall they rest in peace nor shall they leave it to the enemies of Islam; that the entire provinces of Thrace and Smyrna shall form the indissoluble components of the territories of the Turkish Sultan as they used to be before the war, and in part of them shall Muslims tolerate the influence and interference of Greek or any other power. The Muslims shall never agree to the conditions that

Allies wish to impose upon the Turkish Government, or on its military, naval and air forces, or in connection with the financial economic or judicial administration, as that would tend to interfere with the complete independence of the Khilafat and the Sultanate. This Conference calls upon local committees to make fresh declarations to the above effect so that no doubt be left as to the religious obligation of the Muslims.

## HOLY PLACES

Whereas Mesopotamia contains holy places, such as the burial places of the descendants of the Prophet and holy saints, and is in addition an integral part of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, the influence, residence or entrance of non-Muslim national without the authority of Islamic Powers is not permissible by religion, and in case a colonisation of the above character comes about, it would conflict with their holy Shariat. The Musalmans are convinced that the Armenians would take advantage of their nearness to the holy places and revive their old enmities towards Islam. This Conference therefore demands that the above country be immediately vacated.

## KHILAFAT EMISSARIES

The sixth resolution was to the effect that it permits the Central Khilafat Committees to send out emissaries to other Muslim countries to educate the people there, make them alive to their present position and promote the Islamic brotherhood.

## THE ARMY AND INDEPENDENCE

That this meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference congratulates Gazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his Government on the courage and suffering they have put up to save Islam and prays that they may be able to drive the foreigners out of Turkish territory. It further declares unlawful for any faithful to serve from to-day in the army or help or acquiesce in their recruitment. It further decides that if the British Government directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, fights the Angora Government, the Muslims of India will start civil disobedience and

establish their complete independence at the next sessions of the Indian National Congress to be held at Ahmedabad and hoist the flag of the Indian Republic.

## **PROHIBITION**

This meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference calls upon all local Khilafat Committees to devise measures to absolutely stop drinking within their districts, and congratulates the workers and volunteers of places where the liquor traffic has diminished and further commends to them to put forth their best efforts to achieve greater success.

#### REFUGEE RELIEF

That this meeting of the All-India Khilafat Conference calls upon all Provincial, District and Village Committees to put forth their last efforts to enlist a crore of Khilafat members and collect 40 lakhs of rupees to relieve the distress in Smyrna and aid the Muhajirin Relief Funds.

## SINDHIS' SUPPORT

This Conference strongly appeals to the Pirs and Zamindars of Sind to take more interest in the Khilafat movement than they had done hitherto and requests the former to command their disciples to do the same.

## REPRESSION IN FRONTIER

This Conference strongly condemns the repression inaugurated by the Government of the Frontier Province in its various districts such as Kohat and Bannu, its policy of imprisoning Khilafat workers and organizers and refusing admission to the students of the National Muslim University for collection of funds.

## FELICITATIONS TO CAVEESHER

This Conference congratulates Sardar Sardul Singh Caveesher of Lahore on the great suffering he has patiently borne in the cause of his religion and country and further condemns the mischievous attempts of the Government to create disunion among the Sikh community.

## KHADDAR

This Conference appeals to all people to take to the spinning-wheel and wear Khaddar leaving the mill-made cloth for the use of the poor, while sending out their clothes, made out of foreign articles, for the use of sufferers in Smyrna. It appeals to them to carry out effectively this new step of the Non-Cooperation programme, and secondly appeals to women to discard foreign cloth and thus remove the cause of the nation's poverty.

# THE ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

Ahmedabad, December 26, 1921

The All-India Khilafat Conference was held at Ahmedabad, in the Muslim League Pandal, on the 26th December 1921. The attendance, even from circles outside the Muslim faith, was very large, and included almost all the prominent I.N.C. leaders, Syed Ahmed Ali Alvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates in an Urdu speech deploring the present condition of India and the tyrannies she was suffering and asked the Mohammedans whether they could rest content when the Fatwas of their Religious Heads were being proscribed by the Government.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY HAKIM AJMAL KHAN

Hakim Ajmal Khan, President of the All-India Khilafat Conference, delivered his Presidential address in Urdu in which he reviewed the present political situation in the country and discussed the question of the Khilafat in the light of developments in India and the Near East. He began by saying that it was a sheer waste of time to deliver a long presidential speech and that it was futile to dwell on the different phases of the present struggle which are obvious to all. He remarked that since the last Khilafat Conference at Karachi, great changes had taken place in the European diplomacy in the Near East, and other Islamic countries had been repeatedly defeated thus bringing us nearer to our goal. If we devoted our best energies to the work, the final achievement is not far. He pointed out that Islamic

Federation in Central Asia, Caucasia, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, and, above all, the regenerated Turkey gave promise of a greater future for Islam. India on the one side and Asia Minor on the other are but two extreme links in a chain of the future Islamic federation, which are gradually but surely joining togetherall intermediate states in one great system. The present conditions in Europe clearly indicate the great possibility of the emancipation of Asia from the political bondage and economic slavery of the West. In India the work had already begun. He asked his compatriots deeply interested in the events taking place outside India to bear in mind these facts that the success of their efforts in the cause of the Khilafat was bound to help the awakening of India and that the regeneration of Asia was closely bound up with the Khilafat question, inasmuch as it was as a matter of fact the fore-runner of a general awakening of Asia. United India could not afford to ignore the developments in the Islamic world, specially because no less than seventy millions belonging to the Islamic faith form part of the Indian nation and had a share in its destiny. Afghanistan, the neighbouring Islamic country touching on our border, was already making efforts to attain complete independence which will certainly check-mate the designs of imperialistic greed and would clear the way for other Asiatic states to rise.

# Anglo-Afghan Treaty

Referring to the recent Anglo-Afghan Treaty, the President remarked that it was the first step towards a complete vindication of the natural and political honour of the Afghan. All that could possibly be said against the treaty was that it was perhaps not well-timed and that the Indian people would have approved a further postponement. But, on the whole, the treaty was an admirable and a statesman-like achievement on the part of His Majesty the Amir and his Ministers. The Afghan nation deserves to be congratulated mainly because the treaty was, if any thing, a clear guarantee of a complete independence in the near future. Along with this the recent consolidation of the Islamic States in Azerbaijan, Caucasia and Persia is as significant as the great victory of the Kemalist forces over the Greeks, which completely smashed the British diplomacy in the East and induced

France to conclude a separate treaty with Angora, thus undermining the alliance and at the same time giving an impetus to the efforts of those who stood for right and justice.

# Near Eastern Question

He described what intense efforts were being made to dissuade France from the Franco-Turk agreement and to spoil prospects of peace, but it was not too much to hope that France would not commit such a mistake because it was well-known that she was absolutely disgusted with the cross-currents of European diplomacy and the sordid machination of Allied foreign officers in her own interests and also in the interest of peace and order, and to dissociate herself from diplomatic intrigues leading to the world's difficulties. Even the French Press declared that it was so very difficult to slove the near Eastern question if only Great Britain would care to help.

The President hoped that, after all, France would not fall a victim to the intrigues of British Imperialism. It was a pity that the British ministers were found lacking in statesmanship and political foresight and relied simply on their diplomacy which only weakened the alliance, so much so, that even Italy with hardly any sympathy for the Turks and always their enemy began to turn round and join hand with the Kemalist. It would not be long before she, too, like France, concluded a separate treaty with Angora. In spite of the British efforts to camouflage the real issue by slightly revising or amending the treaty of Sevres, Great Britain could not afford to ignore the world-wide unrest which had affected adversely the prestige of the British Empire. The world now understood the diplomatic tricks which are the stock in trade of the British Imperialism. The British Ministers used to assert that they were prepared to do justice to the Turks but that they could not take any action alone and were in honour bound to respect the alliance. Now that out of the three Allied Powers France had already concluded a separate peace and Italy was actively sympathising with the Turks, who was there to oppose a complete revision of the Treaty of Sevres?

## Nationalist Movement in India

Turning to questions arising out of the Nationalist Movement in India, the President remarked that the present struggle between the bureaucracy and the people of India was a striking demonstration of brute force against moral force. The effect was very significant that was adding to the moral courage of a suffering people who were gaining in strength and vitality with every fresh exhibition of repression by the Government.

# Disorder in Bombay

Referring to the recent disorders in Bombay, the President pointed out that they were initiated mainly by a few unscrupulous and ignorant men, who were never connected with the Non-Co-operation movement. But the sad events of Bombay had a silver lining. It did ones heart good to see that throughout the country the spirit of non-violence, the basic principle of the movement, had found a place in the hearts of people, and they were found to be sufficiently trained and organised to stand any amount of repression and sufferings without giving way to violence. The true spirit had permeated the masses, and it could now be declared with great confidence that, as far as this movement was concerned the possibility of public disorder or violence hardly existed. This was the greatest guarantee of their ultimate success. Immediately after the disorders in Bombay, the bureaucracy lost its head and Lord Reading failed to grasp the situation. He took a wrong turn and precipitated further difficulties. It was an irony that the very Government who wanted to keep the Prince above politics proved to be the sole cause of placing His Royal Highness in a false and awkward position. The bureaucracy with its stage-managing wanted to utilise the Royal visit in its own way. But, in its profound wisdom, it took a false step, and to the great regret of the people of India placed the Prince in a vortex of political struggle. They tried to suppress the legitimate feelings of the people and only seceeded in intensifying the movement. Now that a full measure of repression had already been tried and prisons were full, the Viceroy came out with a concession that he was perplexed and could not understand the movement. Even now, he did not

realise that the very diagnosis on which he relied was wrong and that therefore the treatment must fail.

The Government miserably blundered, when, instead of prosecuting and banishing individual offenders, it declared all associations unlawful. This was a challenge thrown out of all national movements and activities, and nationalists could not afford to ignore it. They took it up and began to fill up the jails in an absolutely non-violent manner and spirit. It was futile, said the President, to repeat the decisions of what was happening. But it should be pointed out that even the religious tolerance of which the bureaucracy talked so much had exploded. After the Karachi Conference we knew what religious tolerance amounted to. It is, according to the official interpretation, subservient to the considerations of policy and administration. That was all.

The President then summed up with the remark that non-violence and the capacity for suffering were the two essentials. They were the key to success. Every Nationalist should consider it his duty to go to jail and to suffer for the sake of Right and Justice and should religiously observe the basic principle of non-violence.

# The Round Table Conference

Referring to the suggestions about the Round Table Conference and the speech recently delivered by Lord Ronaldshay, the President was disappointed to see that the bureaucratic notions about an unlimited prestige and power were still the guiding factor. He remarked that there were few men in the country indeed who could not be misled by the so-called conciliatory speeches which is full of futile threat and platitudes about law and order. We, too, wanted peace, but only by safe-guarding our citizen rights and national honour.

Referring to the Liberal Party and the Moderates, the President declared that recent political developments were making us all very uneasy and we should not forget that most of those belonging to the Liberal Party were honest Nationalists. Whatever their views, their motives should not be doubted. They had quite a long experience of the Reforms. Apart from those who may have joined the Government for the sake of personal gain, most of the Moderates deserve respectful attention. He said

that he had not given up all hope, and believed that sooner or later the Moderates would join hands with the nationalists. It was not right to run down honest patriots merely on account of difference of opinion or methods.

Likewise, said the President, we should have no ill-will towards the Police or the Army. They too are not beyond our hope. He next appealed to all nationalist workers to treat the policemen or soldiers with tolerance and make allowances for their weaknesses and defects.

Regarding the Mopla disorders in Malabar, the President said that he was very much grieved to see that the brave Moplas transgressed the commandments of Islam by resorting to forcible conversion. But fortunately there were only a few who had committed such misdeeds, the majority of the brave people was goaded into armed rebellion by an extremely high-handed administration. Our sympathies should be with all sufferers, whether Moplas or Hindus. In this connection he referred to the inhuman atrocities committed there under Martial Law, and the railway van tragedy. Had the Government allowed the Nationalists to enter the disturbed area, much suffering would have been prevented and he thought that peace would have been easily restored.

In the end the President appealed to the Musalmans of India to carry on the present struggle with increasing energy and fortitude, never forgetting that they must always take their stand on the bed-rock of non-violence and love and truth.

After the Presidential Address a resolution of allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey was passed, all standing.

## OTHER RESOLUTIONS

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The All-India Khilafat Conference resumed its sitting on the same evening to pass resolutions. It was resolved to appeal to all Muslims to enroll as volunteers and civilly disobey orders prohibiting public meetings, by holding such meetings, provided they were certain that there was no possibility of violence.

Before the Conference proceeded to the disobedience resolution, the mother of the Ali Brothers made a short appeal for the Angora Fund as a result of which money to the extent of several thousands was collected on the spot.

Maulvi Abdul Majid Badyuni moved the resolution which declared that, in spite of all their strenuous efforts the British Government had denied justice to the Khilafat and the Punjab, wrongs and bad, on the other hand, started a full-fledged repression by imprisoning the leaders and by declaring unlawful the peaceful associations of citizens in order to stifle legitimate and peaceful agitation; the Conference, therefore, called upon all Muslims of and above the age of 18 to join the Volunteer Corps regardless of imprisonment and death.

The conference also desired that civil disobedience, by way of holding public meetings where they were prohibited, be entered upon, provided the Provincial Congress Committee were satisfied that there was no fear of violence.

Stirring speeches were made in support of this resolution by Messrs Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Abdur Rahman, Madan Singh, Chowdhuri Rambhuj Dutt and Shrimati Gangadevi of Farrukhabad and Shrimati Jamnabai. Of these the first two speakers confessed that before the present repression was started the Non-Co-operators found themselves at their wit's end to find out such an occasion and such a ground upon which civil disobedience could be started throughout the length and breadth of this country, but they were thankful to Lord Reading's administration which through its blunders had offered a splendid and much-sought-for opportunity to fight their battle to the finish with lightning speed. At the same time, the day on which the Government of India decided on declaring the volunteers' association unlawful, they digged the grave of their own administration.

The resolution was passed with acclamation.

## CONGRATULATIONS TO KEMALISTS

Another resolution congratulating the Kemalists on their successes was also adopted without discussion.

## THE INDEPENDENCE RESOLUTION

Before the conference adjourned at eleven in the night till

the next day the President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, announced that the Subjects Committee of the Conference had, on the motion of Mr. Azad Sobhani, supported by Mr. Hasrat Mohani, by a majority resolved to ask all Mohammedans and other communities to endeavour to destroy British Imperialism and secure complete independence.

The resolution stated that whereas through the persistent policy and attitude of the British Government it cannot be expected that British Imperialism would permit the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the Islamic world to be completely free from the influence and control of non-Muslims, which means that the Khilafat cannot be secured to the extent that the Shariat demands its safety; therefore, in order to secure permanent safety of the Khilafat and the prosperity of India, it is necessary to endeavour to destroy British Imperialism. This Conference holds the view that the only way to make this effort is, for the Muslims, conjointly with other inhabitants of India, to make India completely free, and that this Conference is of opinion that Muslim opinion about Swaraj is the same, that is, complete independence, and it expects that other inhabitants of India would also hold the same point of view.

# December 27, 1921

On the Conference resuming its sitting on the second day, December 27th, 1921, a split was found to have taken place in the camp over the resolution about independence. When Mr. Hasrat Mohani was going to move his resolution declaring as their goal independence and the destruction of British Imperialism, objection was taken to its consideration by a member of the Khilafat Subjects Committee on the ground that according to their constitution no motion which contemplated a change in their creed could be taken as adopted, unless it was voted for in the Subjects Committee by a majority of two-third.

The President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, upheld this objection and ruled the independence motion out of order.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani strongly protested and pointed out that the President had disallowed a similar objection by the same member in the Subjects Committee, while he had allowed it in the open conference. He said that the President had manoeuvered to rule his motion out of order in order to stand in their way of declaring from that conference that their Swaraj meant complete independence.

The conference then passed resolutions appealing for the Angora Fund, condemning Government atrocities in Malabar, sympathising with the Moplas in their sufferings and congratulating them on their sacrifices in the cause of religion, and condemning those Moplas who were responsible for forcible conversion of the Hindus.

After the conference was over Mr. Hasrat Mohani appealed to the delegates to stay and pass his resolution. About half the number of delegates remained inside the pandal, and on being asked declared that they agreed to complete independence.

# Chapter 27

# ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

## NINTH SESSION

Gaya, December 27, 1922

The All-India Khilafat Conference opened its ninth session at 9 a.m. on 27 December in the Congress pandal under the presidency of Dr. M. A. Ansari of Delhi. Unusual interest was evinced at the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference and its decision regarding entry into Councils. The lead given by Dr. Ansari was pronouncedly against Council entry and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Dip Narain Singh, did not express any view on the question. The attendance was large and on the dais were seated many well-known Hindu and Muslim leaders of the Congress. The proceedings began as usual with recitations from the Koran.

## CHAIRMAN'S WELCOME SPEECH

Mr. Dip Narain Singh next delivered a short speech welcoming the delegates to the conference. He said that Bihar though materially poor was enormously rich in its spiritual store and ancient associations. Bihar had moreover one great lesson to impart to the whole of India. Hindu-Muslim unity had remained unshaken there and its proof could be found in the fact of his (a Hindu's) unanimous election to the Chairmanship of the Reception Committee of the Khilafat Conference. He hoped neither Mohammedans nor Hindus would lend their ear to the forces at work to divide them. He felt sure Muslims would declare that even if the Khilafat question was solved they would continue their efforts as vigorously as before in the attainment

of Swarajya (cries of yes, yes) and that the Hindus would stand by Khilafat even if Swarajya was achieved (renewed cries of yes). He pointed out that if the Khilafat was safe it was due solely to Kemal's arms, and therefore they should not give any credence to other propagandist reports regarding the separation of the temporal and spiritual powers of the Khalifa. They should not express any opinion on it even on conditional basis till they were in possession of the text of the Angora constitution containing the alleged innovation.

The speaker did not commit himself to any view regarding the Councils. He observed that whatever the decision on that question, their ranks should not be divided. Advantages of their unity were far above those to be gained by the adoption of either view on the question of Councils, if it led to disunion. He went further, and urged unity not only between the different communities of India, but also among all Asiatic nations.

Dr. M. A. Ansari next delivered his Presidential address. When the Khilafat Conference resumed its sitting next day Dr. Ansari (President) again addressed the delegates to complete his observations part of which he could not finish the day before. Speaking about Lausanne Conference Dr. Ansari objected to the Straits being handed over to the League of Nations as the League was only a garb for Great Britain which dominated it to take possession of the high waterways.

The Kemalist victories, he said, meant a great deal for Eastern nations. It was within the bounds of possibility that in her struggle for freedom India may be helped by the Turks. The Khilafat movement had created between India and other Muslim States in the Near and Middle East a bond of friendship and brotherhood which would benefit India.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF DR. M.A. ANSARI

The following is a summary of the speech which Dr. M. A. Ansari delivered as President of the 9th session of the All-India Khilafat Conference.

Dr. Ansari said the response of the people to the Khilafat movement since its inauguration was satisfactory and the movement had now become a patent factor to be reckoned with in the settlement of the world problems concerning Islam. The

attitude of Government of India and the British public towards the Khilafat question had only recently changed in favour of the Turks, but he regretted to find that the British Cabinet was still unfriendly as was proved by the retention of Lord Curzon as Foreign Secretary, and that Mr. Bonar Law had not explained the Near Eastern policy and had not pledged restoration of Palestine and Mesopotamia despite favourable British opinion regarding it. He invited the audience to compare the change in the mentality of the British Foreign Office towards the Turks from pride and prejudice to simulation and cajolery brought about by the growing power of the Kemalists. Yusuf's mission of peace on the occasion of the sitting of the Paris conference had failed. Angora's request for joining the Geneva Conference was summarily rejected and Fathi Bey's mission to London to make the best attempt to secure peace by peaceful means safeguarding the rights of the minorities met with scant courtesy at the hands of the British Government which compared unfavourably with the enthusiasm and good-will of M. Poineare. He felt gratified that the fiery statement issued by the British Government sending a fiery cross round the Dominions and Balkans met with the strong disapproval of the British public and that Mr. Lloyd George's dismissal from office was the only possible answer which a war-weary nation could give to the ex-premier's sabre-rattling. He contrasted the attitude of Great Britain with that of France and Italy and declared that Britain owed the fall of its prestige to the mistakes of its own Government.

# That Mudania Intrigue

He then dwelt with what he termed the intrigues at the Mudania Conference to deprive Kemalists of the just fruits of their great victory and the filibustering attitude of General Harrington which failed to frighten the Turks. He praised the spirit of patience and fair-mindedness shown by Turks in accepting Armistice terms in spite of their being victors and in the face of grave provocations. He termed as lie the propaganda attributing atrocities to Turks especially the burning of Smyrna, and quoted official statements of the American Relief Committee and the result of enquiry by French officials in Smyrna and Constantinople to prove that the charge lay rather on the door of the Greeks and Armenians.

#### Lausanne Conference

Referring to the Lausanne Conference the speaker greatly deplored the inability of M. Frankling Boullon to represent France owing to continued violent and evidently inspired campaign in the English press against him and his policy. Lord Curzon with his well-known anti-Turkish tendencies was dominating the Allies and therefore it would be too much to expect the conference to be swayed only by considerations of reason and justice. Muslim demands, the speaker observed, were too well-known to require any repetition. He however, uttered a warning that Musalmans would not rest unless in addition to a satisfactory settlement of the Turkish question the entire Jazirarat-ul-Arab was completely free from non-Muslim control and the Khalifa's wardenship of holy places was restored.

#### The Ex-Sultan

Dealing with the fight of the ex-Sultan Khalifa, Dr. Ansari described how Wahiduddin Effendi had been sacrificing since armistice the interest of his country and religion on sheer selfishness. He had coerced his Ministers into signing the iniquitous Treaty of Sevres and would have complacently confirmed the doom of his country and religion had not the Nationalists fled and established themselves in Angora, thereby placing the ratification of the treaty out of his reach. He had done all this for self-interest at the instance of the Allies, for he had been too weak to oppose them. Even then the Kemalists had no intention of deposing him and had to do so only when he attempted to weaken the Turkish cause at Lausanne by deciding to send another delegation from Constantinople. For his misfortunes he had to thank himself and, so far as the Musalmans of the world were concerned, his objectionable deeds were an open book to them and they did not feel sorry for him at all. The Ex-Shaikhul Islam who had declared Mustafa Kemal the saviour of Islam and Turkey as a renegade and in conjunction with whom the ex-Sultan would have had Mustafa Kemal punished with the help of the so-called Khilafat army, had also taken refuge with others in the hospitable British embassy and then in Malta. These people said the speaker, would be utilized by interested propagandists to alienate Muslim sympathies from the Kemalists, but they all know too well about the bona-fides of these persons and their sponsors or be deceived by them.

Speaking about the accession of Sultan Abdul Majid Khan and Sultan Khalifa, the speaker observed with satisfaction that the old practice chosing the Sultan Khalifa only on account of his intrinsic merits was restored. Referring to capital that had been ingeniously sought to be made out of the new Angora constitution by representing it as having separated the Sultanate from Khilafat, Dr. Ansari remarked at the outset that the news had been sent from quarters intensely interested in discrediting Kemalists. Many sensational untruths inspired from these quarters had been inflicted on them but little reliance could be put in their version of the constitution which, it was significant, had always only vague and never sent out in full. Obedience to religious injunctions by the Kemalists, as shown by their prohibition laws etc., was a guarantee that they would not go against the religious commandments. News coming from uninterested quarters, however vague, showed that the Angora constitution aimed only at making the Sultan a constitutional monarch. Although the full details of the constitution were not in their possession, yet the speaker had no doubt in his own mind that constitutional sovereignty was nearer the fact than vaticanisation of the Khalifa as given out by interested sources. The law of Islam also sanctioned the relegation of authority to Ministers by the Sultan Khalifa and a constitutional monarch was therefore strictly in accordance with the Shariat. Lord Curzon, on supposition that the constitution militated against Islamic laws, had tauntingly asked the Musalmans what they would do. The Musalmans believed the Kemalists completely loyal to religion, and they did not treat this kind of propaganda against the Kemalists seriously, but the speaker assured Lord Curzon on behalf of the Indian Musalmans, that if ever such a thing as separating the Sultanate from the Khilafat happened the Musalmans would remember their duty without a clue from him. If Turks made a mistake the Musalmans would do all to get it rectified but not with his lordship's aid. His anti-Turkish attempts at creating a division was foredoomed to failure, because the common misfortune had brought about a wonderful solidarity among Muslims all over the world. There was not a Muslim country or colony that had not shown its active sympathy for the Turks in one way or the other, and not been heartily pleased at the great success of the Kemalists. The universal rejoicings all the world over at the Kemalists victories should act. Dr. Ansari advised as a sufficient object lesson to those who fondly dream of division.

#### Congress Programme

Discussing future programme of work, Dr. Ansari urged pushing forward the constructive programme not as an end in itself but as a sure step for preparing the country to win the triple goal. He appealed to the Musalmans to concentrate their efforts in raising ten lakhs of rupees for the Khilafat fund, ten lakhs of Khilafat members, and enlisting one lakh of volunteers within the next four months.

Dealing with national education he dwelt on the foremost position of the national Muslim University of Aligarh as a seat of future Muslim culture, in free and united India. In course of two brief years though neglected to a large extent and working against tremendous odds it had already shown a record of work which any institution might justly be proud of. One need of the university was to secure immediate financial stability and he appealed for ten lakhs for the national Muslim University. He also suggested at least Rs. 20 per month to be given to the National Muslim University by every District Khilafat Committee, or a sum by every Provincial Khilafat Committee, corresponding to the number of districts in each province. Dr. Ansari recommended that in the interest of the Swadeshi movement picketting of foreign cloth shops should be started in at least all big centres.

Coming to the question of councils, the speaker emphasised the futility of contesting seats. He advocated an alternative scheme of setting up parallel polling booths during council elections, where voters sympathising with the Congress should be invited to record their votes. He described how this scheme would prove more advantageous, less costly yet more effective in boycotting the councils.

#### Indian National Pact

Emphasising absolute necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity the speaker declared his conviction that the formation of a homogeneous and United Indian nation on the founding of such unity was the essential pre-requisite for attaining Swaraj, and more than that for retaining it. He believed that real and lasting unit was impossible unless Hindus and Musalmans decided to adjust their differences in a spirit, liberal and yet absolutely frank and in a just manner. To achieve that consummation he suggested drawing up of an Indian National Pact.

It should define Swarai and have provisions made for safeguarding the rights of different communities especially of the minorities fixing up proportion of representation, of the various communities, the small minorities to get representations in excess of their populations—these to be given from Hindu and Muslim numbers. If should secure perfect freedom in religious observances of various communities and sects inhabiting India and complete respect for their religious observances and susceptibilities. It should also provide for settlement of questions leading to differences and conflicts, e.g., cow-killing, Dussehra, Moharrum and other processions, music before mosques, and shrines etc., under the terms of the Pact. Arbitration boards should be appointed in each province and district for preventing communal frictions, and arbitration in cases of disputes proposed by the Pact should be ratified by bodies representing the peoples, communities and sects of India (e.g. the Indian National Congress, Hindu Maha Sabha, Central Khilafat Committee and Jamiat-ul-Ulema etc.) together with a solemn declaration from these bodies in case of an invasion for the conquest of India by a foreign power. All the communities and sects inhabiting India would unite to resist such an invasion of the sacred soil of their motherland.

#### Pan-Asiatic Movement

Dr. Ansari next referred to the need of a pan-Asiatic movement to bring about the solidarity among the people and countries of Asia with a view to rescuing them from the political and economic bondage of Europe. He suggested that missions should be sent on behalf of India to establish friendly relation with peoples of different Asiatic countries and mission elected by the representative institutions of the people (not necessarily governments of these countries) should be invited to send their own missions to India for the same purpose. The agencies representing the peoples of India should be established in those countries which in their turn should have agencies representing their nations in India and other countries. The plenary session of the Asiatic Federation might be held at a suitable place, preferably in India, at the time of the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress. He then detailed the advantages that would accrue from this Asiatic Federation of India and the different communities comprising the Indian nation and appealed to the country to give a lead in the matter. In conclusion he appealed to the Musalmans and the other peoples of India for the speedy completion of the Angora Aeroplane fund.

(Here the President had to conclude his address as it was about 1 p.m. when the National Congress was to resume its sitting adjourned the day before).

#### RESOLUTIONS

After finishing his address Dr. Ansari put four resolutions from the Chair which were passed without discussion.

#### The New Sultan

The first of these, which was passed by all standing amidst cries of 'Allah-o-Akbar', recognised Sultan Abdul Majid as the Khalifa of Islam, particularly the Turks, on the right of election. This resolution also expressed pleasure at the restoration of the old practice of the election of Khalifa which was more in accordance with the Shariat, congratulated the Angora Assembly on the re-introduction of this practice, appreciated the services of the Turks and expressed full confidence in the belief of the Turks in religious injunctions.

#### Mahatma Gandhi

Another resolution, which was also passed by all standing, expressed heart-felt grief at the absence of Mahatma Gandhi

from their midst, thanked him for his great services in the cause of Khilafat and believed that Mohammedans would never forget that Mahatma Gandhi's imprisonment was due to articles relating to the question of Khilafat.

#### The Akalis

The third proposition moved from the chair sympathised with the Akalis in their sufferings, congratulated them on their successes, and admired the spirit of non-violence shown by them.

#### Maulana Hasrat Mohani

Appreciation of Maulana Hasrat Mohani's services in the cause of Khilafat and Non-Co-operation formed the subject of the fourth proposition put from the chair.

At this stage Seth Haji Sadiq came to the rostrum and read extracts from a letter which he stated Seth Chhotani had just then received from a friend in Switzerland. The extracts which were received with acclamation stated that one Maulvi named Musid Khwayan who belonged to the Angora deputation had stated that the Turks did not intend to separate the Khilasat from the Sultanate and the Ismat Pash had told a representative of a Muslim state that the Khilasat would be what the world of Islam desired it to be.

# Lausanne Conference

Maulvi Abdul Majid next moved the fifth resolution which declared that Musalmans would oppose all those terms of the Allied at the Lausanne Conference which either impaired the power and prestige of the Khilafat or in any way interfered with his complete independence or did not safeguard the sanctity of holy places and did not free them from non-Muslim influence or helped to place other Muslim States under non-Muslim control.

Maulvi Ali Azim Nadvi in seconding the motion said that the partition of Bengal, the Sinn Fein struggle in Ireland and the Kemalist successes all proved that the British people yielded only to violence. The Turks had won because of their sword. It was therefore only sword and strength which could in any thing force British hands. The Turks, he explained, had used sword and won, and India was using other alternative, that of strength of Non-Co-operation and she was sure to win by help of this weapon. Mr. Shivraj Narain, who supported the resolution, urged that if need be they should be prepared to go to Angora to help the Turks.

The resolution was then put and adopted.

#### Mustafa Kemal Pasha

The last resolution was moved by Abdul Majid Badauni. This resolution called Mustafa Kemal Pasha by the title of Saiful Islam and Mujahid-i-Khilafat and congratulated him on his unparalleled victories which enhanced not only the honour of Islam but also that of Asia and assured Kemal that so long as his demands were not fully met according to his wishes Musalmans of India would constitute to show him both heart felt and practical sympathy.

Maulvi Abdul Majid speaking with great warmth reminded Mohammedans that the defence of Islam was as much the duty of Indian Muslims as that of Mustafa Kemal. They had disgraced themselves in the eyes of the world by fighting the Turks and in being instrumental in bringing the end of Islam. Kemal had not only given the rebirth to Islam but also the honour of Asia, it was only now that after several centuries they realised their common brotherhood with the world of Islam outside. Seth Ahmed Haji seconded the resolution.

Maulana Fakir Allahabadi and Mr. Barucha of Bombay strongly supported the former, chastised the audience for voting on paper resolutions and doing little to put them into effect. For instance, in the resolution they pledged practical sympathy to the Kemalists. What had they done, he asked, so far to prove their practical sympathy? Had any one of them gone to Angora bodily to help the Turks? Even the Angora Aeroplane Fund had not yet completed. He urged the audience to prove their practical support by contributing to the Fund. Mr. Barucha said the victory of the Kemalists was unparalleled because of its being a triumph of spirituality over materialism and because of the complete regeneration of dying Islam in so startingly a short

time. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The Khilafat Conference then adjourned at 1 p.m. to meet again next day.

The Khilafat Conference met again on 30th December when Seth Ahmed Haji Sidiq, Secretary, Central Khilafat Committee, presented the annual report of the Committee for 1922. Details were given of funds collected for various purposes and their disposal. The report claimed real success for the Khilafat Committee, during the three years of its existence, both in the cause of Hindu-Muslim Unity and in unifying the world of Islam.

Five more resolutions were passed.

# New Khalifa

The very first of these five resolutions passed viewed with satisfaction the proposal of the Angora National Assembly, as reported by Reuter, to summon a conference representing the world of Islam to secure approval to the election of Sultan Abdul Majid as Khalifa and discuss other important questions and requested that the venue of the proposed conference be fixed at a proper place, preferably Angora, and that the Central Khilafat Committee, Bombay, be informed regarding the number of representatives of the conference and the date of its session.

# Boycott of British Goods

The second resolution passed urged the boycott of British goods. It originally appeared of the agenda in the form passed by the Khilafat Subjects Committee, whereunder it was stated that the report of the Congress Committee on boycott be awaited, but as the Congress rejected that day the resolution for boycott of British goods the Khilafat Conference passed its resolution in an amended form appointing its own sub-committee to recommend a scheme to make the boycott a success.

Abortive attempts were made by certain speakers to amend the resolution so as to do away with the proposal for a subcommittee and straightaway resolve to boycott all British goods, but Mr. Sherwani pointed out the differences between passing a resolution and acting upon it. He hoped that the name of the conference would not be discredited by the passing of the resolution in an impracticable form. A committee of experts, he said, was necessary to recommend means of making boycott effective.

#### Musalmans of Morocco

The third resolution sympathised with the oppressed Musalmans of Morocco in their struggle against Spain for freedom under the leadership of Abdul Karim.

#### M. Pickthall

The conference passed another resolution appreciating the services of the "Bombay Chronicle", and its editor Mr. M. Pickthall in the cause of the Khilafat and appealing to Mohammedans to help the "Chronicle" in every possible way.

# Aligarh University

The last resolution proposed to establish an educational fund for financing the Aligarh National Muslim University with a view to help the spread of national education and also to strengthen the position of an institution which was the first to be brought into existence by the Non-Co-operation movement and which was for Muslim education the biggest institution of the kind established in the course of the Non-Co-operation programme.

# The Lausanne Impasse

On this day considerable ferment was created in Muslim circles on receipt of the news that the British Government had ordered warships to the Near East in view of the threatened breakdown of the Lausanne Conference owing to the intransigence of Lord Curzon in respect of Mosul and other terms proposed to Angora. Crowded meetings were held in the morning and heated speeches, in which Muslims in a body resolved to sacrifice everything for the Khilafat, were made.

Next day the Khilafat Conference at its final sitting defined its attitude regarding the Lausanne Conference. It warned the Government in the following words:

#### In the Event of War

"That in the event of war with Turkey due to the unjust attitude of the Allies, particularly Britain, the Muslims of India would immediately launch Civil Disobedience with a programme which would include spreading their propaganda among the Police and the Army, stoppage of fresh recruitment, refusal to subscribe to war loans, recruitment to the Angora legion, picketting of foreign cloth and liquor shops and preventing export of foodgrains".

The Khilafat Working Committee was authorised to change or add to the programme.

Numerous speeches were delivered with great religious fervour and all proclaimed that the Musalmans of India would not hesitate to lay down their lives in the Turkish cause in the event of war. Preservation of the integrity of the Khilafat was a religious injunction and a matter of supreme importance to the entire world of Islam, which they hoped would stand by the Turks to every man.

# Otherwise, in Normal Times

In normal circumstances, the conference resolved to appeal to the country of ten lakes of rupees and fifty thousand volunteers within the next three months when the Central Khilafat Committee would advise regarding the launching of Civil Disobedience.

It was also decided to start at once an Angora Legion and a Committee consisting of Messrs Daud. Upson, Kidwai and Mazharuddin was appointed for the purpose.

Other resolutions were also passed declaring that India's struggle for liberty would benefit by making common cause with other Asiatic countries approving a Joint Committee to suggest a solution of Hindu-Muslim conflicts and sanctioning the right of self-defence recommended by the Civil Disobedience Committee.

The conference approved the appeal for the Angora Aeroplane fund and urged Mohammedans to soon subscribe to the Fund.

#### OTHER RESOLUTIONS

#### Prayers in Jail

One resolution condemned the action of jail authorities in denying prisoners freedom to observe religious practices in jail, to say Azan, for instance.

# Non-Cooperation

Another declared that Non-Co-operation was not directed against Indian States but only against the foreign Government and hoped that Indian Chiefs would allow their subjects freedom to promote Swadeshi, panchayats, national education, and the Khilafat etc., and thanked those enlightened Rulers who had already allowed their subjects freedom in the above directions

# Frontier Crimes Regulations

A third condemned the Frontier Crimes Regulations and the tyrannies perpetuated on political prisoners in the jails of the North West Frontier Provinces.

# Labour Organisation

Yet another endorsed the view of the Khilafat Civil Disobedience Committee regarding the necessity of organisation of Labour in India and attempting to propagate among them religious and political affairs.

#### Law Courts

Next resolution reaffirmed the boycott of Law Courts is made exception in case of those disputes which could not be settled by Panchayats and which involved serious issues.

## Muslims and the Congress

A resolution urged Mohammedans to take increasing interest in the Congress and appealed to the Hindus to attempt to secure proper representation of Mohammedans where it was lacking.

### Contempt of Koran

The conference condemned disrespect to the Koran shown by the Gurkha police at Kismal, Maiz, Sylhet (Assam) and the attempt of the authorities to suppress the affair and declared that the responsibility for any untoward events as the result of disrespect of the Koran would rest on the authorities.

#### Khaddar

The conference made it obligatory on all Musalmans, and particularly Khilafatists, to wear Khaddar alone which formed the essential part of Non-Co-operation.

#### National Schools

Another resolution urged boycott of Government schools and establishment of National schools, particularly introduction of the teaching of arts.

# Chapter 28

# THE ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

#### TENTH SESSION

Cocanada, December 27, 1923

The tenth All-India Khilafat Conference met at 8 a.m. in a special and spacious pandal erected for the occasion.

As soon as the conference assembled a flag, said to have been presented to the Indian Muslims by Khalifat-ul-Musalmin, was brought in procession and the whole audience rose to pay homage to it amidst cries of "Allah-o-Akbar".

The proceedings began with prayers from 'Al-Koran'. Then the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Anwarul Zaman, read his address. He wished prosperity to the Turkish Republic and urged redoubling of efforts to secure freedom of Khilafat. He deprecated Shuddhi and Sangathan movements and urged their abandonment.

Dr. Ansari then proposed Maulana Shaukat Ali to the chair in a felicitous speech seconded by Messrs Jawaharlal Nehru, Yakub Hassan and others. The President was then garlanded amidst cheers.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI

The following is the translation of Maulana Shaukat Ali's Presidential address which was delivered in Urdu at the All-India Khilafat Conference, Cocanada.

'Allah-o-Akbar'. Brothers,—It is a matter of great happiness to me that with your permission, in my capacity as President of this year's All-India Khilafat Conference held at Cocanada, I am in a position to express my views about the stupendous

work we have before us. You may be knowing that when released from the Betul jail, we Mohammed Ali and myself, both went straight to Amritsar which had become an important battlefield after the Jallianwala tragedy. You had done me the great honour of electing me as President of the Khilafat Conference in my absence this time. When I was in jail, I very much wanted that you should once more confer upon me this great honour this year also. We could not get any news from outside the jail. Nevertheless, accounts of the relaxation of efforts, and unpleasant communal disturbances did reach us from time to time. But I assure you, in spite of the iron gates of the jail and its four walls, never was I dismayed nor did I lose heart for a minute. On the contrary, I always felt that the real time of work had at last arrived. It was for this reason that I looked forward to your conferring upon me the honour of electing me your President a second time so that I might be enable to relate before you and the world at large the feelings that surged in my heart in the hope that these feelings of mine might perhaps touch the proper chord in your hearts.

"Having heard my story, they are pleased,

"I hear now that they have sent for a story-teller."

I am grateful to my dear brother and friend, Dr. Kitchlew, and also to my revered brother and companion of the Karachi jail, Pir Ghulam Mujadid Saheb, who, through some mysterious telepathic influences, divided my innermost feelings and withdrew their candidature for the Presidentship of this Conference.

I hope I can rely on your indulgence if by way of digression I avail myself of this opportunity to tell you that, after a continued experience and close companionship of almost four years I have found in my brother Saifuddin Kitchlew a sincere, honest, selfless, and undaunted and intrepid worker. Alongwith others he and I were co-Secretaries of the Central Khilafat Committee. We lived in the same room and were thrown together all the twentyfour hours of the day. In each other's constant company I had full control over all the activities and, instead of being an impediment in the way his services were at all times ungrudgingly placed at my disposal. I doubt if my own brother Mohammed Ali would have assisted me so loyally. God be thanked that even in these days of adversity, we have got amongst us men of

such stamp and calibre who command the confidence and respect not only of the Punjab but of the whole of India. This is a meagre but sincere acknowledgement of his services that I am making before you from this platform to-day. As to my revered brother Pir Ghulam Mujadid, is there any one amongst us here in this assembly to-day who, having met him once, has not carried away with him an indelible impression on his heart. of his undoubted sincerity, profound devotion, self sacrifice and true Islamic fervour? All these noble qualities were fully demonstrated in the jail at Karachi, and on coming out of the jail it gave me great pleasure to learn that the first man who gave wholehearted support to the resumption of Civil Disobedience was our brave Pir Saheb. Here is the man who, along with his hundreds of thousands of followers, will be the first to take the field and revive the old traditions of the simple and sincere Muslims of the decayed and pristine glories of Islam.

#### No Learned Sermon

Brothers, you are fully aware that I am neither a learned theologian nor can I claim to possess complete mastery of the political situation of the day. I have also no hesitation in confessing that in matters connected with the Khilafat and the Islamic world, many of my colleagues and co-workers possess greater knowledge than myself. There is however the thing which impelled me to entertain the ambition of presiding over the deliberation to-day and mentality of the generality of the Musalmans, there is not amongst my co-religionists who can claim greater knowledge than myself. I enjoy this privilege not only because I constantly came in contact with them, but also as I belong to their own class and lacking full knowledge in matters religious and secular. I unhesitatingly draw upon the learning of the Ulema on the one hand and the experience and sagacity of the political leaders on the other, and both have always ungrudingly placed their help and advice entirely at my disposal. Do not, gentlemen, therefore, expect to hear to-day a learned address replete with political wisdom and sagacity or full of minute intricacies respecting the legal and constitutional position of the Khilafat. What I will say will be the story of the sufferings of the heart of a simple-minded Musalman who profits from experience and relics on his zeal and love for Islam and trusting God jumps into the fray regardless of consequences and renders whatever service he can.

- 'Oh Bulbul, keep on crying and bewailing'
- 'Oh guest of the cage, keep on entertaining the fowler'
- 'Be it wailing, crying or heart-burning sigh'
- 'Oh thou unhappy heart, keep on doing what thou can'st.'

#### Hopes and Aspirations

Brothers, before I open to you the volumes of my hopes and aspirations regarding the work before us. I would like, with your permission, to reiterate plainly and in unequivocal terms, the views of my co-religionists to the British Government. These views are not the views of the learned and the educated section only, but they are the views of the man in the street. Also these ideas agitate the minds of every Muslim, man or woman, howsoever occupied he or she may be, at least once in 24 hours. Great Britain should clearly understand that sufferings and disasters have at last roused the Muslim world. Every fresh difficulty, hardship and calamity, every fresh plunder of a Muslim country, every fresh attempt at dissension among the faithful, no matter howsoever successful it may appear, shall have but one and only one result, -it will rouse the Muslim to a greater consciousness of their responsibilities and prepare them still better to discharge their duties as Muslim. I take back your minds to 1910 and 1911 and compare the then state of affairs with the conditions obtaining it. The years 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923 and what you see to-day is only the beginning of what is to follow Greater difficulties are still ahead. Every Muslim now understands Great Britain.

Ask any Muslim in any part of the Globe—Who is the Greatest Enemy of Islam? You will get only one reply—"Great Britain and the English Nation." I honestly and truly declare that this answer is a correct one. We are not foolish children and cannot permit any one to pull wool over our eyes. We cannot be deceived by sweet words. Thank God, we have able men amongst us who are capable of shouldering the responsibilities of the most important of the chancellories of Europe.

We are fully aware that it is due to the wrong Muslim policy of her ministers that her Empire is showing visible signs of disintegration and if our warning is not listened to the result will be nothing but wreck and ruin. It is only the beginning.

#### Attempting the Impossible

To the British Government the President said: You may hang Maulana Abul Kalam, impale Maulana Abdul Bari Sahib, crucify Maulana Abdul Majid, blow Dr. Kitchlew from the mouth of the gun, hack Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Ansari to pieces, grind Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali and their friends to dust and scatter it to the winds so that no trace of it may be found anywhere, and along with these destroy that true and religious Hindu who fought shoulder to shoulder with the Muslims in their fight for religion because he believed and believes that in the war of right and wrong it is the duty of truly religiousminded persons to side with the righteous. Nay, bury alive that brave Sardar of Hindustan in Yerrowada or light the fire and burn him alive as a martyr on the funeral pile—do all this but you cannot kill this genuine movement. All such attempts will lead to the disruption of the Empire. I request you with all respect and if it be necessary with folded hands, not to ignore or treat us with indifference after our loud and repeated protests. This attitude will not benefit you in the long run. The time will come when you will be forced to accede to our demands and your belated acceptance of them will be of no avail nor will it then help you to say that you did not know. We have told you many a time before and we repeat it once more that not all the Empires of the world, not all the wealth and treasure this earth holds, not all the kingdoms of the world, not even the choicest things this universe can boast of can hold against an inch, nay not even an atom of the holy land of Jazirat-ul-Arab and the holy places. You have therefore to revise your foreign policy and change its orientation or else under the present circumstances there can be but one course left to a Godfearing Muslim, man or woman. So long as one inch of the Jazirat-ul-Arab is under non-Muslim influence, a Muslim cannot have peace of mind. To-day looking to our disorganised condition and weakness you may laugh at my assertions. You may treat our warning with contempt, set up against us any number of our weak-hearted Muslim brethren, including some of the so-called Ulema, strangle us with the brute force at your command. But just as the Divine existence cannot be obliterated by these puerile efforts, so also this movement set on foot by His humble devotees cannot be destroyed. The Holy Koran very clearly lays down for us:

- "They entertained the intention of puffing the Light of God, while he has determined to make it perfect, no matter how much the infidels take it ill".
- "My prayer, my virtue, my life, my death, my standing, my sitting, and my every work is for my real Master, my real King and for that Master who is the owner of both the worlds and is the Creator".

We had forgotton this teaching and hence had sided with you, helped you in the war and formed two-third of the army which wrested Jerusalem from the hands of the soldiers of Islam, the brave Turks and the Khalifatul Rasool, and handed it over to you. These unfortunate Musalmans had, for the paltry sum of ten or fifteen rupees, owing to their ignorance, disregarded the divine word and struck at the very root of Islam.

# Never an Enemy

Although I was not your enemy before, now I am your enemy as well as of your Government. Believe me and don't listen to the advice of your councillors and flatterers. I pledge you that even in the heart of such flatterers comes the thought of a Prophet and of God now and then, though not daily, and would also feel sorry like me. I feel sorry for these men and my heart grieves for them. I pray to God that just as He is kind on me and on you, so also would He brighten their hearts with a light-ray that they may also join us throwing their caps in the air and shouting mad like 'Analhaq'. It is of course possible. To be hopeless of this feryour is a sin.

- 'We have never abstained from the commission of sin.'
- 'But God has never aggrieved our heart.'
- 'We tried our level best (to go to) the hell.'
- 'But Thine Kindness did not like it.'

My word may seem harsh to you but if you hear them with patience you would come to know that this is no bitter poison. On the other hand it contains the keynote of your Government and of your nationality. Mohammedans are now wide awake and the drowsiness has vanished away. Every day would see them taking long strides towards progress. Retrogression is now impossible. All the efforts of the enemies would surely prove fruitless. My God and His Koran never speaks false:

"Among the weakest houses the weakest is of a spider. All the efforts of the infidels and the heretics for deceiving the Mohammedans would be destroyed like the spider's web."

It is way my brother and my aged mother and like us many of our co-workers, are determining to enter the field in the name of God without caring a bit for life and do not take rest so long as we do not attain our aim.

'O! Curiosity be happy for some good news is coming. 'To-day the morning breeze is coming.

I can say that in my childhood the first man who has produced any effect upon my heart was an Englishman whose name I am not ashamed to mention viz. Theodore Book who has taught me and other young Mohammedans to dream the prosperity of Islam. And with it he had also taught me that there should always exist friendship between the English and the Mohammedans. Since then I and my sect lived with the English people in the play ground, clubs, meetings, and in every other thing. We have seen that after the Crimean War, either owing to the fear of Russia or for our sake Britain was considered as the friend of the Khalifa and of the Mohammedans, in 1911-12, I, with His Highness the Aga Khan, made a tour round India in the capacity of the Secretary of the Muslim University to gather a fund of thirty lakhs in order to fulfil the daily increasing conditions of the Government. I had then a great desire that the Emperor of India may press such an electric button at Delhi that the Royal Muslim University may spring up at Aligarh. For 17 years I have served in the Excise Department of the Government in the capacity of a high official. My notorious younger brother Mohammed Ali besides Aligarh, has also passed four years in the Oxford University and I know that he had great love for them. Thousands of the Mohammedans of India by becoming faithful to this Government have lost many of their own rights and of their country, and having forgotten the teachings of the Koran, enlisted themselves in the army for the sake of 15 rupees and gave proof of their fidelity in cutting the throats of their own brethren in Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Somaliland, and in every country.

After all, would it not be proper for the Government to see why this great change has come up among Mohammedans instead of sending us to jails and putting us to torture?

#### Jazirat-ul-Arab

Was it really the fault of the Mohammedans or that having taken advantage of our ignorance, they have made us to destroy our religion with our own hand? Just think over your Islamic policy. Call to-day high responsible officials—Mian Mohammed Shafi Sir Abdur Rahim, Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Nawab Sahib Chhatari, Nawab Ali Choudhri, Mr. Ghulam Husain Hedayet Ullah, Sir Habib Ullah of Madras, Ibrahim Rhamat Ullah of Bombay, and Dehlavi Sahib and ask them to tell you whether the claims of the Central Khilafat Committee are in accordance with religion true or false. It is my belief that the only answer which would be given is this that the claims about the Khilafat. the Jazirat-ul-Arab, and holy places are word by word true. The safety of the Government lies in this that as soon as it is possible would retrace its steps and repent for its mistakes with a sincere heart. Even if the inhabitants of the Jazirat-ul-Arab ask you to live there, you should then leave them, go back to your own country, and never think of that barren desert again. Here lies your safety. In 1912 when Khuddam-i-Kaba was founded and when I was working under Maulana Abdul Bari as a Secretary, I saw the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi in that connection. At the very outset in order to influence my heart he expressed his anger with me and said "When there is already Sahib Ahmar, then what is the use of Hilal Ahmar and what is this Khuddam-i-Kaba?" When in response to this question my tongue began to utter words swiftly he said, "I can't follow you as you speak so swiftly. Speak slowly."

I laughed within myself and in reply showed my tongue to him and said "This is too thick. I cannot speak slowly. It is our misfortune that you have got a bad ear and a bad tongue." Such a talk from a man dressed like myself had very sobering effect on him. He thought it better to change. After this I spoke to him plainly and said: "That land is all sand and rock lent to the Musalmans, it is dearer than the paradise itself and it was sure to prove a veritable hell to the non-Muslims casting covetous glances on it." At this he laughed heartily and said "You need not be so very anxious. We have got Australia. Canada and a number of other colonies. We are inhabitants of a cold country, what shall we do with a hot country? Why should we go there?" I said: "You are welcome to your colonies, Australia. Canada and all. We have no designs against them." But on number of such conversations and writings can have any effect. The developments which took place after this interview are known to everyone. I should once more like to inform Great Britain in plain words that if they want to be at peace with the four hundred million Musalmans of the world she should leave Jerusalem, Mesopotamia, Hedjaz, Yemen, Nejd, Syria, Palestine, in short the whole of the Jazirat-ul-Arab to the inhabitants of that land and the Musalmans at large.

Now I want to say a few words more. In 1913 I went to Deoband for the first time in order to seek the help of the Ulema of that place for re-establishing Khuddam-i-Kaba. At the time there was peace in the country. The Ulema had kept themselves away from those movements which had the slightest tinge of politics and we were not receiving from them that assistance which we deserved. The fear of the Government was very great and no one had the courage to oppose them. That was the time for work when enemies were more and friends less. It was the time for walking in the way of God.

Dear friends, continued the President, can't you recall that time when our movement was started in the beginning of 1920? Then there was no understanding, not a pie in our coffers; and no place for doing office-work. For the support to the Khilafat there were only a few men like Mian Mohammed Hajee, Jan Mohammed Chhotani and some of his friends. The mass of our people were aware of this but there was no special arrangement. Thanks to God that after Amritsar Conference, arrangements

for pecuniary help had been made. The very first contribution that came to the Khilafat Fund was by an anonymous Zamindar of the Punjab whose name they would be astonished to hear. By the grace of God our movement grew stronger and stronger day by day till the Mohammedans of all the countries began to take part in it. Moreover, two great Hindu leaders, Lokmanya Tilak and Gandhiji, who were respected by the whole country, promised to help the movement. After February Gandhiji began to take an active part so much so that he called himself a worker of the Khilafat. He used to tour round India in furtherance of Khilafat work and at last was arrested for writing an article on the Khilafat problem. I want to tell you that the Non-Co-operation movement which is now so successful and powerful, was embraced by the Mohammedans with full reliance upon God and with the advice of Mahatma Gandhi in the Hindu-Muslim Conference of Allahabad. The Government was asked to consider our claims and accept them by the last of August. At Allahabad we had not much hope of the Hindus, but at three o'clock in the night of the holy month of Ramzan, we had resolved to sacrifice our everything for fulfilling that religious duty. And we determined we would not take rest till the great God made us successful.

# Khilafat Deputation

Our deputation was doing its work and stating our claims before the Ministers of England, Italy and France. The movement spread day by day, thanks to the efforts of the Mahatma and his friends, and you would be glad to hear that as the Congress had no Fund at the time, the Khilafat Fund contributed to the expenses of Madras, Gujarat and the United Provinces Congress Committees. Finally in September the Special Congress of Calcutta made the Khilafat problem a National problem. It was again approved at the Nagpur Congress. Thousands of Mohammedans and Hindus came out to work. We were under the impression that the Government would use their discretion and not make matters worse. On the other hand, the Government spent all their efforts to check the movement. The first attack was upon the Mohammedans which resulted in the famous case of Karachi. The coming of the Prince of Wales, the

boycotting, the filling of the jails, and imprisonment of Desabandhu Das, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawahar Lal and Mahatma Gandhi were all known to the public. The work was spoiled in the absence of the workers. No worker remained. Weak-minded Mohammedans and Hindus came out in great numbers to destroy the soul-inviorating movement of liberty. No movement of the world and specially that of freedom and liberty was without its ups and downs. If they had victory to-day, tomorrow they would get defeat, but the courageous, patient and persevering nations always got victory in the long run. America fought for her freedom for six years. In the seventh year of that war, America had for her army neither clothes nor money. No one was willing to take the national notes. The soldiers were flying to their respective houses in distress. Even the Commander-in-Chief took a bribe of thirtythree-thousand pounds from England and left the country in distress. In spite of all these, in the eighth year, small groups of brave men were formed and with great courage, patience, and perseverance began to fight the English. At the end of the eighth year they turned out the English from America. The pride of the Englishmen which found expression in the Tea Party of Boston vanished away. The English are up to this time repenting for it and admit their mistake. The British committed the same mistake in the case of Ireland and were repeating it on a large scale in the case of India. If that would not be rectified, the result would be similar i.e., those who fight for truth and liberty always succeed. Let them remember the events of Karbala and see what the Abbsides had done. Now there was no trace of the Bani Umvades and their tombs. What happened in America, in the French Revolution, and in Ireland, and what was happening to-day in Egypt. If they were faithful and persevering in their efforts—which they were—they were bound to receive from God that help, which led to victory. They could now see the glimpses of it.

# The Afghan Situation

In this connection, I want to tell the Government the views of Afghans regarding the Mohammedans. The Mohammedans of Afghanistan are our brethren. It is our desire that they pass

their lives as a free, God-fearing nation. We remain happy in our house and they in theirs. Being our neighbours we are ready to help them in every way. They may do us service which they can. The former frontier policy has been proved barren. They are spoiled by giving them thousands of rupees as bribe. They are made greedy and avaracious and instead of helping them their morals are spoiled. But its last result is now known to all of us. Now the treatment of the Government with them is very cruel. For trifling things and lame excuses airships are sent there, their houses are bombarded, and their little children are killed. This brave nation bears all this and when they get opportunity they killed an Englishman, a Hindu, a Mohammedan whosoever happened to come before them and in this way they avenge themselves. Most often the Hindu and the Mohammedan soldiers are sent against them which breeds a sort of enmity with us.

In the Nagpur Khilafat Conference Mahatma Gandhi had moved a resolution which was seconded by me that His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan should not make a treaty with that Government with which we have non-co-operated; on the other hand he should make a treaty with the Hindus and the Mohammedans of India so that we may pass our days in peace in one another's neighbourhood. We are not allowed to know the events of the Frontier and neither any Hindu or Mohammedan leader is allowed to go there. To-day the western sky appears dirty which cannot be cleared by the threatenings and the ultimatums. These things have been done thousands times and thousands of rupees have been wasted and the lives of thousands of the Hindus and the Mohammedans are destroyed for nothing.

Now another method should be adopted. I am quite sure that if a commission would be appointed, if Mahatma Gandhi, Deshbandhu Das, Pandit Motilal, Lala Lajpat Rai. Maulana Abul Bari Sahib, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari, and Mohammed Ali and such other leaders go there, they would settle the matter very nicely. I am quite sure that His Majesty Amir Amanullah Khan and his subjects would try to establish friendly relations with their neighbour. Even to-day every little child of Afghanistan knows the name of and respects thegre at leader of India, to meet Mahatma Gandhi. Would that the Government take advantage of this.

We Mohammedans have explicit religious laws as well as the Fatwa of Ulema. We Mohammedans never care for life in the preservation of Islam and in the exception of its duties. I inform the Government in plain words that if they fight with our neighbour quite contrary to our wish, then they alone would be responsible for it. India would never help them in this tyrannical act. England should spend her money if she is going to fight with Afghanistan.

#### Time for Work

The present was the time for work. God, His angels, and the prophets were looking at them. Their beloved Prophet, seeing the sacrilege of the holy places and their helpless but brave attitude, was praying that the great God might give us the victory—such victory as would preserve the prestige of Sultan Abdul Majid Khan—may God perpetuate his country and his greatness—and having united the whole Islamic world at one common centre of the Khilafat, Muslims might keep the holy places and the Religion safe and free from all impure and heretic influences.

Since he came out of the jail, he had been tourning, inspecting very minutely the work of the Khilafat Committees. He found the bonds loosened but the links yet remained. He would tell the able workers of India that it was not the time for thinking, but in the words of the poet:

- 'To part with the beloved or to part with the heart,
- 'I am now thinking what to do.
- 'Stand up and make a brave dash for the last effort.
- 'How the intoxicated one is going towards the place of killing.
- 'Just see the attitude of the lover who has trifled with his life.'

He had every hope that in a few weeks the resolution and the schemes of the work which would be presented to them, would change the situation. An army of workers in the name of God would be formed. Hearing the voice of a weak, humble brother, the heart of every true Mohammedan would be affected and he would shout out: 'Anyone should see whether it is the same wretched Dagh.

'The bewailing of someone is making me restless'.

#### Allowance to Workers

Proceeding, the President said, he considered it his duty to inform them of his ideas regarding a certain matter. Before his eyes there were many workers who had denied themselves all the pleasures of the life and had spent all that they had for the cause. Now they were in great distress and wanted to retire. These men having given their whole time to the Khilafat movement did not want to accept low reward wherewith they might support their family. They had given thousands of rupees but did not want to accept low reward wherewith they might support their family. They had given thousands of rupees but did not want to take any back. He was sorry to say that the very thing on account of which they wanted to retire and which they hesitated to take from the Khilafat fund was attributed to them by some of the workers, the result of that was that those able workers were leaving the Khilafat movement. In the words of Ghalib.

'See, he is also saying that I am shameless and notorious. 'Had I been aware of this I would not have given away the effects of my house.'

He would not approve of that attitude but would ask them to remedy that defect. It was quite true that whenever any great movement was started many men of bad principles and weak ideas had joined it. Sometimes loss of money had also been incurred, but those inevitable things had to be faced, without stopping the work. Should they then close the shop of Islam simply because of some difficulties, or of some mistakes which had been exaggerated by their enemies for the detriment of their work. Should they compel the true soldiers of Islam to withdraw from the battlefield by annoying them. In his opinion the time had come when their leaders should come forward and set an example for others so that an army of soldiers might spring up.

He hoped they would excuse him if he said with pride that from the very first day to the time of his going to jail he had not spent more than rupees two thousand five hundred, which he could gather in one day's tour or in a few minutes in Bombay without any effort. He hoped that the conference would think over it and would make some suitable arrangement for the maintenance of workers in distress. Then the President paid a tribute to Maulana Hasrat Mohani and said that whenever he saw the condition of Khilafat Committees, his memory came crowding upon him. He was the bravest among us and ten years ahead of us. To-day he was happy in Yeravada Jail and might be saying to himself:

'They are killing me for the crime of your love and so there is a great noise.'

'You should also come to your roof to see this pleasant sight.'

The torture to which the Government had put Hasrat Mohani and his other friends could produce no effect upon them. His poetry was a lesson for them:

'How can we create a taste like ours in others.

'We are more tired of the disinterestedness of our companions.

'Our goal is not very far away.

'But not when we left behind our caravan.'

And for them he says:

'The highest degree of despair is also the beginning of love.

'We came again to the place whence we started.'

The Central Khilafat Committee should take in its hand the management of all those Committees which had become weak and supply the workers where needed. Some of his friends had given word to take an active part in the movement. May God crown their efforts with success.

# Khilafat Deputation

As regards the Khilafat, they had asked the Government for passports for the Deputations which they were sending to Constantinople, Angora, Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria and other Islamic countries. The Government of India had enquired the names of members of the Deputations and the routes of their journey which should be sent shortly. They could arrive at a true knowledge of conditions regarding the Khalifa only when the Deputations returned. He did not want to attack the personality of His Highness the Agha Khan or Mr. Syed Amir Ali. Those two men had great love for Islam and were serving it in their own ways. Service to Islam was not reserved for any sect. Nevertheless they should keep in mind that one thing which His Highness had told Syed Wazir Hussain, late Secretary of the Muslim League, and Mohammed Ali. Its purport was: "I cannot serve the religion, the country, and the nation so much as you, or your brother, or Mr. Gokhale is doing. These men have no other work save this. You should expect only so much help from me as the Englishmen give to their country".

That was His Highness, frank statement. Taking it into consideration he would tell His Highness that he being far away from India and not knowing thoroughly the feelings of Indian Muslims it was not proper to give opinion on any intricate problem, even though that opinion might be a right opinion.

The Khilafat Deputation, in the capacity of the representatives of the whole of India, would wait upon Khalifat-ul-Musalmin, servant of Harmain Sharifain—may God perpetuated his Kingdom and increase his prestige—and also upon Saiful Islam Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, as well as upon the brave Turks whose courage, perseverance, bravery, and ability saved Islam from a great danger.

I have every hope that one day we would be able to strengthen the Turkish Empire, the holy places and Islam and so I request you to make haste in this matter. Follow your own way in India with patience and courage and form an opinion only when you have the true knowledge of the affairs.

Fortunately, at this time, God has created some notable personages in the Islamic world. Among these the names of the Khalifat-ul-Musalmin. Servant of the Harmain, Sharifain Sultan Abdul Majid Khan, Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and His Majesty Amanullah Khan are very remarkable. From the words which the Khalifat-ul-Musalmin has uttered it follows that even in this hard time, God has created a man in the Usmania family who would not only face all these obstacles, but also would

surmount them and thereby not only save the prestige of the Khilafat but also enhance it.

God willing, our deputations would wait upon Aziz of Hedjaz, Sharifa of Mecca, and Amir Faisul and would make some satisfactory settlement with them. I, as the representative of the whole of India. Say that the love which the Mohammedans of the world have for the Arabs and Arabia cannot be cherished for any other nation of the world. The land where God has built His House, the land where our beloved Prophet began his mission, the holy land where his sacred body is interred must be naturally loved by the Mohammedans. Our love for the Turks is due to the fact that when the Arabs and other races became weak they erected an iron wall of their blood and flesh between Islam and infidelity and checked the fast approaching waves of the shoals of infidelity with the wall of their breasts and saved the religion. Still our love for the Turks is far less than that for the Arabs. We now assure our Arab brothers that we cannot see them in the position of slaves even for a moment. The holy places, Jazirat-ul-Arab, and the Hediaz are not their property but of all the Mohammedans of the world. We assure the Arabs that once the defects and groundless rumours are removed we would render them such a good service that the ray of Islam coming out of its fountain-head of guidance would illuminate the whole world. We hear that our Arab brothers are quite ignorant of religion and the worldly affairs, and that their moral condition is hopelessly bad. Ouarrelling is a common thing among them. They have become greedy of money, power, good clothes, and luscious food. Hearing all this we cannot but weep for them that the race which had taught to the world the lesson of self-sacrifice, has now so much degenerated.

We hope that our Arab brothers would not misinterpret our efforts for the establishment of the peace; but, on the other hand, making full use of the self-sacrifice of Siddiq, courage and magnanimity of Faruq, contentment of Usman, and self-satisfiedness and valour of Haider would try to make our efforts successful. They should also not remain behind any Mohammedan race of the world in the preservation of the prestige of the Khilafat and in assisting the Khilafat-ul-Rasool. May God crown our efforts with success so that we may see again the whole world illuminated with the ray of Islam.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

I consider it my duty to give you my views about the Hindu-Muslim unity. To-day we see that efforts are being made to disunite them, to destroy the Indian atmosphere in which we catch the glimpses of Swarai and liberty. No doubt those men are first class fools who for the prejudice of the few blame all and give this trifling thing undue importance. It is quite true that the untimely movement of Shuddhi and Sangathan has created such doubts and difficulties as may break the bonds of union between the Hindus and the Mohammedans. The enemies of the country and liberty took advantage of this and fanned this fire to such an extent that the weak-minded people of both the communities aggravated the malady still more. There was also another cause, viz. that even the Khilafat and the Congress worker began to fight and quarrel of trivial matters. The selfish entities in order to reclaim their past honour came out by the instigation of the Anglo-Indian papers and tried to smoother the genuine movement. Many Hindu and Mohammedan candidates for the membership of the Council began to sing songs of the social services they had rendered in order to defeat their rivals. All these things have besmirched the Indian political atmosphere. But, thank God, we now perceive signs of the victory of truth and their tactics do not seem to be successful.

"The truth has come and the untruth is vanished away, and the untruth is a thing that always declines".

Even in this difficult time, our Mohammedan community is comparatively courageous. It is why I have a complaint to make against the Mohammedans—why they have lost their temper at the untimely movement of Shuddhi. Our Arya brothers are defending their religion for a long time, and the Shuddhi is also going on. It is the duty of every man to preserve and preach his faith and religion. Our complaint is that it was not the proper time for giving momentum to this movement. It is the time for uniting together in order to face our common enemy with full force and put off our private affairs for settling at some other time. Nevertheless, even if it happened, the Mohammedans should not make so much noise and agitation. The Jamiatul Ulema which comprises Ulema of every school of thought was existing. They would have called a meeting and would have

sent a sufficient number of workers to check all this. It is quite true that just like other Anjumans it has also become weak. However, it was not becoming of the Mohammedans to quarrel in the way they have done.

Preaching of Islam is the duty of every Mohammedan. It is our ardent desire to roam in jungles, barren places, and deserts of the world and among the savages whose hearts we may illuminate with the light of Islam. But this would be done when we are not confronted with anxiety and care. I shall very politely ask all the preaching Jamiats that they should not continue with this noble work their individual aims and, having removed all the differences of opinion, they should prepare such a scheme that the work may be carried on nicely. They should also not make use of vituperation while discussing any religious question with the non-Mohammedans. Some of our brothers are so much terrified with this Shuddhi that the even go so far as to advise the giving up of the work of the Khilafat which is all the more important. I have neither fear nor anxiety about this Shuddhi movement that I should ask the Mohammedans to leave the sacred movement of the Khilafat and the holy places. Thank God, we have sufficient number of workers and contributors. All these movements may be carried on simultaneously and the aim of all is the truth. The giving up of this movement will prove our cowardice, fickle-mindedness and stupidity. Our enemies would laugh at us. We should give proof of valour, patience and perseverance, and should remain calm and quiet even in the face of the greatest obstacle. We should again gather together and each worker should search out his field of action where he should work without censuring his other coworkers.

# Need of Patience and Self-Sacrifice

I still advise you to spend all your power in the formation of a group of Mohammedans. We should strengthen our position to such an extent that we may be able to face and surmount the greatest obstacle with patience. I always ask my Mohammedan brothers to set up an example of patience, courage, and self-sacrifice. Had Mahatmaji been out of the jail, he would have taught the lesson of magnanimity to the Hindus. All that I see

to-day would never have come into existence. All this is due to our being the slaves of a foreign nation. Mahatma Gandhi had taken a leading part in establishing a remarkable union between the Hindus and the Mohammedans and all these unpleasant events which have happened in the country are due to his absence. Many selfish men came out and tried to wipe off the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and to regain their lost honour. I fervently hope that the clouds of dirt and dust would be dissipated when the Sun of Truth and Courage will shine brightly. Mahatma Gandhi has repeatedly told you that the Hindu-Muslim unity is very essential for the freedom of India. In this connection, he never used ambiguous and equivocal words. I think it very necessary to tell you about certain events which may give you an insight into the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. We all put up at a Bungalow of a Hindu Gujarati brother at Calicut in Malabar. There his family was also residing. In the night we delivered lectures before a huge crowd, which were translated to them in the Malabari language. After the meeting was over I was to go to my waiting place. Mahatma Gandhi asked me to wait. I went with him into a very big house where our Gujarati brothers and sisters were present—and I was the only Mohammedan among them. The Gujarati Hindus entertained us with great hospitality wherever we went. I have heard many lectures and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi but the one made by him that might produce a peculiar effect upon my heart. It was perhaps the answer of the objection made by the Hindu Press. He said: "Many Hindus say, 'What has become of Gandhi: he not only takes part in their (Mohammedans') religious work, becomes their guest, but also takes the Mohammedans with him and waits in the houses of the Hindus? Is he not aware that the Mohammedans pull down the temples and kill the cows? Hence it is really a folly to give place to the Mohammedans in the house of the Hindus." Mahatmaji then said in a painful tone: "Yes I like to go to their houses and wait there and I take the Mohammedans with me and wait in the houses of other Hindus. It may be possible that in the days gone-by the Hindu women might have been disgraced and the temples were destroyed by the Mohammedans. I assure the people of this type that Gandhi has not turned mad. Gandhi is a true Hindu. To-day he makes friendship with the Mohammedans and thereby protects his religion. Mohammedans are brave people, ready to sacrifice their life and wealth for the sake of religion. As compared with them the Hindus are weak. By living amidst them the Hindus to help them in their pure religious work is a social service. If the Mohammedans would succeed in having a satisfactory solution of the Khilafat problem, they would never forget the services we have rendered to them. They would have a great regard for us. The danger which the Hindus are anticipating from the Mohammedans would be averted by this help. The Hindus would no more be dishonoured, the temples would not be pulled down, and the cow-slaughter would be stopped for ever. The Mohammedans respect the Hindu women like their own. There is no deceit or trick in it. Sincere love will bring forth true reward. The two communities will live together in peace and comfort."

The speech of Mahatmaji impressed all Hindu brethren and sisters. The effect it produced in my mind was very great. In my speech I said to my Hindu brethren that Mahatmaji had shown them his sincere heart and that it would be my duty to relate this event, word by word, to every Mohammedan gathering. I shall ask them that as brave and God-fearing people they should render double service in return for this one, and that they should never forget the brave Hindus, who as our comrades jointly faced the tyrannies and torture of the Government, gave their lives, filled the jails, and who even in spite of the recent unpleasant occurrences are ready to follow the order of their brave Mahatma.

# Hindu Sacrifice for Mohammedan Cause

Now-a-days the sulphurous gases to the "German War" are blowing in the air, and a propaganda of envy and malignance is carried on, day and night. We see every day the fights between weak Hindus and the Mohammedans. It is my duty to inform the Mohammedans of the ardent desires of their true companion, sympathiser and co-worker. Mohammedans are not ungrateful, and are not cowards. To-day the intrigues have succeeded in setting the Hindus against the Mohammedans; but we are not likely to forget those brilliant services the Hindus have rendered to us. I have before my mind's eyes to faces of thousands of the Hindu men and women, which can never go out of

my mind. It would be our moral weakness if we did not thank them for their services. A very short event will serve here as a good example. In 1921, I had to take the advice of Mahatmaji regarding a certain moot point. I went to his waiting place, but he was in the bazar, busy in the collection of funds for the Gujarat Vidyapith. I began a search for him and when I reached the Juhani Bazar through the cloth market I saw there a huge crowd of men who noticing my Khilafat car began to shout and gave me way. At last I reached near Mahatmaji with great difficulty. He was sitting in the shop of a Hindu brother who gave him for national education a cheque for Rs. 1501 and put a garland round Mahatma's neck. Having seen me, that Hindu brother became very happy, threw a garland of flowers round my neck and gave a cheque for Rs. 1501 for the Khilafat. I said to him that I had not come for the collection of funds; but he said that he would contribute for the Khilafat also. The same thing happened in the second and the third shop i.e., the amount which was given to Mahatmaji was also given to me: We got each seven hundred rupees from the second shop and Rs. 151 from the third. Besides I got for the Khilafat Fund three thousand rupees more. Hence while we hear the petty complaints against the Hindus we should not forget such encouraging events. It is within my knowledge that the Mohammedans have also helped the Hindus in similar ways on different occasions. Both these communities should never let these events go into the limbs of oblivion. On account of the death of Lokamanya Tilak the 9th of August 1918 was a Hartal day. All shops and the mills of Bombay were closed. Hundreds of groups of men were singing and going at Chopati near the sea. The heads of all these men were bare. A Pathan was also going with them with his cap on. Some workmen of the mill said to him in a harsh tone, "put off your cap, it is the day of mourning". He said, "I am also mourning for Tilak Maharaj, but on these occasions we do not put off our caps." Whereupon one of the workmen hit him with a stick and he got a long, deep wound in his head. He began to laugh and smile. The police men said to him: "Make a report in the Police station so that this man may be arrested." But he said. "He is my brother and to-day has turned mad. I will never make a report of him in your police station". The next day he came to me by the Khilafat motor, and showed me his wound and related the whole story. I took him in my motor to Mahatmaji and said to him with a smile. "See my Mohammedan has got victory over your Hindus," and related to him the whole story. Mahatmaji became very happy to see such a sincere regard and true self-sacrifice and began to say, "It is quite true that you Mohammedans have won."

### Refrain from Undue Criticism

Both these communities of India should have to make hundreds of similar sacrifices and have to refrain from censure and undue criticism. At last we have to mention the good things along with the bad ones.

We have now before us many stupendous affairs to be settled. Unfortunately, we cannot settle them so long as we do not attain Swaraj, so long as the halter of slavery is round our necks. The Hindus and the Mohammedans fight for trivial things and thereby strengthen all the more the chains of slavery so that they may never get freedom from it. The most important of all these is the problem of cow-slaughter. We know well the feelings of the Hindus, but the truth is that we are quite helpless in fully solving the problem. When the revenue of the land will be in our hands, we would stop the cowslaughter and increase the number of goats by spending one or two crores of rupees so that the goat flesh may become cheap and common. In this connection, I shall ask my Hindu brethren that just as they remained patient for a long time so also may they remain a little time more. God will make a bitter arrangement. It cannot be decided by disputes and fights.

For the information of my Mohammedan brethren I have told them about the speech of Mahatma Gandhi at Calicut. Now with your permission I want to tell my Hindu brethren for their information about my own speech at Randir. Mahatma Gandhi was with me and both of us had given speeches. The zealous youths of Randir had given us welcome in their cricket pavilion. The President of the meeting had lived with Mahatma-ji in Africa. At the close of the meeting he said in a joke: "I know that Mahatma is a believer in God, and it is our wish that God may make him a perfect Mohammedan." I and several other Mohammedans did not like this. Mahatma remained quiet,

but I stood up and expressed before them the sincere feelings of a true Mohammedan. I said to him: "The best thing among the Mohammedans is to present the gift of Islam to our every non-Muslim guest. Islam is for every man but before we ask any non-Mohammedan to embrace Islam we should give proofs of our being true followers of Islam from the concrete instances of life. I now ask the President and all of you whether we Mohammedans have proved ourselves to be true followers of Islam to this Christian English Government, our Hindu brethren, or to the men of other religions. Have we not cut away the very roof of Islam for the paltry gain? Are there not thousands of Mohammedans who are proud of their service to the enemies of Islam and give proof of their meanness? How many Mohammedans are there who have sacrificed everything for the Khilafat? Before we invite any non-Muslim to embrace Islam, we should first of all make ourselves true Mohammedans and give proof of our religious fervour and strength of faith. And then thousands of men would embrace Islam without our giving any invitation to them."

# A Story

I related a story which was told to me by a flatterer of the Government and the servant of the Political Department. He was sent to Japan as a Government spy in order to get the trace of Maulvi Barkat Ullah and his companions and to find out their activities. He went also to Count Okuma, a Japanese Minister who treated him very kindly and heard patiently all his words. This man was a fluent speaker. He said: "We, the Mohammedans of India have an ardent desire that the whole of Japan would become Mohammedan." The Minister asked him: "What is the state of Islam in India?" He replied, "The condition of the Indian Mohammedans is hopelessly bad. They have no education, follow no trade, their morals are depraved, and everything is defective and bad. May God do good to the British Government which has given us comfort, saved us from bloodshed and made every arrangement for our safety and comfort. She has prepared for us many means of progress and prosperity, e.g., bridges, telegraphs, etc." When he asked him about the Arabs he said: "They are almost savages. They have no education, no art and have all the defects of the world in them. They are very greedy persons and as compared with the Mohammedans of India they are no men at all." He then asked him about the state of the Turks and got this answer from him: <sup>64</sup>Their condition is hopelessly bad. They have no management. Briberv is rife, and the Turks are full of detects." When he began to speak against Persia and Afghanistan, he did not leave even a single rag on their body wherewith they may cover their naked bodies. After all this, he said, that it was his great wish that God would bring all these countries under the sway of the British rules that the inhabitants of these countries might pass their lives in peace and happiness." Count Okuma heard all this very patiently. When his shameless story was over he said to him in an angry tone: Are you not ashamed of asking me to embrace a religion which is full of germs of slavery? No matter whether the Mohammedans are forty crores in number still, of whatever country they may be, whether of Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan or India, they are shameless and degraded. Though we are less in number, yet we have saved our freedom by fighting with those who are four times as powerful. Do you want me to give place in my country to such a religion, the teaching of which makes men slaves and nothing else? All the nations of India, Persia, Afghanistan etc., cannot be weak and cowardly; hence it appears that it is the religion which teaches slavery. It is also due to Islam that the whole country is in a bad condition. Please go away. I do not want to hear such nonsense."

# An Infamy

It is merely to make the Islam infamous that we may now ask Mahatma Gandhi, Hindu brethren, and other communities to embrace it; because we have deviated from the right path of the Islam and so are not presenting the truly beautiful picture of Islam before the world.

Dear friends: Do you know the aim of all this utterance of mine? May god give us courage, perseverance and His help so that we may sacrifice our lives for religion and be reduced to nothingness, and thereby, having given the proof of self-sacrifice, we may attain a new life. May we become true Mohammedans, and then everything is easy. All the obstacles and difficulties would vanish.

## Couplet:

'A thousand days of grief and difficulty we have passed, 'Once the fortune belt in our favour, we then have everything.'

We cannot attain our aim by chattering, boasting, and bragging. The world would not listen to us so long as we do not sacrifice ourselves for the attainment of our much-desired goal.

It is on account of the Great War and these calamities that our lives become pleasant, and that with all our sins we begin to love Islam. A new light has dawned upon our hearts. How true is it:

'In love the pleasures I got are known to me alone,

'I have also endured griefs which are known to me alone,

'My both eyes grew tired in the mosque and the temple,

'I have seen so many sights which I know alone.'

Dear friends: Do not lose courage. Our destination is very near. There is no loss in this business. Do not be tired of the present difficulties.

'Griefs and sorrows would decrease in two or four days, 'This time would also pass away in two or four days.'

I want to tell those Mohammedan brethren of mine who to please the enemies of Islam utter heart-wounding words, censure us and wish all the time for the destruction of this work, that they can do us no harm, and that this attitude of their towards us would make them notorious and simple. If they are unable to do anything, it would be much better for them to remain quiet. We are the mad intoxicated persons of Islam and so do not care at all for your abuses and censures.

# Couplet:

<sup>&#</sup>x27;They are giving me lacs of abuses,

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The interest-takers are taking interest.'

## Work with Courage

As to our brave experienced workers who are found in every part of India, I shall ask them to rely on God, and take the work of the Khilafat Committees in their hands. Begin the work with courage and every step you take must be a forward one. You will then see thousands of men responding to your calls.

### Couplet:

'When the noise of resurrection would arise from your street, 'Even from now lacs of people are ready to hear it.'

I do not lose hope even for a moment. You may complain against the Central Khilafat Committee. You may find mistakes in our work. Your quarrelling with us and refusing to help us to-day do not make us hopeless. We shall ask you in this way; for we take interest in obtaining in this way. I have every hope from God that in spite of the unpleasant events of one and a half or two years, success is near.

### Couplet:

'The bewailing of the nightingale has produced its effect, 'Take the hand, for the fowler's foot loses ground.'

It is my belief that if you and I trusting in God, gather together and work for three or four months with our full force, our efforts would surely succeed this time, and victory would run with its own legs to us.

# Couplet:

'They are coming under the pretext of a visit on I'd,

'The prayer of the night of disunion has shown this day.'

Now what should I say more? I like a Katta of Akba and with that I am finishing my story:

'Thou may remain on your own way but condemn not the nature,

'Give liberty to the legs of the sight, enchain the self-conceit, 'Though thine work may remain limited and be for thine own aim.'

- 'Take memory as your companion. Don't shut the effective door of Nature on it,
- 'Rise inwardly, check bewailing, take work of the tongue from the sight,
- 'Put your heart in zeal, don't complain, show the effect, don't make any speech,
- 'Mix in the dust, and burn in the fire. When the brick is formed, the work would continue,
- 'Don't lay the foundation and don't built on the element of these weak-hearted (people).'

#### SECOND DAY'S SITTING

#### RESOLUTIONS

On the Khilafat Conference re-assembling on the second day Maulana Shaukat Ali, President, put a resolution expressing allegiance to the Khalifa and praying for the prosperity of Islam under him. The resolution was passed by all standing, amidst shouts of Allah-o-Akbar.

#### TALES OF MOPLA SUFFERING

The President next moved a resolution for the provision for Mopla orphans and families. He said the Moplas' fight was with the Government, which had oppressed them. Thousands of Moplas had been martyred but they owed a duty, both on religious and humanitarian grounds to these brave Muslims. While conceding that some Hindus had suffered at the hands of the Moplas, he said the whole chapter was a closed book to them; but they had a duty to these brave men, and he announced that he and his brother would each provide for the maintenance of one Mopla orphan.

Mr. Abdur Rahman, a Mopla, addressing the conference alleged that Government had given out only a propagandist version and had painted the Moplas in the worst colour. He had come to appeal to the conference to help thousands of distressed families and urge the Congress Committee to enquire into the Mopla affairs.

Dr. Mahmud said, that when he went to Malabar to make

an enquiry he had hardly begun it when a Government order prohibited him. Although he was ready to disobey that order, and the brave Moplas despite their unspeakable distress had asked him to disobey the order, he would have done so but for an order of the Congress and Khilafat Committees to return; still he had collected enough materials and he could soon publish his report based on the statement of Hindu witnesses leaving aside the evidence of the Muslims.

He gave an instance of a mosque in a Mopla village bearing desecration, the result of gun shots. He was told by the Hindus of the village that the Mopla women there were shot without reason and these atrocities occurred in a village which was not rebellious. He thought that the Mopla martyrs numbered far above ten thousand and the orphans and the helpless numbered still more. He hoped such a committee would soon be sent to the Mopla's country to bring to light the atrocities committed on the Moplas.

The resolution was passed and funds were collected for the maintenance of the orphans. A number of Khilafat leaders, including Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. Ansari and others, and Begum Mohammed Ali agreed to pay for the maintenance of one Mopla orphan each.

#### THIRD DAY'S SITTING

The Khilafat Conference held its third sitting on the 30th, the important feature of which was the speech of Mr. Mohammed Ali regarding the Khilafat Funds and his justification not only for the continuance of Khilafat Committees but to strengthen them by re-organisation and appointment of paid workers who would devote their full energies to the Khilafat work.

#### RESOLUTIONS

Maulana Abdul Majid of Badaun moved:

#### KHILAFAT DEMANDS

This session of the Khilafat Conference declared that the

Khilafat demands of the Musalmans were the following: (1) Complete freedom of the Turkish Empire, (2) Restitution of Thrace, (3) Restitution of Smyrna and the coast of Asia Minor, (4) Freedom and safeguard of Jazirat-ul-Arab.

This conference recognises that the treaty of Lausanne has brought about the decision of the first three demands but the question of freedom and safeguarding of Jazirat-ul-Arab, which from the religious point of view of the Musalmans is the most important clause of the Khilafat demands, remains unaltered.

This conference, in clear terms and for the last time, declares that unless all provinces in Arabia are freed and are safe in the true sense the Islamic world will not rest in peace and shall continue the struggle with all its might.

Mr. Abdur Rahman seconding said: if Islam was to be safe its heart, Jazirat-ul-Arab, must be free from foreign control. While they would leave it to their Deputations to settle the position of Khilafat they stood for the freedom of Jazirat-ul-Arab under the Khilafat control. He drew attention towards the Akalis who, though a handful of men compared with forty crores of Musalmans, were sacrificing themselves to keep their Gurdwaras under their own management and these handful of men had won many victories against the Government.

Mr. C.R. Das advanced to the restrum amidst the shouts of Allah-o-Akbar. He held out his support for this resolution. He addressed the gathering as "comrades in the work of freedom and in the cause of Khilafat and in the Congress". His reason for supporting the motion was that he was a Hindu and because Hinduism enjoined "when the religion of your brother is oppressed by anybody it is your duty to extent your helping hand." Mr. C. R. Das mentioned that he was the first person to have urged the Congress to take up the Khilafat at Delhi in 1918. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the President, then ruled it out, but the next year, the Amritsar Congress took it up. He assured the conference that whenever their religion was attacked, true Hindus would always march with them. "There are good men and bad men amongst the Hindus as there are good and bad amongst the Mohammedans. But let not the badness of a bad man deter you from the good cause. If the cause is good it will secure the support of all good Hindus. It is good Muslims

and good Hindus who will carry your struggle to a successful issue".

Mr. Barucha counselled the Government to give up their present move and concede first the Muslim demands. He assured all communities support as regards the Frontier. He said, while individually the offenders should be punished, no war with Afghanistan would be tolerated. In case of such war the Indians would not stand by the Government.

The resolution was passed.

#### THE FOREMOST ISLAMIC DUTY

Mr. Yakub Hussain moved: "This meeting of the Khilafat Conference reaffirms its previous demands and declares on behalf of the Musalmans that the attainment of free and national Government is not only political and national, but the foremost Islamic duty. The Conference reminds the Musalmans of India that in the path of courage and freedom to suffer is their Islamic inheritance. It is, therefore, the duty of the Musalmans in this struggle for Swaraj that they should not only work shoulder to shoulder with their country—brethren but try to make an example in being ahead of their companions and remain firm in their untiring zeal and energy".

Syed Hussain Ahmed, President of the Jamiatul Ulema and Mr. Ahmed Sait supported. They pointed out that the Indians were slaves and provided a reserve for the British to enslave other communities. It, therefore, the Muslims of India wanted to save the neighbouring Muslim countries from troubles in future they must make India free and deprive England of using Indian resources to enslave other countries. The resolution was adopted.

#### HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad next moved a resolution pledging the Hindu-Muslim unity and calling upon the community to safeguard the places of worship of all communities, to show tolerance and stand against the rioters to whatever community they might belong. Maulana Azad said that leaving aside the

relations between the Hindus and the Musalmans under the Mohammedan rulers, they know that for the last 150 years of the British rule uptill 1920, not only the two communities were not united but the British had done everything to keep them apart. Uptill 1920 not a minute was spent to bring the two communities together. In 1920 their first effort was made. After three years their relations had again been strained, and he heard people declaring on that ground that the Hindu-Muslim unity was impossible to achieve. This counsel of despair was absolutely baseless and took no account of human nature. If the communities ever quarrelled, it sometimes took them five, ten or seven or fifty years to make up. That was human nature. Would they, therefore, declare that the relations between 21 crores of Hindus and seven crores of Mohammedans which had remained strained for ages will remain so for ever? Would they pass their judgment if after three years' experience some stray instances of conflict had occurred? If they did that they took no note of human nature. The time for passing judgment on Hindu-Muslim unity would come when they had worked for it for some years and even some decades. The riots that have occurred were deplorable and his resolution was intended to emphasise their obligation to attain unity.

The resolution was passed.

#### KHILAFAT FUND

Mr. Mohammed Ali next moved a resolution:

- (1) Entrusting their Working Committee with the work of re-organisation of the Khilafat Committees.
- (2) Appealing for funds both the lump-sum and regular monthly and annual donations to carry on the struggle for freedom of Jazirat-ul-Arab and of India.
- (3) To organise Khilafat volunteers under the Central Khilafat Committee which would co-operate with the Congress volunteers at length.

He said that the enemies' propaganda had been used to urge that after the Lausanne Treaty the Khilafat Committee must be closed. The Lausanne treaty gave the Turks their Swaraj but the question of Khilafat was as unsolved as ever. The Turks and the Muslims all over the world had to settle the question of Khilafat. The real Khilafat issue offering the Jazirat-ul-Arab from foreign control in obedience to the last will of their prophet was before them. Thus, the need of Khilafat organisations to-day was more than even before, and the real Khilafat issue was now before them. Mohammedans of India had first to decide whether they had any love for their Prophet's injunctions or not. If they had, their duty was clear. He admitted that Khilafat funds had not been well-managed but his wonder was that considering the strenuous struggle they were engaged inwhen no one knew whether he would be inside the jail or outhis wonder was that the funds had not been more badly managed. Was this peculiar to them, he asked? During the war this Government with its vast machinery could not prevent huge frauds. Once, give thousand razors were not all supplied, although no less than twenty-two big officers had signed that it had been delivered. Again, a contractor was paid eight times a bill for khaki uniforms without supplying them once. It therefore, during war such callous waste and mismanagement had occurred even under the Government, what wonder was there that during the Khilafat struggle when workers were changing almost hourly such mismanagement had occurred? Some had said, why was the Khilafat fund kept with Seth Chhotani and why not in a Bank? Why should Seth Chhotani have used it for his purpose? He must say that Seth Chhotani was one of the finest men who subscribed to the Khilafat fund. They did not put the fund in a Bank because they might have been deprived of it, and what was there to prevent a Bank to close just as the Alliance Bank went into liquidation. He further pointed out that Banks also use for other purposes money deposited with them.

They however hoped to realise from Seth Chhotani or from his mills the money he owned to the committee. But even if all the sixteen lakhs were lost, would they refuse to give any more money for freeing their holy places? Supposing he had sent two hundred rupees towards the doctor's bill because of the illness of his daughter, and if that money was lost by the messenger carrying it to her, he would send the money again if he had love for his daughter. That was what they had to keep in view. If they loved their Prophet they must give funds for that purpose.

He was sure that better management would be achieved in future. They must also make up their mind that if they wanted the Khilafat struggle to be brought to a successful issue, they must have workers and pay them living wages out of the Khilafat funds and must look after their families when they went to jails. As for himself and his brother, they had been called robbers by the 'Times of India'. The Britishers came as traders to India and if he was a robber, he was following the footsteps of his King's Government but he wanted to point out that his family was being maintained by a lover of Khilafat. Their Khaddar clothes did not cost much and their home, built age ago by their grandfather, was falling into decay while others with them had built big bungalows. What were he and his brother then doing with money? Were they digging it underground? He had love for his Prophet and had given himself to God's cause. If they did not trust him, they could appoint another man, but if they had love for the cause and wanted workers, they must give bare living to those who led and participated in the campaign of sacrifice.

As a result of this speech money was subscribed liberally to the Khilafat fund.

Dr. Kitchlew said that the Akalis were fighting for the restoration of the Maharaja of Nabha, because one of their Gurus had told an ancestor of the Maharaja that the Maharaja's home was also the Guru's home. To fulfil that pledge of the Guru, the Akalis were standing to every man to restore the Maharaja to his Gaddi. Must not the Mohammedans to the same to carry out the last will of no less an authority than their Prophet? He pointed out that the Arya Samaj was keeping paid workers to propagate its mission. Similarly the Khilafat workers should be appointed.

The resolution was then adopted.

# FOURTH DAY'S SITTING Cocanada, January 1, 1924

The Khilafat Conference concluded its session on January 1st late in the night. Some of the most important resolutions of

this session were passed on this day. The following are important resolutions:

#### INDIAN NATIONAL PACT

This meeting of the Khilafat Conference accepts the following fundamental principles of the Indian National Pact and the Bengal Pact:

- (1) Representation on the basis of population.
- (2) Protection of the rights of minorities.
- (3) Toleration between the different communities of India, and
- (4) Full religious and communal freedom.

It is resolved that the Khilafat Committees all over India and other Islamic institutions should give their full consideration to both the Pacts and should forward their suggestions on the details of the Indian National Pact through the Provincial Khilafat Committees to the undermentioned sub-committees appointed for the purpose, and which will submit their report to the Central Khilafat Committee by the 31st March, 1924—

- (1) Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, (2) Maulana Abul Sadir Sahib,
- (3) T.A.K. Sherwani, and (4) Sahib Qureshi (Convener).

#### FREEDOM OF JAZIRAT-UL-ARAB

This conference reiterates its former decisions and lays down in the clearest terms the demands of the Indian Musalmans regarding Arabia and the Arabs. It declares on behalf of the Musalmans of India that they do not for a moment desire the people of Jazirat-ul-Arab to be under any foreign Government even if it be that of a Muslim Power. The freedom of the Arabs, their advancement and national honour is much dearer to the Musalmans of India than of other Islamic countries. The purpose of the present struggle is therefore to make the Arabs free and safe from foreign control and domination, and that while maintaining their internal freedom the Arabs should keep themselves bound up with the Central Islamic Khilafat according to the National and religious tenets of Islam. It is however essential that Harmain-i-Sharifain should be under the direct control

of Khalifat-ul-Muslimin for, according to Islamic Shariat, the control and management of pilgrimage is the sole right of Khalifat-ul-Muslimin alone.

#### SWARAJ AND ISLAMIC DUTY

This meeting reaffirms its previous demands and declares on behalf of Musalmans that the attainment of free and national government is not only a political and national but a foremost Islamic duty. This conference reminds the Musalmans of India that to suffer in the path of courage and freedom is their Islamic inheritance. It is therefore the duty of Musalmans that in the struggle for Swaraj they should not only work shoulder to shoulder with their countrymen and brethren but try to make an example in being ahead of them and remain firm in their untiring zeal and energy.

#### MUSLIM NATIONAL EDUCATION

Another resolution called upon Indian Musalmans to give their immediate and serious attention to all national educational institutions generally and particularly the National Muslim University of Aligarh. If the Musalmans of India did not give their full and generous help, both moral and monetary, then not only would the existence of the present national institution be imperilled but also the aim of national education would be jeopardised for a long time.

# Chapter 29

# THE ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

Calcutta, March 19, 1924

On March 19th the Khilafat Conference was opened in Calcutta in the Halliday Park with Maulana Mohammed Ali as the President. Delegates attended from all over India. The conference lasted for 3 days. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Maulana Abdur Rauf, in the course of his Urdu address deplored the action of the Turks and suggested that a conference of the whole Muslim world should at once be held either in Egypt or in Persia to settle the question of the Khilafat.

The President, Mr. Mohammed Ali, gave a historical resume of the Khilafat movement during the past five years and laid bare the position of Indian Musalmans. Regarding their support of the Turks during the war which had been adversely criticised in Angora, he said:

'Circumstanced as we were, it was not possible for us in India to render any military assistance to our Turkish brethren and since the Government was hostile to our aspirations towards religious solidarity, the richer men in the community, who have mostly been lacking in courage where Government is concerned, could not assist the Turkish brethren with funds, so that it was only the poor who could assist them even with money. But everything that was possible for a subject nation to do was being done by us, and the contributions of Indian Musalmans in money, although not great enough to provide munitions of war to continue the fight for any considerable length of time, indicated our moral support, and the pressure that we brought upon the Government could not be considered unappreciable. No one can accuse me of overrating the contribution of India to Turkish success, in war or in diplomacy, because I have always

said that in the main the battle was fought and won by our Turkish brethren alone. But whether our own contribution was in effect great or small, there can not be the least doubt of our true, heart-felt sympathy with the cause of the Khilafat.'

## Treaty of Lausanne

'When the Treaty of Lausanne was signed two things remained for us to do. One was the restoration of the Jazirat-ul-Arab through the Musalmans and the Khilafat. And the other was the re-establishment of the Khilafat itself on a firm democratic basis with a representative council of the Musalmans of the world to assist the Khilafat in its great task which had been neglected for generations past but which we could not afford to neglect any longer if we are to save the Khilafat from repeated attacks by non-Muslims and save Islam itself from internal decadence.'

After discussing the question of restoring the holy lands the Maulana referred to the present position of the Khilafat and said:

'It was decided that delegations should go from India to Angora and Constantinople as well as to the Hedjaz and Najd. Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine had arrived at a common understanding with our Muslim brethren abroad with regard to the future of the Khilafat. The most disquieting feature of the situation with regard to this was that indications were not wanting that many of the Turks who had been educated in Europe had lost a good deal of Islamic spirituality and were heedlessly rushing into the materialism of Europe.

To-day we are face to face with the fact that the Island of Arabia is still in non-Muslim hands and that we cannot rely upon the rulers set up by England in portions of that island to assist in freeing our holy land from non-Muslim domination and control and that the very champions of the Turkish Khilafat are alleged to have discontinued their four-centuries old connections with that Khilafat. It may seem that we are more Arab than the Arabs and more Turkish than the Turks but if our Islamic obligations are understood it will be apparent that all that we are Muslims. As Muslims were who are not Arabs cannot let the Arabs hand over the dominion over the Island of Arabia

to non-Muslims and as Muslims, once more we cannot countenance a section of the Turkish nation disconnecting its national Government from the Khilafat.

Proceeding to expound the Khilafat policy as he understood it, Maulana Mohammed Ali said:

Islam, as preached and practised by the last of the prophets, was the culmination of all prophecy. Musalmans are to preach this faith to mankind and to persuade the world to conform to the tenets of Islam, and since practice is essential for faith and mere belief is not sufficient, there must be an organisation which should see that freedom to preach as well as to profess is preserved and there must be at least a part of God's earth where our professions should be practised without any let or hindrance.

The Khilafat is such an organisation with the Khalifa as the personal centre and the Jazirat-ul-Arab as its local centre. Every Musalman is a soldier in God's peace-loving army and the Khilafat is the Commander of the Faithful and the Generalism of that army. That army was about to be crushed and its chief commander was to have been retained as a captive but our Turkish brethren by their sacrifices saved Islam from this disaster. The citadel of Islam, however, where even a beaten army would take refuge and prepare for recommencing hostilities, is in the enemy's hands and until and unless we restore the Jazirat-ul-Arab to the Khalifa our victory is incomplete and our future is insecure. But the reported action of some of our Turkish brethren with regard to the Khilafat would mean that the largest section of God's army refuses to serve God and to realise his kingdom on earth and this disaster would be far greater for the Musalmans of the world than anything that had hitherto happened. It is true that for generations past the Khilafat has not been functioning properly and effectively as we told our Turkish brethren in our cable to them recently. But the revival of the Khilafat is to-day, as it has always been, our ideal and the moment we cease to retain that as our ideal we cease to be Muslims as well.

# Europe's Darkest Hour

Materialism is at its height to-day in Europe so much so that

even some of the governing classes in Turkey do not seem to have escaped it, but there are not wanting unmistakable signs to indicate that this is Europe's darkest hour before dawn and that the dawn itself will not any longer be delayed. Men like Mr. H.G. Wells have given expression to their own faith which they call modern, and but for a few remnants of their early upbringings as Christians and of their more recent materialism and overweaning confidence in their own knowledge their modern faith is no other than the most ancient faith of Islam, the genesis of which forms repeatedly a chapter of the Koran. It is nothing but the recognition of the sole sovereignty of God, the resignation of the human to the divine will or rather the realisation of the identity of the human with the divine purpose of life which is summed up in the well known creed of Islam: 'There is no God but God.' For a world so situated it will be the greatest disaster if any section of Musalmans discard the ancient faith of Islam and instead of re-organising the institution of Khilafat with a world-wide brotherhood above all national rancour and ill-will and with the ideal of dethroning War and substituting Peace decides to discontinue that institution itself.

The President next dealt with question of the Khilafat activity so far as it concerned Government and emphasised that the restoration of the Jazirat-ul-Arab and necessary before Indian Musalmans as Khilafatists could make their peace with Government.

#### Maulana Sahid Hossain Ahmad

On the conference meeting the next day Maulana Sahid Hossain Ahmad, an ex-president of the Khilafat Conference, gave a religious exposition of the Khilafat, and in the course of a long Urdu speech said:

The prophet has said that the best kind of jehad is to speak the truth to an oppressive king. In India where to raise a voice in defence of the Khilafat is a heinous crime, still the Muslims have not budged an inch. They have done the best of jehad. In the teeth of all oppression by Government they have helped the Turks with money and moral support.

### Shuddhi and Cow-Killing

Referring to the counter-meeting of other Muslims under the inspiration of the Bengal Ministers and Europeans who wanted to create a split amongst the Congress-Khilafat Party, he said: The traitors are trying to destroy the Khilafat and eradicate its very spirit from the world. A meeting of Muslims, apparently called by the ministers, was held day before yesterday on the Maidan, to consider Shuddhi, Sanghatan, cow-killing and the other problems. The real motive underlying was to create discord between Hindus and Muslims. But, I ask, why no action has been taken against the Christian missionaries who are daily converting thousands to Christianity?

When in Mecca, I enquired of Shariff Hossein if he ever aspired to be independent and to revolt against the authority of the Turks. Shariff Hossein, in the Khair-Kaaba, Swore by God that he had no such intention. But to-day we find his son trying to secure for his father the high post of Khalifa of the Muslim World. The Khilafat has been divided into two. One is the Khilafat that has been given by the sons of Adam, whether Indian or European, Muslim, or Christian or Hindu. It is asked by some of our brothers how a man can be the Khalifa of God, but I beg to say that if a man can be the son of God, why cannot he be his vice-regent on earth.

# Khilafat Khassa

Khilafat Khassa (special) is given to one person, who is enjoined to see to the peace of the world and see that people put under his care carry out the commandments of God. But this Khilafat must be like the Papal authority which is impotent and thrives on the sufferance of the people but has no power to punish even as ordinary thief. To keep up the splendour of Islam, to make provision for the administration of the State, and take up arms in defence of religion and country is the duty of the Khalifa Khassa.

We all know what Sharif Hossein has done and we know that he cannot as a consequence rightfully claim the Khilafat. So long as the Arabs were true, the whole Muslim World sided with them, but now, when they have broken the traditions of the Prophet, they cannot command, and rightfully claim, obedience from the Muslims. Because the Turks have so long been carrying out the onerous duties of the Khalifa very justly, the Khilafat naturally remained with the Turks for six centuries. One and only one person can be a Khalifa at a time, and there is a 'Hadeth' of the Prophet to the effect that if in the lifetime of one Caliph another claims it, and has got himself declared, then the second one should be killed.

#### A Democratic Institution

The Khilafat is not a personal property. It is an essentially democratic institution. The acid test as to any person's claim to the office of the Caliph is whether the claimant is a fit person for it, according to democratic principles. If a man is elected by the representatives of the people to be the Caliph, he is to be regarded as such. Similarly if by the concensus of opinion of the elected representatives of the people the Caliph is found wanting, he may be deposed. It is said that the Caliph must be elected by all the Muslims, but this is impossible and impracticable as all Muslims cannot gather at one time and place for recording their opinion. Grave responsibilities are attached to the post of the Caliph and perhaps it has not always been possible for the latter Caliphs of the House of Ottoman to acquit themselves well.

It is said that the Indian Muslims have so long been fighting for the Khilafat and the Turks, but to-day those very Turks for whom they have been agitating have abolished this institution. We were fighting against the dismemberment of the Khilafat and against the enemies of Islam who were trying their best to bring about the destruction of Turkey. The history of Afghanistan will show you the intention of the English to destroy all Islamic States. So long as Russia was strong and a menace of India, England tried her best to maintain Afghanistan as a strong power, for as a buffer state between Russia and India, she would best serve England's interests. But to-day when the menace to India from Russia is eliminated, we find the British at once pouncing upon Afghanistan and trying to bring it under her subjugation.

Europe has for long been trying to alienate the Indian

Muslims from the Turks. In the internal administration of Turkey we should not interfere, and without knowing the real situation we should not be carried away by the news spread through the agency of enemy propagandist.

Referring to the sudden exhibition of solicitous concern of Anglo-Indian journals for the deposed Khalifa the Maulana said: The very papers who not long ago were abusing the Khilafat propaganda here are now coming out with long pitiable tales of the danger to Islam from the abolition of the Khilafat by the Turks. You should understand the real motive of this propaganda. People like Mr. Ghuznavi and others, who had never joined the Khilafat before, are now giving advice gratis to the people to accept Shariff Hossein as Caliph. To me Shaukat Ali is a thousand times better qualified man for the post of Caliph than Shariff Hossein. The Arabs have neither railway, nor posts, nor telegraphs, nor are they economically self-sufficient. How then can such a person as Shariff Hossein claim the Khilafat for himself? After all this, I must tell you that the Turks are the only people fit to be the guardians of Islam and the dignity of the Caliph".

The speaker then appealed to the Muslims for contributions to keep us the Khilafat to its old glory.

#### RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were adopted at the second and third day's sitting of the conference on the 20th and 21st March last:

#### THE TURKISH REPUBLIC AND THE KHILAFAT

The Calcutta Khilafat Conference earnestly invites the attention of the Musalmans of India in particular and the Musalmans of the world in general to the delicate situation created by the declaration of the Turkish Republic with regard to the Khilafat. This conference believes that the crisis which has so unexpectedly arisen is a severe trial of their judgment and prudence and of their unity of thought and action, and that undue haste and precipitancy are as likely to produce dangerous results as undue delay and neglect. This conference considers it

essential that Musalmans should act with patience and prudence instead of becoming unduly excited and permitting themselves to be too readily influenced, and that the views and objects of the men in authority at Angora which are not yet clear and need further elucidation should first be ascertained beyond a shadow of doubt and in full detail. This conference declares its approval of the representation jointly cabled by the Central Khilafat Committee and the Jamiatul Ulema to Angora and appeals to all Musalmans that until and unless a conclusive results of these communications is arrived at, they will abstain from forming a final opinion and they will refrain from doing anything likely to disturb unity and jeopardise the solidarity of the Musalmans of the world.

#### THE JAZIRAT-UL-ARAB

The Calcutta Khilafat Conference proclaims that according to Islamic injunctions, it is the religious and national duty of the Musalmans of the entire world, at all times and in all circumstances, to keep the Jazirat-ul-Arab free from every form of alien and non-Muslim influences and domination. This conference, therefore, declares that so long as the Jazirat-ul-Arab is not completely freed from such influences dominating, it will remain the religious and national duty of the Musalmans of India to continue to use all possible means to attain this object and that the situation that has recently arisen with regard to the Khilafat question does not in the least affect their duty whether judged by the canons of Islamic law and those of sound policy.

#### SHARIFF HOSSEIN CONDEMNED

The Calcutta Khilafat Conference expresses its regret and anxiety with regard to the declaration in certain circles in Palestine concerning the declaration of the-assumption of the office of Khalifa by Shariff Hossein and declares on behalf of Indian Musalmans that they are not prepared to accept any action taken by a particular group or country without consultation with the Musalmans of the entire world.

#### THE INSTITUTION OF THE KHILAFAT

The Calcutta Khilafat Conference confidently declares that Islamic Khilafat signifies Islamic Government, the object of which is the defence of Islam and of the Muslim community and the head of this Government is the Khalifa and he is called the Chief of the Faithful. At present when all other Islamic Governments have ceased to exist and only a few scattered Muslim states remain, existence of Islamic Khilafat means that the Islamic Government which is the strongest in all the Islamic world and possesses amongst them the greatest degree of temporal power for the championship and protection of the Muslim community and the Islamic Shariat and is eager to undertake it, is accepted as the Central Islamic Government. Since, at present the Turkish Government possesses these qualifications in a greater measure than other Islamic Governments, naturally it is the only one that deserves to retain this central position. This conference declares that if the men in authority in the present Turkish Government desire to follow a course which is apprehended to be prejudicial to this acceptability of the Turkish Government, then it is the duty of the Muslims of the world to invite the attention of the Turkish brothers to the necessity of the reformation and to take all possible steps in this behalf. Musalmans of India trust that Muslims of the world will co-operate with them in this great endeavour and will concentrate their efforts at the present juncture in the furtherance of this object.

# THE DRAFT HINDU-MUSLIM PACT

The Calcutta Khilafat Conference fully supports the draft Hindu-Muslim Pact which the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee and the Bengal Provincial Khilafat Committee have after joint consultation and deliberation adopted. This conference however desires to elucidate the fact that in determining the communal shares in representation and other privileges in this pact, it is not intended that effect should be given to this distribution of shares by means of any measure to be adopted by the existing legislature or through the instrumentality of the present bureaucratic Government. This conference declares that all that is intended is that a clear and satisfactory decision

should be placed before the country with regard to the representative and other privileges of Hindus and Musalmans respectively, to which the future national Government of India would give effect when it is established. This conference, therefore, views with great disfavour the regrettable efforts which some Musalmans of the Bengal Legislative Council have made with regard to this distribution of communal shares in that Council and for which they have attempted to seek authority in the Bengal Hindu-Muslim Pact.

# Chapter 30

# THE ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT WORKING COMMITTEE

Bombay, May 10, 1924

#### MAULANA SHAUKAT ALI'S STATEMENT

An important meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Khilafat Conference was held in Bombay on May 10, 1924 to consider, among other things, the situation created by Angora's decision regarding the Khilafat and the future of the Khilafat organisation in India. In this connection Maulana Shaukat Ali, the President, issued the following statement:

"All the members of the Committee present agreed that it was essential that the people in power at Angora should be convinced of the necessity of maintaining the Turkish connection with the Khilafat, which should remain, as it was designed at the very outset, to be of a world-wide character, not confined to the national concerns of any group of Musalmans only, but responsible for the religious commonwealth of the entire Islamic world. The Working Committee considered it equally essential that a Delegation of Indian Musalmans should proceed to Turkey to counter with their Turkish brethren in order to remove such misunderstandings as may have interfered with a settlement of the Khilafat question which could be consistent alike with the exigencies of the Turkish National situation and with the Shariat of Islam.

# Delegation to Turkey

"While recording its protest against the refusal of the Government of India to issue passports to all the members of all the

various Khilafat Delegations for which passports were asked, the Committee decided to postpone for the present the sending of all other delegations and to select only the personnel of the one delegation which was to visit Turkey. This was selected out of the personnel of the several delegations selected at Cocanada for visiting various Muslim States by excluding these members against whom the Government of India had formulated grounds of exclusion, and including some others against whom no such bar existed. The list thus prepared includes Dr. Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Messrs Sherwani and Pickthall, Haji Abdullah Harroon and Chaudhuri Khallquz-zaman (Secretary). The Working Committee of the Khilafat and the Jamiatul Ulema had, after their joint meeting in March last at Aligarh, already cabled to Angora that Indian Musalmans did not desire to interfere in the National affairs of their brethren abroad with which the latter alone were competent to deal and it was trusted that this declaration would be sufficient assurance for the Government of India to accept and formally convey to the Turkish Government.

"But since the Government of India will persists, as evidenced by its last letter to us, in the demand for an undertaking from each member of the delegation, it has been decided that the members now selected should be requested to declare, as required by the Government of India, that "their visit has no relation to the political affairs of the Turkish State, and that they will regard themselves as bound not to endeavour in any way to promote any political changes or to take part in any political movement" beyond endeavouring to settle the Khilafat question in accordance with the Shariat of Islam. The delegation now selected will set out for Turkey via Egypt as soon as passports are issued, and the Working Committee is hopeful that this Indian Mission to Turkey will yet succeed in its endeavours. But it cannot be said with any degree of certainty how soon its great task will be accomplished. The Working Committee had, therefore, to consider to what other work the attention and activities of the Khilafat organisations in India should be directed while efforts are being made in the manner indicated above to arrive at a settlement of the Khilafat question in consultation with the Turks.

#### Muslims in India

It was agreed that while we should continue to press for the freedom of the Jazirat-ul-Arab from every form of non-Muslim domination and control, work must now also be undertaken to ensure the free development and progress of the Muslim community in India itself. It was recalled that before the outbreak of War in Tripoli in the autumn of 1911 Indian Musalmans were only engaged on such communal work in India and were endeavouring, on the one hand, to provide educational facilities for their community, expanding the Aligarh College into a Muslim University and by means of work on other such enterprises, and were trying, on the other hand, to take their proper share in the public life of this country after having secured communal representation in the Legislative Councils under the Morley-Minto Scheme of Reforms. Attention was then fixed so to speak, only on the domestic affairs of Muslim community in India, but ever since 1911 a succession of events compelled Indian Musalmans to pay considerable attention also to the needs of their co-religionists abroad, and in course of time, it led to a daily increasing realisation that the disintegration of the Islamic world and the rapid decline in the temporal power of Islam constituted an imminent peril to their Faith.

To arrest these processes became therefore their foremost duty even if it entailed the neglect for the time being of other duties, and they responded to its call to the best of their limited capacity. The magnitude of their task came to be recognised more and more clearly as calamity succeeded calamity until at last they realised that nothing short of a reconstruction of the Islamic world and a complete reform of Muslim life in accordance with the ideals of Islam in all its pristine purity was needed. Disintegration and decay were the logical consequences of the fact that for many centuries the Khilafat had not been functioning properly, and the Khilafat was the one institution required now to initiate, stimulate, encourage, and in a general way supervise the work of reconstruction and reform. It was therefore hoped that as soon as Turkey emerged from her troubles, a reform of the Khilafat itself would be undertaken as a preparatory step to the reform of the Islamic world. The decision of the Angora Assembly has however altered the situation so completely that a reform of the Khilafat is no longer immediately possible, and will have to be undertaken when a settlement of the connection of the Turkish Nation with the Khilafat is finally reached. In these circumstances, it was being increasingly felt that the task of reconstruction of Muslim society in India should no longer be delayed.

Out of evil cometh good, and a religious revival following on the trials and tribulations of Musalmans has already quickened the Muslim pulse. A far larger number of Musalmans is now devoting its attention to religious studies in a spirit of free enquiry combined with humility and reverence, and it is to be hoped that added impetus will now be given by the Khilafat organisation to this movement, so that the distance which still separates the ordinary people from the Ulema may soon be reduced in a manner befitting the followers of a Faith that has no priesthood and recognises no distinction between the laity and the clergy.

Bitter experience during our recent trials has shown that our educational ideas and ideals need to be greatly modified. While institutions like the Jamia-Millia Islamia are more than even needed for higher education, and specially as nurseries for our future public workers and teachers and masses, and their curricula have to be revised in the light of the experience recently gained at such great cost, a far wider diffusion of education among the masses is a crying necessity of the future. A war of extermination must be waged against the illiteracy in order to make the poorest and the humblest Muslim as nearly self-dependent as possible in all matters including religion itself. Vast areas exist in India today with large Muslim populations appallingly ignorant even of the elements of their religion, whom neither secular teachers nor preachers of religion have in recent times tried to influence and improve. They must no longer be neglected by the educated members of the community.

No village or group of neighbouring small villages and no quarter of a town should be without its schools for elementary instruction lodged in the mosque of the locality, and religious and secular education must go hand in hand and must suit the needs and circumstances of all classes of people, particularly the peasants and the workmen. For those who are too old to be attracted to schools, the local Mosque should provide facilities

for a wider diffusion of Islamic culture. The appointment of properly trained Imams who could be the teachers of Muslim children, the members of Muslim youths and the guides, philosophers and friends of the more elderly Musalmans of the locality, and the establishment of library and reading room attached to every mosque would make it the social and intellectual centre and the ideal Islamic club-house of the locality. The establishment and organisation of Muslim orphanages would not only save our orphans from falling into wrong hands and from becoming waife and strays, but would also provide a chain of nurseries of Muslim Missionaries comparatively freer than others and more like the Ashabi Suffa who formed the standing army of the Missionaries of Islam in the days of the holy prophet. The Mopla orphans are the first charge on our resources, and a beginning must be made with them at once in order not only to save them from starvation but also to change the race of the entire region inhabited by our Mopla brethren and convert it into a flourishing land, the abode of cultured people as peaceful as they are brave and industrious.

Mendicancy must also be eradicated from the Muslim community, and this noxious parasitical growth which sucks away only too much of the life-giving sap drawn from the soil by the productive members of society must be uprooted. Work must be provided for the able-bodied vagrants and refuge must be established for those who suffer from grave disabilities, such as blindness or loss of limbs. Charity must be organised: Baitul Mals must be established, and Zakat collected and regularly distributed to the deserving poor. Pious endowments must be saved for the real beneficiaries from trustees who have converted them into private property, and are guilty of committing perpetual frauds upon the public.

The use of intoxicants must be discontinued, and Muslim society, once more purged of the drink evil, must stand forth as the pioneer of prohibition. Purity of morals must be insisted upon for men no less than for women, and the curse of prostitution removed both in practice and theory. Last, but not least, poverty is itself a great evil and the mother of many other evils, and while organised charity can do a great deal to mitigate its evil consequences, a better economic organisation of the communist alone can constitute an adequate and permanent reform.

Musalmans, especially in Upper India, have too long depended upon service for their maintenance to the neglect of trade and industry, and even those who are not ashamed to eat practically the bread of beggary are none-the-less ashamed of keeping a shop and of only too numerous minor professions that have wrongly been considered not respectable enough for gentlemen and the sons of gentlemen though the companions of the Prophet themselves were not too proud to follow them. These and other such evils are no doubt very grave, and the formulation of the best of policies and programmes cannot eradicate them by itself, and many generations may pass away before appreciable success can be recorded, but unless the best minds of the community can take all these matters into consideration, and sitting, so to speak, in continuous conference frame policies and devise measures to deal with them even the least success is hopeless, and further decline is certain.

#### Relation with other Communities

Musalmans have also to be taught to take their proper share in public life and to accept readily and cheerfully their portion of the sacrifices and burdens and responsibilities as members of a composite Nation struggling to be free. They have to be fully awakened to a sense of their duty to their Motherland, and if they have to safeguard their communal rights against apprehended encroachments of any of their fellow-citizens, they must not neglect to safeguard their National rights against the long-continued and too-long tolerated encroachments of their alien rulers. They must learn to face their rulers as a united Nation, and to face their Indian brethren as a united community.

They must be taught to shrink from no legitimate sacrifice demanded in the causes of National freedom and of National unity, and far from extorting for themselves special privileges at the expense of sister communities, they should be willing to surrender as much as they can, even of their own proper share of benefits according to the Nation. But this surrender should be made out of love, not out of fear. It must be made out of their strength, not out of their weakness, and it must be made with their eyes open rather than in ignorance or out of political

gullibility. It is on these lines that our political ideas and ideals have to be revised and our political activities reorganised. Had the Khilafat been functioning properly. It would have initiated or at least stimulated and encouraged, and in a general way, supervised the work of reconstruction and reform in every department of our communal life except politics which, apart from the diversity of circumstances and distinctive features and peculiarities of different countries inhabited by Musalmans, is additionally influenced and conditioned in the case of the Musalmans of India by their subjection to alien rule. But even if the Khilafat had been functioning properly, the execution of policies and programmes in any case would have been the function of the Musalmans of this country itself.

Today, however, we must not only execute but also frame them, and out unaided judgment must do the best it can during the time, short or long, that it may take to reach a final settlement about the Khilafat and to establish it on a firm, democratic, and international basis. These ideas had been the subject of many of Muslim public worker's cogitations and of his discussions with many of his fellow-workers ever since the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, and we secured a little breathing time. The sensational news from Angora, however, forcibly attracted attention once more to Turkey, and the future of the Khilafat once more became the one absorbing topic for Indian Musalmans, though now in a sense different to that when its future causes anxiety on account of the hostile intentions of our non-Muslim enemies. Our anxiety is still very great, but thanks to our National slavery, when we cannot even leave the shores of India for other Muslim lands on a religious mission of peace and reconciliation, nothing can be done to relieve that anxiety beyond waiting on our alien rulers once more with a request for the issue of passports on such terms as they choose to dictate in their characteristic arrogance, and hoping that at least some of our prominent public workers who were denied the honour of being declared guilty of offences against the State for doing their duty by Islam and by India would be permitted to proceed to Turkey and to convert their Turkish brethren to their own views on the vexed question of the Khilafat. Other public workers who are subjected to an embargo and are not allowed to go abroad have now leisure enough to take up the thread of their work in India and to resume activities that were interrupted more than a decade ago.

The Khilafat Working Committee now took great consideration of the vital question whether the Khilafat organisation should continue to confine its scope to the safeguarding of the temporal power of Islam, and in particular, to the restoration to Islam of the Jazirat-ul-Arab after freeing it from non-Muslim domination and control, and to the attainment of Swarai in India as the best possible means to this end, or to extend it to the entire communal life in India as well. The Working Committee unanimously agreed to extend the scope of the Khilafat organisation and to make all communal work its province. in the first place, because a wastage of energy must be prevented. and all avoidable friction must be avoided, and in the next place, because the community trusts the Khilafat organisation in spite of an insidious hostile propaganda of the most virulent and nefarious character, as it has trusted no other communal organisation before. Much of the dissatisfaction felt and expressed latterly with the Khilafat organisation, and particularly in Upper India, is by far the best and the sincerest complainant that could have been paid to it, for whatever the Musalmans have suffered or have felt aggrieved, they have petulantly asked why the Khilafat organisation has not come to their rescue, forgetting, of course, that its scope was limited. They had learnt to trust the Khilafat organisation, and that trust continues to this day. But the compliment implied in these repeated complaints is not in reality paid to individuals. It is paid rather to the democratic constitution of the Khilafat organisation. Leaving out of consideration for the moment our Indian brethren of other faiths who have done so much useful work as members and even office-bearers, the Khilafat organisation is open to every Musalman who chooses to pay four annas a year to its funds, and its creed is no other than the creed of Islam. It sets up on other creed. There is no class of the community which is not represented on it, except those, of course, who are too indifferent to the call of Islam or too afraid of their alien rulers to respond to it, and hardly any Muslim enjoying the confidence of his coreligionists is to be found outside its ranks. With a constitution so broad-based and democratic, the Khilafat organisation is well qualified to accept the additional responsibilities which it is the clear desire of the community that it should undertake. But the decision of the Working Committee is only the first necessary step in this direction.

#### The Future

The Central Khilafat Committee will meet at Delhi in the last week of June, and the Jamiatul Ulema is also invited to hold a joint session along with the Khilafat Committee. The whole question will then be threshed out and finally decided and when work is undertaken in all these directions, and on this large scale, a new chapter will, it is confidently trusted, be opened in the history of Islam in India. Our enemies have never spared us, and repression has followed ridicule, and ridicule has followed repression in a vicious circle. Their attacks have increased in venom and in violence, and the least that the communist must expect from them is virulent abuse of the principle workers assiduous efforts to sow further distrust and doubt in the minds of the masses. But the workers have already passed through this ordeal successfully, and nothing can wean off the masses from them except their own incapacity and their own betraval of public confidence. On the eve of this great voyage, I wish all my fellow voyagers "God-speed," and hope that, as ever, they will place their trust in God and in their own valiant selves.

# Chapter 31

# THE ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

Belgaum, December 24, 1924

The Eleventh Session of the Khilafat Conference was held at Belgaum in the Congress Pandal with Dr. Shaifuddin Kitchlew as President and Moulvi Kutub-ud-din as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. About 300 delegates attended while a large number of Congressmen were present.

#### DR KITCHLEW'S ADDRESS

In the course of his Presidential Address Dr. Kitchlew reviewed the history of the Khilafat and how they came to adopt Non-Co-operation after all constitutional methods had failed. He ironically referred to the attempts in 1921 of Pt. Malaviya to arrange a Round Table Conference and bring about an understanding between Lord Reading and Mahatma Gandhi which, however, failed at the time. When Non-Co-operation was at its height it was brought to a dead halt by Mahatma Gandhi at Bardoli. In the meantime the spark had been lighted in the Punjab and other provinces in a conflagration. Mian Fazl-i-Hussain's policy was undoubtedly the cause of this Hindu-Muslim dispute. Though the speaker did not favour Mian Fazli-Hussain's policy of co-operation and consequent opposition to the National Programme, he felt bound to declare publicly that Mian Fazl-i-Hussain was only trying to do justice to the Muslim community. Leaders like Mr. C.R.Das, Pandit Motilal, Mr. Chintamani and lately Mahatma Gandhi had examined the Mian's policy and were satisfied that it was just. Dr. Kitchlew declared that the Hindu agitation in the Punjab was selfish and unjust. In the last election, the Swaraj Party of the Punjab really became the Hindu Party of the Province in the Council. At this time when feelings between Hindus and Muslims were becoming strained, Pandit Malaviya started the Sanghatan movement and Muslims, therefore, organised a counter movement. The real cause of trouble in the Punjab was, however, economic because the entire trade and the majority of the services were in the hands of Hindus.

In his opinion a solution was easily provided if they observed the following; namely, that all elections should be arranged on a population basis; the electorate be mixed; there should be no special representation; the majority community should never be reduced to a minority and recruitment in services be gradually made on a population basis subject to the requirements of efficiency. The Lucknow Pact, he said, should be burnt. Special protection to minorities should take the form of a provision that when a question affected a minority, a two-third vote should decide the question.

As for Kohat riots, though they were due to Hindu firing, he hoped Kohat Muslims would welcome the Hindus back. Dr. Kitchlew strongly pleaded for support to the Sikhs and urged Khilafatists to make the Sikh issue their own.

Touching questions of Islamic interest, he said that though the original ground on which the Khilafat movement was based had shifted the question of election of a Khalifa by a World Muslim Congress was of vital importance. He wished further successes to Abdul Karim in Morocco. He wanted Indian Muslims to await the report of their delegation to Hedjaz and not to believe propagandist reports about Ibn Saud. He condemned the British action in Egypt, and hoped that before long Egypt would recover its independence. Generally, however, he was glad to find that Islamic countries outside were improving their position, and would the Muslims of India lag behind?

At this stage the conference adjourned till the next day when Dr. Kitchlew concluded his address.

In the concluding part of his address, Dr. Kitchlew laid out his scheme for the improvement, economic, social and educational, of the Muslim community. He would make mosques the centres of learning and would insist on industrial schools for the uplift of his community. Muslim Banks and Co-operative Bank Societies should be organised to finance this scheme. He urged particular attention to be devoted to the production of Khaddar and emphasised that this programme was not a counter-part of the Sanghatan movement or Swaraj. He said the headquarters of the Central Khilafat Committee should be transferred to Delhi and Khilafat Committees re-organised and multiplied. The movement of Tanzim should form an essential part of the work of the Khilafat Committee. Otherwise these committees might be dissolved and others organised. The speakers made clear that the platform of the Khilafat was open to all Muslims, whether cooperators or Non-Co-operators, and that Khilafat ists did not want to boycott those Muslims who went into the Councils. Differences of opinion among them on political issues should not deter them from joining the Khilafat platform or push through the scheme of Tanzim.

Dr. Kitchlew regretted to find that Muslims were not taking the same interest in Congress as they used to do recently. He appealed to all Muslims to join and support the Congress. He referred to the approval of the Bengal Ordinance by the Labour Party as showing that nothing could be expected from any political party in England. Indeed he welcomed the Conservative Government because it made no secret of its professions.

#### RESOLUTIONS

The conference passed resolutions, all standing, lamenting the sad deaths of Bi Amman and Mr. Abdul Majid Shahriar.

### Mr. Zafar Ali moved:

#### **BRITISH AGGRESSION**

This conference condemns the outrageous action of Great Britain in Egypt and Sudan and assures their Egyptian and Sudanese brethren that Indian Musalmans consider their calamity as theirs and are fully sensible of Islamic duties imposed upon them in this connection.

Mr. Zafar Ali showed how Mohammedans were consolidating their position in Morocco, Persia and Hedjaz. He trusted that Egypt would soon recover its independence and that British action would fail here as they had failed elsewhere against Muslim countries. They could not expect support from any European country because France and Italy were offenders in this respect against other countries whose freedom they had crushed.

Mr. Syed Murtaza, M.L.A. seconded the resolution and Safdar Ali emphasised that Egypt was being enslaved in order to maintain the British hold on India. Therefore unless they free India they could not free Egypt. He thought Sir Lee Slack was himself responsible for his own murder. Why should he had gone there to enslave Egyptians? The resolution was passed amidst cries of Allah-o-Akbar.

#### MOROCCAN SITUATION

This conference offers its warmest congratulations to the heroes of the Riffs, who under their gallant and intrepid chief, Ghazi Amir Abdul Karim, have bravely defended their liberties and by their glorious feats of arms have filled the world with admiration and astonishment.

This conference condemns the unrighteous and wanton attack of Spaniards on the Riffs and the barbarous atrocities committed by them during the course of the war.

This conference further warns England and France that any attempt on their part to deprive the people of the Riffs of the fruits of their hard-earned successes and to crush their liberties, as is foreshadowed in the recent utterances of their Ministers, will be treated as an act of hostility towards the Muslims of the world.

#### OTHER RESOLUTIONS

The Khilafat Conference continued its session on the 26th. The first three resolutions were on questions of Islamic interest. They were put from the Chair and passed without discussion.

#### WORLD MUSLIM CONFERENCE

One resolution authorised the Central Khilafat Committee to arrange for representation of Indian Muslims on the World Muslim Congress.

#### EMIR ALI'S ACTION

The second resolution expressed concern at the steps taken by Emir Ali in stopping provisions and supplies to Mecca and sorrow at the privations and hardships caused thereby to the inhabitants of the sacred city. Emir Ali's action was characterised as both inhuman and up-Islamic, which can only result in intensifying the opposition of the Islamic world to him and to his family. The resolution also opined that the action of Emir Ali was likely to furnish non-Muslim powers with the pretext to interfere in their affairs to protect the lives of their subjects.

#### BRITAIN AND HEDJAZ

The next resolution passed ran as:

In spite of declarations made by the British Cabinet from time to time, this conference considers it necessary to give expression to the anxiety of the Muslims of India at the sudden increase in the military resources of Emir Ali, the recruitment for the army which is taking place in the part of Palestine occupied by the British, and the presence in Emir Ali's camp of a number of British military officers, which facts lend strength to the impression that Great Britain is secretly helping Emir Ali.

This conference once more wishes to make it clear to the British Government that the Islamic world will not tolerate any kind of interference by any non-Muslim power in the affairs of Hedjaz, no matter under what pretext it is made, and will hold Great Britain responsible for all the consequences of any attempt to do so.

A lively debate ensued on Mr. Mohammed Ali's resolution stating that the boycott of foreign cloth was indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj and making it obligatory on Muslims to universalise Khaddar and wear it. Speaking as a Muslim, he believed that its adoption was the only way to save Islam. He said when some years ago he went to Europe as the head of the Khilafat Delegation, he met prominent Turks in Rome. They asked him what purpose it served in their coming to save Islam now when Indian Muslim soldiers had themselves helped in

enslaving Islamic countries. He was further told that instead of his going and appealing to Mr. Lloyd George and the French Premier, he should go and liberate India because it was to keep India enchained that Britain was enslaving other Muslim countries on the way. If India was free other Muslim countries would also be free.

Mr. Mohammed Ali then explained why he considered that the Charka provided their only salvation. He said India lived in villages where peasants spent their meagre means to buy Manchester cloth. It was necessary that the educated people should take to the Charka so that the uneducated may follow the lead and revert to the Charka. Indeed, he wanted to become Charkamad. Not only violence was not possible, because they had no weapons to fight with, but it would be ridiculous for a nation of 320 millions to win Swaraj by the sword from only a lakh of Britishers.

Mr. Hasrat Mohani opposed the obligatory provision of the resolution. He had no faith in the Charka as a means for Swaraj to India and did not believe that the loss of some crores over this trade would affect in the least a nation which crushed Germany. A speaker replying to Mr. Hasrat Mohani pointed to the stir caused in Manchester three years ago. Maulana Azad supported Mr. Mohammed Ali. After some further discussion the resolution was eventually modified to the effect that while retaining the provision of the compulsory use of Khaddar, it permitted the use of Indian mill cloth if Khaddar was not available. The amended resolution was then passed unanimously.

The Khilafat Conference concluded its session after passing three more resolutions condemning the Bengal Ordinance, supporting the resolution of the All-Party conference and forming a scheme of Tanzim. It further expressed satisfaction at the disappearance from Mecca of Sheriff Hussain and his family, appreciated Ibn Saud's declarations to leave the decision about constitution of the Government of Hedjaz to a Muslim World Congress, and opined that Hedjaz should be ruled by a strong republican democratic Government.

# Chapter 32

# THE ALL-INDIA KHILAFAT CONFERENCE

Cawnpur, December 24, 1925

The All-India Khilafat Conference opened its proceedings on the 24th December at 2 p.m. under the presidency of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Prominent among those present were Maulana Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali, Janab Yakub Hassan, Mr. Murtuza Sahib, Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Messrs S. Srinivasa Iyengar, A Rangasamy Iyengar and T. Prakasam. The proceedings commenced with prayers. A message of sympathy from Hakim Ajmal Khan was then read.

Fundamentally opposed views on the Hedjaz were expressed at the conference of this day why Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Chairman of the Reception Committee, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President of the Conference. Some excitement was caused when the former spoke.

#### THE CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, in welcoming the delegates, said the Turks had no power to end the Khilafat, which must endure so long as Islam existed. It was only the responsibility for the office that the Turks had refused to assume. He held they were prepared to help the Khilafat. They had indeed already received a message through Dr. Ansari that the Turks after settling their internal difficulties would be able to undertake the responsibilities of the Khilafat. But the Turks insisted that it must be democratised, namely that the Khalifa be elected and be helped by a Council whose opinion be voiced through the chosen Khalifa.

With the Turks refusing to have the Khilafat it must go to the King of Hedjaz or President of the Republic Hedjaz. He would prefer the latter, though there seemed no immediate prospect of getting it.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, however, held it was impossible to protect the Khilafat without the aid of Turkey, and therefore the strongest blow to the Khilafat was the English and French mandate over Iraq and Palestine. The speaker held that the only silver lining in Sheriff Hussain's career was that he refused to sign an agreement with Britain regarding the Jewish Home in Palestine, but what Sheriff Hussain refused to do has been rapidly done by Ibn Saud in the form of the Clayton-Ibn Saud agreement, thereby jeopardising the interests of Turks and Druses. Indeed, he held that this settlement opened the way for Britain to do a gross wrong to Turkey by securing the League's decision in her favour regarding Mosul.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani urged that the Central Khilafat Committee should cease to support Ibn Saud and should stand for a Republic in Hedjaz. For, if Ibn Saud once established himself if the Hedjaz, it would be impossible to have a Republican form of Government. After the formation of the Hedjaz Republic its head should act in Council and be declared Khalifa in Council, India being duly respresented on this Council to consolidate the Khilafat. Efforts should be made to rid Syria, Palestine and Iraq of foreign control and establish direct contact between Turkey and the Hedjaz. He declared any one opposed to this programme should be repudiated. He asked the Central Khilafat Committee to rise above party factions, or it would lead to ruin.

#### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF MAULANA AZAD

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his Presidential Address, which was delivered "Extempore' first dwelt on the need for continuing and strengthening the Khilafat organisation. This body, he held, was the only "bona fide" body representing Muslim opinion on the issues now troubling the Muslim world. To dissolve the organization would be held to be a serious set back to their work.

The Hedjaz question was the most important. They should

all have rejoiced at the downfall of the Sherifian family and should applaud Sultan Ibn Saud's efforts. In this behalf the Central Khilafat Committee had already declared its abhorrence at demolition of some of the holy places. Ibn Saud had declared that he was for the inquiry done to the holy places in his absence and he had declared his willingness to abide by the opinion of theologists and to afford facilities for repair. A Conference of Muslims of the world should be soon held. India should be properly represented on it. The Khilafat organization was representative of the Muslims in India.

Touching on the internal politics, Maulana Azad said the Khilafat Committees should ally themselves with the Congress organisation for the furtherance of the national programme. The Khilafat Committee should have definite views on the question of Council-entry and the Maulana would himself advocate Council work. The Khilafat Committee should put forward its programme in clear and unambiguous terms. The Maulana laid stress on the political education of the people so that the desired end could be achieved.

#### Mohammed Ali's Attack on Mohani

After the conference was over, the Khilafat demonstration was held late at night when several speakers addressed a large audience in the Khilafat Conference. Maulana Mohammed Ali spoke adversely on the speech delivered by Maulana Hasrat Mohani as Chairman of the Reception Committee in which Mohani Saheb had gone beyond his province on commenting upon various matters. Maulana Mohammed Ali held that they must not, as Maulana Hasrat had done, accept the newspaper rumour of the Clayton-Ibn Saud Agreement. Of course, if Ibn Saud behaved in the manner Sheriff Hussain had acted they would all oppose him too. But so far no definite proof was forthcoming about the agreement. On the other hand, Ibn Saud had done well in turning out the Sheriffians.

As regards the necessity for the Khilafat Conference, he said, if the Turks had won their independence the Indian Khilafatists had in some small way made that possible by carrying on the agitation that it was "haram" (sin) for the Muslim to kill a Muslim. This had prevented the Government in those days to

send Indian troops to fight the Turks. The same situation might now arise. If the League's decision about Mosul was enforced. He prayed that the Turks might remain in possession of Mosul. The Khilafat Committee's activities would be required to prevent Indians being again asked to assist to turn out the Turks from Mosul. Maulana Mohammed Ali at this stage was handed over a cable just then received from the Khilafat deputation which had gone to inquire into the true state of affairs in Hedjaz. He read it to the audience amidst applause.

#### "How Ali's Garrison Surrendered"

Amir Ali's Medina garrison surrendered on the 4th December. Ula on the 10th. Alwajh on the 13th and Tabuk and Zub on the 14th. Governor Yamboo is reported to have fled. Troops are expected to surrender soon. Vast quantities of arms, ammunition, railway materials and five wireless apparatus fell into the Mejdi's hands. Amir Mohammed entered Medina on the 6th and we on the 10th and offered Juma prayers, all the Mejdis joining. The Amir presented robes to Imam.

The reports of a crack in the dome of the Prophet's tomb is entirely false. A minute examination disclosed two stray bullet marks on the dome and one minaret, all from Ali's side headquarters. The Bedouins are hostile to Ali. The location of responsibility is impossible. The tomb and the dome of Sydna Hamza is injured. Only two of the ornamental tops on the iron railing surrounding the tomb and the portion of the pucca Tawiz Aqul's tomb next to Sydna Hamza (since restored) are injured. One raised platform facing the tomb known as Masjid Abuzar also suffered. Other tome domes and historical monuments are quite safe.

Quba and Hamza Mosques in the Mejdi's occupation zone were slightly hit by sharpnels from Ali's guns. Maghribi Bulhari and the Hindi houses near the city wall were destroyed by Ali's troops. Interviewed Abdul Majid, Ali's commander, justified their action. Reports of indecent search of women leaving Medina by Ali's soldiers, removal carpets and money from Harem of Nabvi by Husain and Ali are confirmed by Shurafai, Medina Harem officials, Abduj Baqui, Farangimaholi and others. Documentary proof of the offer of Medina to Transjor-

dania by Ali's officials is available. Amir Mohammed are treating the medinites with brotherly affection and providing relief but distress is acute and extensive. We are opening free kitchen with four thousand rupees under the Supervision Committee consisting of Shaikhul Hurem. President Municipality, Maulana Abdul Baqi, Farangimahali, Shaikh Mohammed Hussain, Samman Syed Mahmood Fyzabadi Mohammed and Husain Gabbad.

Maulana Mohammed Ali after reading the telegram appealed for funds to relieve the distress in Medina. Rs. 337 were subscribed on the spot and more was promised.

# PROCEEDINGS AND RESOLUTIONS 25th-28th December, 1925

The Khilafat Conference re-assembled next day on the 25th December. As Maulana Azad was indisposed, Maulana Mohammed Ali took the chair.

#### **FELICITATIONS**

The first resolution moved was regarding the Rifts whose valiant stand against the two mighty European Powers was referred to and their love of Islam and patriotism were applauded.

The following resolutions were also passed:

#### KHILAFAT VOLUNTEERS

The All-India Khilafat Conference resolves that enlistment of volunteers in every district and province should be taken in hand with a view to execute with vigour the constructive programme of Khilafat organization.

#### INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

This Conference express its profound sympathy with its South African Indian brethren in their struggle for protection of their national and civic rights, and assures them that every Indian fervently desires success to their cause and would do everything possible for them in their present condition of helpless slavery.

#### KHILAFAT ORGANISATION

This conference invites the attention of all Khilafat workers to the critical and serious situation that has arisen and calls upon them to strengthen the Khilafat organizations in the various districts and provinces within the next three months of the coming year, if they do not want to kill the progressive spirit of national consciousness created in the Muslim community.

#### IRAO AND MOSUL

On the 26th December the conference re-assembled with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. The first resolution adopted, after several speakers had spoken was regarding Iraq and Mosul. It was moved by Maulana Abdul Rahman and was seconded by Maulana Shaukat Ali. It reiterated the opinion of the conference that from a religious point of view they could never accept foreign interference in the affairs of Jazirat-ul-Arab, that Iraq was a part of Jazirat-ul-Arab and that the present administration of Iraq was really British.

The conference further held that the decision of League on Mosul was not acceptable, inasmuch as it was against the understanding given by Lord Curzon on the occasion of signing of the Lausanne treaty that no decision regarding Mosul would be defiance taken in of the wishes of the Turks.

The conference declared that if the Turks were consequently forced to a war, they would be justified in so doing, and that the Khilafat Conference would consider it its duty to help Turks.

Further that Indians should learn from the bitter experience of the last war and should not repeat the same mistake. If, therefore, a war arose on the issue of Mosul, the conference would try to see that Indians did not render any help in men or money to the British Government.

# BOMBARDMENT OF DAMASCUS

The next resolution condemned the brutal bombardment of

Damascus by the French, expressed whole-hearted sympathy with the people of Syria in their struggle for freedom. This was moved by Maulana Suleman Sahib Nadvi and supported by Maulana Mohammed Ali.

#### UKBA AND MUAN

\*The third resolution declared that Ukba and Muan were essentially a part of the Hedjaz and protested against any attempt by Britain to separate these from the Hedjaz.

#### SPINNER'S ASSOCIATION

The last resolution passed on this day urged the conference workers to join the All-India Spinner's Association in greater numbers, so that they may not lag behind other communities in this respect.

#### MOULANA MOHANI'S ADDRESS EXPUNGED

On the 27th December an important decision was taken by the Khilafat Conference to expunge from the official Khilafat documents the address which Moulana Hasrat Mohani delivered as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. It was held that the address advocated views opposed to the declared views of the Central Khilafat Committee and that the views condemning the Khilafat policy for the year had been made in the spirit of irresponsibility. Maulana Azad, President of the Conference, made it clear that in passing the resolution they should not mix up personalities with principles and should be guided solely by sense of responsibility and of loyalty to the Khilafat. They had to weigh on one hand the gravity of the issue at stake and on the other the consequences of being forced to deal with personalities. They could not allow such a document to form part of the Khilafat literature without causing grave misunderstanding.

Regarding the attitude of the conference Maulvi Habibur Rahman said that the address had been condemned in moderate language and that the activities of Moulana Hasrat Mohani in connection which the Khudamul Harman had made him forfeit their confidence. Islam was respector of no person, however great his past services, if he defied the Muslims in religious matters.

## PILGRIMAGE TO HEDJAZ

Another resolution of the conference resolved to take steps to create an atmosphere for healthy annual pilgrimage to Hedjaz, to establish, in case of necessity, Khilafat organization centres in Arabia.

On the 28th December the conference concluded its session after passing some more resolutions two of which were important namely, those relating to proposed settlement of Moplas in Andaman and the liberation of Hedjaz.

#### THE MOPLA SETTLEMENT

The resolution regarding Moplas was adopted by the conference on the motion of Mr. Yakub Hossain of Madras. It declared its resentment at the proposal of the Government of India to make Moplas with their families settle down in Andaman for the reason that the Jails Committee had already declared against the island being made an abode of prisoners. Moreover, the conference was opposed to Moplas being sent away from their homelands to any country, however suitable. Further, the conference feared, that as men number ten times the women in the island, this would have a very serious effect on the morals of Mopla prisoners and their children.

#### LIBERATION OF HEDJAZ

The conference in the resolution about Hedjaz "offers its congratulations to Ibn Saud on the peaceful entry of his forces in Medina and Jeddah and expresses its hearty gratification for complete liberation of Hedjaz from the tyrannical regime of the Sheriffian Government. The conference further affirms its full satisfaction and confidence in the policy of the Sultan regarding the future of Hedjaz as conveyed in all his declarations, and trusts that the whole Islamic world will welcome his invitation

and an International Islamic Conference will soon meet to decide the future of Hedjaz. This conference resolves that the Central Khilafat Committee should widely proclaim in India that the present well-ordered and peaceful conditions of Hedjaz provides all possible facilities for despatch and return of a very large number of pilgrims during the coming Haj season and may also open its offices at Jeddah or other places, if necessary, for the attainment of this object.

#### THE PRESIDENT'S CONCLUDING SPEECH

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad delivered a brief spirited address in bringing to a close the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference. Referring to the main resolution of the session passed, he said: "These urge the Muslims to take the vow of earnest, uninterrupted, solid work for the performance of the duties that are binding on every individual. Nations have their duties in the same manner as have individuals. Corporate life can be illustrated by the example of bricks and walls. Bricks not joined together can be picked off easily, but once they are joined together —that is, a relation is established (on solid foundation) between each of these—a blow to the bricks would result in injury to one's own feet. This difference was created through a change of relationship. When one brick was put in such a position as to help and support the others, it was made infinitely more strong than it originally was, when it was deprived of the support of others. For nations there are fixed codes of conduct, deviation from which renders them weak, helpless and morally and politically degenerated and deformed. The Indian Muslims are a hopelessly divided and disorganized people—a flock of slaves, a herd of men no better than cattle, neither of use for itself nor of any benefit to the community at large. India's independence cannot long be withheld now but our shameful indifference to our duties and our disregard of the most fundamental political demands might postpone it and the responsibility in great, if we feel that we are retarding the progress of people advancing towards Swaraj.

There is an auspicious change in Hedjaz. The land of Arabia has been purged of a great tyrannical administration. From the very first Sultan Ibn Saud had made his policy and position clear and unambiguous. He had declared that he was

not seizing Hedjaz for establishing control over it. After the autocratic atrocities of Hussain he was inviting representatives from different countries to decide the future of Hedjaz. There is no possibility of any further doubts as regards his intentions. Past events are proofs conclusive on this vexed question. Those who have eyes can see things clearly and in their true perspective. It was a great mercy that the Almighty showered on us when after ten years of shameful mismanagement and disorganization that was rampant in the very heart of Arabia and which was the cause of much sorrow and suffering, a man came forward to liberate that holy land. For full ten years that tyrannical Government of Sharif Hussain was supreme in Hediaz, in spite of the declared wishes of forty crores of Musalmans of the world to the contrary. During the course of these thirteen hundred years has not been an evil of such portentous magnitude than the reign of the Sharifian family. The devastation of Damascus was but a natural corollary to that evil.

The Mosques should be educational centres for Muslims. Unless a change is sought to be effected in the daily life of a Muslim, no useful results are likely to accrue. Orphanages should also be established where there is need for them. The Khilafat Committee should fix three months for collecting, if necessary funds required for carrying on its work and the rest of nine months to actual completion of the work taken in hand. This will ensure economy of time. Energies will thus not be frittered away in unuseful direction. On an appropriate occasion the Committee shall be accountable for a fixed quota of work undertaken at the beginning of the year. It shall have to fulfil the promises it made at the beginning of the year, and provide the much-needed religious education of the Muslims. This would mean enlightenment of mind would thus be repeated with unfailing regularity. This would be establishing an educational institution, as it were with the minimum expenditure of energy.

# Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah on Indian Political Affairs

# Chapter 33

# INDIA AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The Hon'ble Mr. M.A. Jinnah presided over the 16th Bombay Provincial Conference held at Ahmedabad in October, 1916. After paying tribute to the memory of the important personalities that had passed away, he reviewed the general condition of India and the existing relations between India and the British Parliament. Then he discussed in detail the important questions of the forms of Provincial Government, Local Self-Government, Indianisation of the commissioned ranks of the Army and Navy, application of the Defence of India Act, introduction of free and compulsory elementary education, Hindu-Muslim rapprochement. He also appealed to the Hindus to welcome the separate electorate as it has become a mandate for the Muslim community.

# Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen!

I need hardly say that in calling me to preside over the deliberations of the 16th Bombay Provincial Conference, you have conferred upon me the greatest honour that is within the gift of the people of this Presidency. I do not know why your choice has fallen upon me, but when the call came, I considered it my duty as a servant of the cause, to obey it and I am here today amongst you. I most sincerely thank you for the honourable position to which you have raised me today and I shall try to do my duty as a President and I have no doubt that I shall have your entire support and co-operation in carrying out those duties during our deliberations.

This is the first time after many years since the unfortunate differences arose in Surat, that the United Provincial Conference has met and the responsibility—the peculiar responsibility—therefore, rests on me and all of you correctly to voice the public opinion of the country and the Presidency.

Since the last meeting of the Provincial Conference at Poona we have nay, the Empire has lost one of its greatest soldiers,

Lord Kitchner and in Sir Pherozeshah Mehta one of its greatest politicians and statesmen.

We deeply mourn the great loss of such men especially at this juncture of stress at great crisis through which India and the whole Empire is passing.

In Sir Chimanbhai Madhavlal to our great sorrow we have lost a captain of Industry and Commerce for which Ahmedabad is so famous. He was a great philanthropist and patron of learning and education.

In Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, I say with the deepest sorrow, we have lost a man of sturdy independence and a quiet but devoted workers for the cause of India. He rendered great and continuous valuable services to the Indian National Congress from its early days of storm and difficulties.

In Mr. Govindrao Appaji Patel, I regret to say we have lost a zealous and devoted worker in the public cause in the Province of Gujarat. May the soul of these great and devoted men who worked for the Empire and public cause rest in peace. And let us pray that we may soon have other such servants who may take their places and keep up their great traditions and follow their noble examples and maintain the prestige and a great name of this mighty Empire.

Two questions above all are uppermost in our thoughts and are engrossing our mind at the present moment. The War and what is going to happen after the successful termination of this titanic struggle that has overshadowed the entire civilized world. India has stood faithfully and loyal to the British Empire from the very commencement, she has poured out her treasure and shed the blood of some of her noblest sons on the battlefields of Flanders, Africa, Egypt and Mesopotamia for the defence of the Empire. It may be said once for all that the people of India are proud to be a part of the British Empire and that their lovalty is as true and firm as that of any other Britisher in any part of the Empire, not excluding Great Britain and there is no doubt that India will to the end stand faithfully by the British Empire. But she wishes no longer to continue as the subject race, or to put in the words of Lord Hardinge 'the trusty dependent,' but claims to be an equal partner with the other members of the Empire.

It is a matter of great rejoicing that the enemy has failed in

his efforts at Verdun. The gallant and noble defence of Verdun by the French people has won the admiration of the world: with this signal failure on the part of the enemy, the advent of Romania and the mighty army that England has raised with ample munition, has enabled the Allies successfully to take the offensive in the West. The initiative is no longer with the enemy and the tide has turned, and let us hope that it will not be long before the arms of the Allies are finally successful, and this Great War ends in complete defeat of the brutal and aggressive Prussian Militarism.

We have met here today to consider the position of our country and the Province. There are many questions and problems which require our most earnest and serious consideration. We have met to discuss those questions and exchange our views regarding those problems. Naturally on taking a general survey of the situation, one has to face the questions: What progress have we made within the past, half a century? What is our present position? What is to be our future? What steps should be taken to remove the difficulties in our way? What measures should be adopted to further the progress of our country and to attain as soon as possible our most cherished goals, namely, self-Government under the 'aegis' of the British Crown and the Provincial Autonomy foreshadowed in the Delhi Despatch of Government of India dated 25th August, 1911? It is said that there is peace and security in the country, although two of the greatest sons of India-Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji and Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt-the latter with his great administrative experience of India-do not agree with the statement that there is real prosperity in the country; it is said that the administration of the country is most efficient and the collectors and the Commissioners are devoted to their duties and to the Districts where they work and that they have the interests and the welfare of the Ryots at their heart, it is said that the British soldiers and British Navy are protecting our lives and property, our hearths and homes are quite secure and safe. It is said that all is going welleverything is managed properly on behalf of the people by the Civil Service. Assuming all this to be correct and granting that there is peace, prosperity and efficient administration entirely in the hands of the Civil Servants, is that any reason that the control, the management and the administration of the affairs of our country should for ever be continued as a monopoly in the hands of a bureaucratic Government? Is it any argument to say that since the Bureaucracy have under certain conditions managed the affairs of the country well for half a century and more, that therefore, they should be given a permanent monopoly—no matter what the changed conditions are and how much those conditions may have altered? Is that any reason why the Commissioned ranks in the Military and Naval Services should be closed to the sons of India? Is that any reason for denying to Indians the right to join the Volunteer Corps and for continuing the application of the Arms Act?

#### Parliament and India

The first question that arises is, whether this system of administration conducted by the Civil Servants, who are neither under the control of or responsible to the people who pay their salaries, can any longer continue. It is said that they are responsible to the Secretary of State for India and that the Secretary of State for India in his turn is responsible to Parliament. I will only quote from one of the leading Journals in England, the 'Manchester Guardian' what appeared in its columns recently with regard to the responsibility of Parliament in matters affecting India:

'A New Viceroy and a new Secretary of State are in office. From the date of Lord Morley's translation seven years ago to that of Mr. Austen Chamberlain's acceptance of the India Office last summer, India questions in the commons have been dealt with by the Under Secretary, and it is surely an anomaly and sometimes of a scandal that not once since his appointment, has the house had an opportunity of hearing from Mr. Chamberlain a full statement upon the condition of India or an exposition of his policy. And yet as the whole Empire realises, the position of India in the Imperial system is deeply affected by the movement of events as it will be by every measure of after-War policy that may be decided by England and her Allies. Moreover, the internal life of India today is undergoing changes more rapid than any hitherto known and the Government by deciding upon the publication of the Royal Commission's Report on the Public

Services, has acknowledged the wisdom and necessity of discussion upon proposals for administrative reform. It is high time that Parliament began to take the affairs of India seriously and that the official myth that India wants nothing but to be let alone were exploded. If Parliament is to ignore the vast responsibility of the Government of this mighty dependency, what is the use of a Parliament which calls itself Imperial?

Ladies and Gentlemen, is it not an anomaly that the domestic affairs of a country with a population of three hundred millions and more should practically be under the control and the management of (as it is often said by ministers and writers) an alien bureaucracy, not responsible to the people of the country, under no control of the people who pay taxation, but only accountable to the Secretary of State for India, who himself has never been to India, and his Council, which again is composed mostly of retired Civil Servants sitting seven thousand miles away from India; and the Secretary of State is again in his turn theoretically responsible to Parliament for his stewardship, though in practice, hardly ever is his stewardship called to account or critically investigated by Parliament? Lord Courtney deprecated the position of the Secretary of State in the following words:

The Secretary of State is a member of the Cabinet, which must possess the confidence of the House of Commons. In the end, the National will must have its way here as elsewhere; but checks and obstacles are interposed which, perhaps, insensibly moderate its force. No part of the expense involved in the Government of India comes before the House of Commons in Committee Supply. The salary of the Indian Secretary of State is paid by India and never comes before the House of Commons. At the end of the Session, generally after the Appropriation Bill is read a second time, the Indian Budget submitted; and this consists of the review of the financial situation in India, followed by, after a desultory discussion, a resolution simply affirming that the Indian accounts show certain totals of income and expenditure; it may be doubted whether this does not betray too great a jealousy of the House of Commons. If the salary of the Indian Secretary of State were submitted like the Colonial

Secretary's to a vote the opportunity for a real debate would be given, which experience suggests, would be used rather abused.

But I go further. Is it possible or natural as a rule for members of Parliament to grasp or grapple with questions affecting the internal administration and progress of India? When it was found that was not possible in the case of Australia, Canada and South Africa, with few millions of population, would it not be miraculous if they continued to manage successfully the affairs of India by Parliament sitting in London? Having regard to the rapidly growing wants and demands of the people and the tremendous progress and changes that India is going through every few years, is it possible to govern India from Whitehallor Downing Street? To those who know India and understand India, it is clear that she no longer will merely obey? But wants to manage her own affairs. Peace, prosperity and security which satisfied her a decade ago are no longer enough. The Soul of Young India has been roused and it yearns for Political Freedom. However well our physical and material wants may be provided for, that is not sufficient. India wants to raise herself to a status which will command the respect of the nations of the world for her and which will be befitting her national honour and self-respect. It is not now a question of a few posts, it is no longer a question of a few grievances or reform of internal matters of administration; it is a question of complete change of policy. The question at issue is not merely of details but it relates to the fundamental structure of the Government and we require a statesman to deal with the present situation and refashion and reconstruct the constitution of the Government of India. It is said that there is dissatisfaction in the country, it is said a political agitation is kept up which is embarrassing to the Government, it is said that the Home Rule League movement is not desirable, but what is the cause of it all? Surely, those are not merely the signs of an excessive imagination as explained by some people for want of better knowledge. It is quite clear that this is due to the awakened political consciousness of the people, who demand a new polity and resent-and rightly resent—the differential treatment which is meted out to them socially, commercially and politically. It is mistake to construe this resentment as a mark of disloyalty. It will be wisdom to root out the fundamental cause of dissatisfaction and discontent.

### A New Spirit

A new spirit is abroad. It is young India, who, to put it in the words of Lord Morley, 'leave our Universities intoxicated with the ideas of freedom, nationality and self-Government, have to be satisfied. It will be cold comfort to them to sav that free institutions are the special privilege of the West. In order to meet the present situation, in my humble opinion, the Members of the Indian Civil Service must now realise that, as the Government of India from autocracy was transferred to bureaucracy, so the time has come when from bureaucracy it must tend towards democracy. They have wielded the sceptre of supreme control for a long time and their dominion in India has not been without its benefits to the country. But the time has come, when however unwilling and naturally unwilling—they must part with their supreme control and dominion. Amongst the many benefits that have been conferred upon India by British Rule, perhaps the greatest of the English people, has been the birth of a genuine spirit of patriotism. To put it in the words of a member of the Civil Service. who has given much thought to the problem of bureaucratic Government, it is the patriotism which seeks its ideals, not in military glory or the apotheosis of a king, but in the advancement of the people. Informed by this spirit and strong in the material benefits flowing from British Rule. India now knocks at the portal of democracy. Bureaucracy has served its purpose. Though the Indian Civil Service were manned by angels from heaven, the incurable defects of a bureaucratic Government must pervert their best intentions and make the foes of political progress. It must now stand aside and in the interest of the country it has served so long and so truly, make over the dominion to other hands not in dishonour, but in honour, proudly as ship-builders who deliver to seamen the completed ship, may they yield up the direction of India. This will require self-abnegation, self-sacrifice, not for their own nation but for India, for humanity. It will require sympathy and understanding such as no nation has ever felt for a foreign people. Will the Civil Service rise to this supreme duty that they owe to the three hundred millions of people of this country? Let me quote the words of His Excellency Lord Hardinge from his speech at the United Service Club which he addressed to a large number of representative officials, he said:

England has instilled into this country the culture and civilization of the West with all its ideals of liberty and self-respect. It is not enough for her now to consider only the material outlook of India. It is necessary for her to cherish the aspirations of which she has herself sown the seed and English Officials are gradually awakening to the fact that high as were the aims and remarkable the achievements of their predecessors, a still nobler task lies before them in the present and the future, guiding the uncertain and faltering steps of Indian development along sure and safe paths. The new role of guide, philosopher and friend is opening before you and it is worthy of your greatest efforts. It requires in you gifts of imagination and sympathy and imposes upon you self-sacrifice, for it means that slowly, but surely you must divest yourselves of some of the powers you have hitherto wielded.

It is universally recognised that if you deprive a nation of all share in its own Government, in the forging of its destiny, you emasculated its energies, undermine its character and sear, as if with a hot iron, its self-respect. In the sphere of intellect such a Government spells not progress, but decay.

#### Provincial Government

This now brings me to the question as to what should be done. This being a Provincial Conference, I will now confine myself only to the Provincial Government. The first principle that is to be observed is the principle of devolution and decentralization. But this, as I understand implies that the ultimate control of the Imperial authority in Legislative as well as in Executive matters, it kept intact and in reserve to be used whenever necessary. And a better illustration of this principle cannot be found than in the Home Rule Bill which was passed by the House of Commons conferring self-Government on Ireland. Prof. Morgan in an authoritative exposition of the New Irish

Constitution points out that 'the Bill is quite outside the category of Federalism in that, while it proposes as a delegation of authority both in Legislative and Executive, there is none of the distribution of Sovereignty which is a distinguishing characteristic of a Federation. The Executive power in Ireland will continue vested in His Majesty. The Legislative authority will be subject to an Imperial veto and to the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament with its powers of concurrent Legislation and the Irish Courts will be subject to the Appellate Jurisdiction of an Imperial Court.

In other words, the Imperial power will be supreme in the Executive, the Legislative and the Judicial sphere. The position of the Executive and Legislative authorities in India is quite similar and although the element of self-Government in every one of them is more or less non-existent, the legal relation between the Imperial and Provincial Government is based on the same principle. Council is supposed to have a non-official majority. The non-official representatives are divided into elected members, nominated members, that is to say, nominated by Government and European representatives. In measures affecting the people in which Europeans are not directly concerned, they support the Government.

Nominated members, being nominees of Government, are naturally inclined to take the side of Government. Past experience has shown that this has actually happened on various occasions. The Provincial Council at the present moment is nothing but an advisory body without possessing any power or effective control over the Government. The people or their representatives are as little associated with the real Government of the Province as they were before the Reforms of 1909 except for the introduction of one Indian member in the Executive Council of His Excellency the Governor, where again the nomination rests entirely with the Government, the people having no voice in the selection of the Indian member. The object, which the Government had in view in introducing the Reforms of 1909, as expressed by the Prime Minister in his speech in the House of Commons on the second reading of the India Council Bill (April 1st, 1909), that it was desirable in the circumstances to give to people of India a feeling that these Legislative Councils are not mere automations the wires of which are pulled by the official hierarchy, it is quite clear, has not been attained.

# Form of Administration

In order to give the people of the Province the real and effective voice in the Government of the Province for which they are ripe the following brief outline may be indicated as to the form of administration that should be set up in our Province:

- 1. The Province should have a Governor appointed from England at the head of the administration.
- 2. A Cabinet or Executive Council of six members, three of whom should be Indians, with the following portfolios:
  - (a) Provincial (including Law and Justice similar to Home Member).
  - (b) Finance.
- (c) Agriculture, Irrigation and Public Works.
  - (d) Education.
  - (e) Local Self-Government (including Sanitation and Medical Relief).
  - (f) Industries and Commerce.

While members of the Indian Civil Service should still be eligible for appointment to the Executive Council, no places in the Council should be reserved for them as at present under the statute, which makes it obligatory that a certain number of the members of the Executive Council should be appointed from Public Services.

The best men available should be appointed, whether English or Indian.

3. A substantial majority in the Council should be of elected members returned by different constituencies and interests. Mohammedans and Hindus, wherever they are in a minority, should have proper, adequate and effective representation, having regard to their numerical strength and position. There should be no nominated

- non-official member except as expert.
- The Council should have the power to pass all provincial Legislation and determine provincial taxation. All resolutions in connection with the budget as also on questions of general administration should take effect unless vetoed by the Government. More frequent meetings and continuous sittings will also have to be provided for. But the members of the Executive Government shall not depend individually or collectively on the support of a majority of the Council for holding their offices. The Provincial Government, reconstituted and working under the control of the Legislative Council, should have complete charge of the internal administration of the Province. It should have independent financial powers and the present financial relationship between the Provincial Government and the Government of India should be largely revised or if necessary reversed. The Provincial Government should be required to make an annual contribution to the Government of India, fixed for a definite period. Subject to this arrangement the Imperial and Provincial Government should develop their separate system of finance, the Provincial Government being given powers to taxation and borrowing within certain limits.

No scheme of Provincial autonomy can be complete without the corresponding changes of a liberalising character being introduced into the District and Municipal administration.

It is always a difficult task to lay down any out and dried scheme in a Presidential address, but here again I shall venture to make a few suggestions affecting the fundamental principles that underlie local self-Government in India and here I would quote from no less an authority than Lord Morley's Reform Despatch dated 27th November, 1909. It says: 'The principles that should inspire and regulate measures with this aim can hardly be laid down in sounder or clearer terms than in the Resolution published by the Government of India on the 18th May, 1882. I do not know where to look for a better expression of the views that should govern our policy under this important head.'

This Resolution although passed as far back as 1882 by the

Government of that renowned Viceroy Lord Ripon has not still been carried out fully or given real effect to.

The first and foremost change that is necessary to be introduced in the various bodies, is that they should be wholly elected, the Provincial Government alone reserving to itself and exercising powers of control, that the present official control exercised by the Collectors and Commissioners should be removed, that the Chairman should be elected by the Boards and the exofficio President should be done away with, that a portion of Excise revenue or some other definite source of revenue should be made over to these bodies so that they may have adequate resources at their disposal for the due performance of their duties.

To quote again from Lord Morley's Reform Despatch this is what he says:

I will venture to quote some passages in this memorable deliverance. Explaining the proposal for Local Self-Government of that date, the Government of India place themselves on ground which may well be our ground also. 'It is not primarily, they say, with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported, it is chiefly desirable as an instrument of political and popular education; and again there appears to be great force in the argument that so long as the Chief Executive officers are as a matter of course Chairmen of the Municipal and District Committees, there is little chance of these Committees affording any effective training to their members in the management of local affairs or of the non-official members taking any real interest in local business. The nonofficial members must be led to feel that real power is placed in their hands and that they have real responsibilities to discharge. This anticipation has been, to some extent, warranted by experience. Funds have not existed for an efficient Executive staff. The official element within the local bodies has been in many places predominant. Non-official members have not been induced to such an extent as was hoped to take a real interest in local business because their power and their responsibilities were not real. If Local Self-Government has so far been not marked success as a training ground, it is mainly for the reason that the constitution of the local bodies departed from what was affirmed

in the resolution to be 'the true principal' that 'the control should exercise from without rather than from within; the Government should revise and check the acts of local bodies but not dictate them.' I have no doubt that the Government of India today will affirm and actively shape their policy upon the principle authoritatively set forth by their predecessors in 1882: 'It would be hopeless to expect any real development of self-Government if the local bodies were subject to check and interference in matters of details, and the respective powers of Government and of the various local bodies should be clearly and distinctly defined by Statute, so that there may be as little risk of friction and misunderstanding as possible within the limits to be laid down in each case, however, the Governor-General in Council is anxious that the fullest possible liberty of action should be given to local bodies.

I have made a few general observations and dealt with the Provincial Government and the question of Local S: If-Government. There are many other questions and important questions which I see are placed on the agenda in the form of resolutions and I have no doubt that the speakers in charge of those resolutions will adequately deal with them. But I cannot conclude my address without referring at least to some of the burning questions, and amongst them the most important question is the question of admission of the Indians to Commissioned ranks of the Army and Navy, the removal of the most irritating and humiliating disabilities created by statutes which have raised a bar against the people of India in joining Volunteer Corps, no matter what their rank or position in life may be, the unjust application of the Arms Act to the people of India from which the Europeans are exempted. The Press Act and its arbitrary provisions and still more its arbitrary enforcement by the Executive which is subject to no judicial check, so far as the decisions of the High Courts at the present moment go, the Defence of India Act, which was purely a war measure and to which the representatives of the people of India assented when it came before the Imperial Council, is worked in a manner in some cases which is highly undesirable, the undue and unjustifiable delay in making the elementary education free and compulsory in the selected areas is the cause of the greatest dissatisfaction and disappointment to the people.

## Indians and the Army and Navy

Now to take the question of the Army and the Navy, the only two arguments which have hitherto been advanced are that the people of the country are not fit except some sects or tribes who have followed the profession of arms as a hereditary profession. Now, first of all, is that a correct hypothesis? At the outbreak of the War, the Princes and the people of India of all classes and sections, with one voice, volunteered to support the Empire with their money and blood. Young students in England belonging to different classes of people in India, from all parts of India studying at their Universities, volunteered to enlist themselves as Territorials. For an answer, they were told that being Indians, their services could not be accepted. Then they made representations to the Secretary of State for India expressing their indignation at this differential treatment, it was said that the whole military question affecting India will be considered after the War. In Bengal a movement was started in which Sir S.P. Sinha took a leading part to start a Volunteer Corps, a large sum of money was collected and six hundred young men belonging to respectable families enlisted themselves ready to go to the Front, to fight the battle of the Empire. But they were told that cannot be. Does the profession of a soldier require more brains, greater capacity, ingenuity than that of a lawyer, a doctor, or a poet or a scientist? If Indians are good enough to fight as sepoys and pirates, why are they not good enough to occupy the position of officers? There cannot be a better answer than what the Indian soldiers have achieved in this War. Several of them are proud possessors of the Victoria Cross, which, to a soldier, is the greatest honour and decoration that can be conferred upon him by the King-Emperor.

The second argument is that an army with a preponderance of the Indian element may be turned against the British Government and here I cannot but quote a more complete answer than what was given by the President of the Indian National Congress, Sir, S.P. Sinha. He said: 'I venture to submit in reply that anarchists and seditionists may succeed in winning over

an ignorant and mercenary army, but they will never succeed in winning over a truly national army, drawn from people made increasingly loyal by the spread of education and liberal self-governing institutions...The opening of a military career will fire the imagination and stimulate the virility of India in a way that nothing else can do. And is it too much for India to expect to be treated in the same way as Russia treats her subject races especially after the proof India has given of the prowess of her sons and their devotion and loyalty to the Imperial Standard?

These arguments equally apply to the Navy, where the sons of India cannot aspire to a higher position than that of Lascar in the Mercantile Marine. The time is not far distant when perhaps India will have to consider what fleet she should raise primarily for Indian Defences and as a contribution to the Imperial Navy.

The Press Act was a most unwelcome measure from its very inception. It has been characterised as a serious menace to the freedom of the Press in India, but the harsh manner in which it is enforced has roused the strongest opposition and created great discontent. The safeguards provided by the Act have proved illusory and incapable of being enforced as declared by the High Court of Calcutta. It is high time that the Government appointed a Committee of official and non-official members to consider its working since 1910 and recommend what course should be adopted to allay the just public resentment and discontent with regard to this measure.

# Defence of India Act

The Defence of India Act as a War measure was accepted by the country. But its working has proved that it is a dangerous weapon placed in the hands of the Executive on whom there is no judicial check of any kind whatsoever. It would be wise to follow the procedure adopted in England to have a Committee who should have the power of revising the orders of the Executive Officers and such a Committee should have an equal number of Indian members.

I have the honour and privilege of knowing His Excellency the Governor. If I may say so, Lord Willingdon is all kindness and courtesy. I hope, I am not giving out any secrets, when I say that I personally know that he is in full sympathy with our ideals and aspirations and has done much to support them. But I cannot help saying that it was a matter of profound regret that the Bombay Government, of which he is the head, should have thought proper to apply the Defence of India Act to that great English lady, Mrs. Besant. Whether we agree with her or not, whether we see eye to eye with her or not on certain questions, I believe, I am expressing the universal feeling of this Presidency and for the matter of that, the whole country at large, that the order of the local Government prohibiting Mrs. Besant to enter our Province was received with the utmost sorrow and shock. It is a grave reflection on the fair name of this Presidency and I feel it is calculated to do great harm to the dignity and the presitige of the Government itself.

With regard to elementary education being made free and compulsory, so much has been said that at this juncture I do not wish to enter into details, but the renaissance of India can only be achieved truly by a true and real foundation to be laid for self-government ultimately based on a proper system of education of national character, which in course of time would produce more and more men worthy of managing the affairs of our own country. I may have occasion at a not very distant future, when I should perhaps like to deal with this important question in detail.

#### The Educated Classes

Before I leave this subject, I may point out that it is often put forward as a favourite argument that India is not fit for self-government because the educated classes are as yet a very small fraction in the country. In the first instance the Government, although they have recently bestirred themselves in the cause of education, have never seriously and earnestly grappled with the problem of Elementary or Primary education of India. The question has always been shelved on one ground or the other, such as want of funds, want of school buildings, want of trained teachers. On the other hand, we are told that we have not got a sufficient number of educated people. Who is responsible for it after 100 years of British Rule? But the test of the fitness of the people for self-government is not that every man,

woman and child should be first educated and the hollowness of this plea was ably exposed by the late Mr. George Yule in his address as President of our National Congress in 1888. Quoting Prof. Thorold Rogers, he pointed out that a hundred years ago, not one man in ten or one woman in twenty knew how to read or write in England. Going another century or two back, he added, the people of England, man and boy, high and low with the exception of a mere handful were steeped in gross ignorance and yet there was House of Commons. And I believe, we have now at the present moment in India twenty millions who can read and write.

#### Hindus and Mohammedans

Now I come to the all absorbing question which stirred India because of the declaration of the 'Entente Cordiale' between the Hindus and the Mohammedans made in the city of Bombay last Christmas. I believe all thinking are thoroughly convinced that the key-note of our real progress lies in the good-will, concord, harmony and co-operation between the two great sister communities. The true focus of progress is centred in their union and remember this is a matter which is entirely in our own hands. It was three years ago that the All-India Muslim League adopted the ideal of Self-Government under the 'aegis' of the British Crown which was hailed by the Indian National Congress at Karachi where the following Resolution was passed:

That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All-India Muslim League of the ideal of self-Government for India within the British Empire, and expresses its complete accord with the belief that the League has so emphatically declared at its last session that the political future of the country depends on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities in the country which has been the cherished ideal of the Congress. This Congress most heartily welcomes the hope expressed by the League that the leaders of the different communities will make every endeavour to find a modus operandi for joint and concerted action on all questions of national good and earnestly appeals to all the sections of the people to help the object which we all have at heart.

Since then the programme of the All-India Muslim League has been more and more approximated to that of the Indian National Congress. There is but one question besides the question of cow killing and street music which has proved not only a thorny question but an obstacle which has kept the two communities hitherto apart. But the solution is not difficult. It requires a true spirit of conciliation and give and take. The Mohammedans want proper, adequate and effective representation in the Council chambers of the country and in the District and Municipal Boards, a claim which no right-minded Hindu disputes for a moment. But the Mohammedans further require that representation in the various boards and Council chambers should be secured to them by means of separate electorates. This question of separate electorates from the top to bottom has been before the country ever since 1909 and rightly or wrongly the Musalman community is absolutely determined for the present to insist upon separate electorates. To most of us the question is no more open to further discussion or argument as it has become a mandate of the community. As far as I understand, the demand for separate electorates is not a matter of policy but a matter of necessity to the Mohammedans who require to be roused from the coma and torpor into which they had fallen so long. I would, therefore, appeal to my Hindu brethren that in the present state of position they should try to win the confidence and trust of the Mohammedans who are. after all, in the minority in the country. If they are determined to have separate electorates, no resistance should be shown to their demand.

There are other questions of most vital and paramount importance to both the Hindus and Mohammedans, that require united and concerted action. Difference in details such as, method of securing to Mohammedans their adequate share in the Council Chambers, Municipal and District Boards should not be allowed to create an impasse and one side or the other must give in. I would, therefore, appeal to my Hindu friends to be generous and liberal and welcome and encourage other activities of Mohammedans even if it involves some sacrifice in this matter of separate electorates. And I may have to say something more fully on this question at the session of the All-India Muslim League where I have been called to preside over next

Christmas. But the committees, appointed by the Congress and League in Bombay, will soon meet at Calcutta to formulate a scheme of reforms and I most fervently pray that they will both adopt a scheme that may go out to the world as united demand of India.

One thing is, however, clear. It is not a question of few more seats going to the Mohammedans or the Hindus. It is a question as I have already pointed out, in the first instance, of transfer of the power from the bureaucracy to democracy. Let us concentrate all our attention and energy on this question alone for the present.

The Hindus and the Mohammedans should stand united and use every constitutional and legitimate means to affect that transfer as soon as possible. But for a real New India to arise, all petty and small things must be given up.

She is now India *irrendenta* and to be redeemed, all Indians must offer up sacrifice not their good things, but all those evil things they cling to blindly—their hates and their divisions, their pride in what they should be thoroughly ashamed of, their divisions, their pride in what they should be thoroughly ashamed of, their quarrels and misunderstandings. There were the sacrifices that God would love.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have done. In conclusion, let me tell you that, after all, a great deal depends upon ourselves. Hindus and Mohammedans, united and firm, the voice of the three hundred millions of people vibrating throughout the length and the breadth of the country, will produce a force which no power on earth can resist. India has, I believe, turned a corner. She has passed through great sufferings and borne them patiently for centuries. There is now a bright and a great future in front of her. We are on a straight road, the promised land is within sight. 'Forward' is the motto and clear course for Young India. But in the onward march, we must be circumspect, and never lose sight of the true perspective before us. And wisdom and caution should be our watch-words.

# Chapter 34

## PROTEST AGAINST INTERNMENT

At a crowded mass meeting convened under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency Association on 30th July, 1917, the Hon. Mr. M.A. Jinnah, who presided, addressing the Assembly, said:

This public meeting of the citizens of Bombay is called to express its emphatic protest against the actions and policy of some of the Provincial Governments in India and against the Government of India for allowing such actions to be taken and such a policy to be pursued and remaining studiously silent, the country at large is stirred to its very depth. Ladies and Gentlemen, it seems obvious that, if we accept the policy of the Government, all constitutional and lawful agitation will, in effect, be stopped, that the freedom of speech and the press and the right of public meeting under the British flag is henceforth to be regulated by the arbitrary judgment and decision of a Provincial Governor or Government, that the Executive are to decide what is lawful and constitutional propaganda without reference to the Courts of Justice of His Majesty the King-Emperor. Is this the aim and object of those who are responsible for the actions of the Provincial Government?

It is said that we are to put out of our thoughts entirely the early grant of self-Government to India, that we are not going to get anything like the reforms formulated and sanctioned by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League last December at Lucknow to be given effect to at the close of the War, that we must be content with small minor reforms which the bureaucracy have recommended though we are not yet even accorded the small mercy of knowing what they are that we are not to raise expectations in the minds of the people

which are not going to be fulfilled. We are threatened with Government action if we do not obey these warnings and as an earnest thereof Mrs. Besant and her co-workers are interned—any expression of public opinion recording disapproval of the Government action is not desired. In Bengal and Delhi, public meetings have been stopped already. Now why is India alone of all other parts of the Empire to be marked out for silence—and why should we be at this moment subject to this repressive policy? We are shedding our blood and pouring our money ungrudgingly and unstintingly for the defence of the Empire in this War, the very basis of which is to preserve the liberty and freedom of people of various countries. Is the bureaucracy of India blind? Have they lost their reason to treat loyal India at this iuncture in this manner? It is a mistake. It shows an utter want of wisdom and statesmanship. What is His Excellency the Vicerov Lord Chelmsford doing? His silence at this moment is most ominous and worse than the most drastic repressive actions already adopted and enforced by some of the Provincial Governments.

## Protest Against Internments

We protest against the internments of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers not only on principle, but also because it is an attempt to intern the Home Rule or Self-Government Scheme of Reforms, framed and adopted conjointly by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow. We declare that we stand by the scheme unswervingly and unflinchingly, and we shall do all that lies in our power for its realisation at the close of the War. We protest against the methods adopted and attempts that are made, to silence the people of India from carrying on their constitutional agitation. We feel that Government are blind to the real public opinion in the country regarding the Reform Scheme passed at Lucknow: and are entirely misled and pursuing a policy which is fraught with most serious consequences. It has already led the people to earnestly consider whether they should not adopt the principle and methods of Passive Resistance.

A Carry Comme

## An Unprecedented and a Most Unfortunate Situation

The present political situation is unprecedented and most unfortunate; it has cast the gravest responsibility upon the leaders, the people and the Government alike, which requires the most careful and immediate attention of us all. Let us not try to muddle through as usual. The times are different and changed. We require at once a clear and definite enunciation of the policy of the Government. We require that the confidence of the people in the Government which has been so severely shaken within the past three months should be restored at once to enable us to win this war, which has been our first and foremost consideration throughout this long and weary struggle which has been going on for nearly three years. The people of India are anxious and are earnestly endeavouring to attain the status of a self-Governing Member of the Empire at an early date; but it is really a folly to think that because of that they are not loyal to the Empire. For the matter of that I say that educated Indians are as loyal to the Crown and the Empire as any Englishman is. I trust that statesmen of the calibre of the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, who are as the head of the Government of England and India, will not allow this situation to assume a still more serious character.

In the belief and faith that British statesmanship has not come to the point of utter bankruptcy. I appeal to it on behalf of this meeting that they should not lose any time in making a declaration of policy for making India a self-Governing Member of the British Empire at an early date, and order the reversal of the recent repressive policy, in response to the public opinion which is unequivocal and emphatic throughout the country.

#### cas Chapter 35

# THE REFORM PROPOSALS AND SELF GOVERNMENT

On September 7, 1918, Mr Surendra Nath Banerjea moved the Resolution in the Legislative Council that 'this Council, while thanking his Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India for the Reform proposals and recognising them as a genuine effort and a definite advance towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India, recommends to the Governor-General in Council that a Committee consisting of the non-official members of this Council be appointed to consider the Reforms Report and make recommendations to the Government of India'. Speaking on this resolution, the Hon. Mr. M.A. Jinnah remarked that the proposed reforms were not substantial steps towards the progressive realisation of self-government. He also demanded introduction of reforms at the Centre as proposed for the Provinces.

The Hon'ble Mr. M.A. Jinnah: "My Lord, I regret very much that my friend Mr. Sastri should have struck an unpleasant note as to the difference between him and Mr. Patel. I think this is not the place where we can defend, justify or impeach the position of the seceders from the Congress. The question before us is the resolution. My Lord, in the first place, I have no hesitation in saying that we appreciate that there has been an earnest attempt on the part of your Excellency and Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, to inaugurate a system of responsible government in this country."

His Excellency the President: "I am sure the Council are very anxious to hear the Hon'ble Member; perhaps he will speak up a little louder".

The Hon'ble Mr. M.A. Jinnah: "I am sorry, my Lord. I will repeat what I said, that I have no hesitation in saying that we appreciate the earnest attempt on the part of your, Excellency and the Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu, to inaugurate a

system of responsible government in this country. Secondly I think, my Lord, that it did not require the eloquence of my friend Mr. Banerjea, nor the abilities of Mr. Sastri to impress upon this Council, or upon anybody outside this Council who has taken the trouble to read the Report carefully, to come to the conclusion that there is a distinct advance on the present system of the Constitution of the Government; but that is not the question. We recognise that there is an advance, but that is not the question. Nobody disputes that responsible government is to be established in India by successive stages, or, in other words, progressive realisation of responsible government. That undoubtedly implies instalments and stages, but, my Lord, as your Lordship said in your speech only a few days ago, what was promised in that statement was 'substantial step.' If I may quote it, my Lord, this is how your Lordship put it:

"What I wish to emphasise is this. 'Substantial steps' were promised. In my own heart I am confident that 'substantial steps' are provided in our proposals. We have not kept back something like hucksters in the market, something which we would be prepared to give as a result of pressure. Everything has been placed on the table for all men to see".

Now, my Lord, with utmost deference, with the utmost respect for your Excellency's opinion, I beg to submit that a 'substantial step' has not been given in these proposals, and I shall illustrate what I mean at once. In the Provincial Governments, my Lord, undoubtedly there is an advance, but what do we find? We find this, that whether we really get a substantial step in the Provinces or whether we do not, will depend entirely on the Committee which will decide the transferred and the reserved subjects, and eventually whether those recommendations will be accepted or not. Now I say, my Lord, without going into details, because I have limited time of 15 minutes under the rules, that there are provinces in India today which are quite competent to manage the entire Provincial Government. But without going into reasons, what we say is this, that as you are trying an experiment, and since you say, that we are going through transitional stages, we are prepared, while not agreeing with the reasons given in the Report, but as a matter of compromise, that in some Provinces all subjects should be transferred

at once except the police and justice, and they are quite competent, I make bold to say, to manage them.

Then again with regard to the Provinces, there is a feature in the proposals, which to my mind is the most objectionable feature, and that my Lord, you will find in clause 43 of the Report. Even assuming my Lord, that the proposals were accepted and that substantial departments or subjects were transferred under clause 43, such enormous powers are given to the Governor that, in my opinion, it will be injurious and prejudicial to the objects in view. Now see what the Governor can do under clause 43.

The Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes: "My Lord, I think the Hon'ble Member is wrong, clause 43 of the Report deals with Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province."

His Excellency the President: "I think the Hon'ble Member is referring to clause 43 in the Summary. I think it would be more convenient if he referred to the Report because we laid particular stress on the fact that the Summary was not to be regarded as in any way authoritative. It is the Report which is the authoritative Statement".

The Hon'ble Mr. M.A. Jinnah: "My Lord, my point is one that does not require any reference to the paragraphs, it is this that any Member of the Executive Council is to have the right to challenge the whole or any part of a Bill on its introduction, or any amendment moved, when he thinks it trenches on the reserved field of legislation. The Governor is to have the choice then either of allowing the Bill to proceed in the Legislative Council, or of certifying the Bill, clause or amendment. If he certifies the Bill, clause or amendment, the Governor may either decline to allow it to be discussed or suggest to the Legislative Council an amended Bill or clause, and so on. Therefore, my Lord, any Member of the Executive Council can get up and say that a particular Bill or clause in that Bill impinges or entrenches on a reserved subject, and the Governor in his full discretion can decline to have the Bill discussed, or allow any clause of it to be discussed either. That to my mind is a most objectionable feature so far as the Provincial Governments are concerned and should not be allowed."

Then, my Lord, going further into details, I do not accept the proposition that, in order to achieve progressive realisation.

of responsible government, you must confine the advance such as is fore-shadowed to the Provinces. Where do you find that in the announcement of the 20th August? Why must you confine it to the Brovinces, and why should the Government of India be left untouched? And yet this is how the formula is laid down by the authors of the Report. My Lord, with a very great respect I must say again that I see no justification in the announcement to say that Provinces should form the units, and that for the present, we must confine ourselves to the progressive realisation of responsible government in the Provinces. The position of the Government of India under the proposals will be as defined in formula 3 of the Report, I will read it.

"The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament and saving such responsibility, its authority in essential matters must remain indisputable pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the Provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased". Therefore, so far as the Government of India is concerned, you leave the Government of India in this position. That we, the elected Members in the Government of India, shall have nothing else but 'opportunities of influencing the Government'. Now, my Lord, we have been influencing the Government since 1892, we have been influencing the Government since 1909 (the Minto-Morley Reforms), and you are leaving us in practically the same position and at the same stage as we have been ever since 1892. What difference is there? Of course I shall be told that we have an elected majority, I shall be told that, so far as Private Member's Bill is concerned, we can carry it through the Assembly, and take it to the State Council, and in case of differences of opinion between the chambers, it will be settled by means of 'Joint Session'. Here, again, the Governor-General in Council will have the power to certify and that means that the certificate will prevail against the will of the representatives. Now, my Lord, this is the very thing you deprecate in your Report, namely, that which you call the bane of the Minto-Morley Reforms. And what is that bane? It is that you leave the elected Members in the position of irresponsible critics. How are you changing that position by this scheme of yours? They will remain irresponsible critics

under this constitution, because by the certificate of the Governor-General in Council you can do as you please. You can carry any measure that you desire, notwithstanding the unanimous opposition of the Assembly or the elected Members in the Council of State. Is that so, or is that not so? If that is so, do we not remain in the same position of irresponsible critics? You will find under your scheme that a Government Bill can be run through on a certificate. You will also find that on a certificate even a Private Member's Bill can be thrown out or altered as the Government wish. But over and above that you have got the veto as far as a Private Member's Bill is concerned.

Now, my Lord, may I know why the Government of India is to remain so sacred and not to be touched. It there no department in the Government of India which could be brought under the control of the vote of the Legislature, and why not? Why I ask, should there not be simultaneous advance? I am prepared, my Lord, to concede this proposition for the present that the Government of India are certainly responsible for the peace, order and the safety of the country. I am prepared to concede this also, that they should keep under their own control those departments which are essential for the carrying out of the primary functions of the Government. But, my Lord, is there no department in the Government of India which ought to be brought under the control of the vote of the legislature? My Lord, in the first instance my submission is that, barring the reserved subjects, in which I include the peace, tranquillity and safety of the country, other departments should be left to the vote of the Legislature. I am prepared to accept and I do accept the bicameral system which is laid down in the Report, and I hope that the day may come, as the distinguished authors of the Report themselves say, when it will become the real revising chamber. I have no doubt, my Lord, that 'responsible Government' in this country is bound to come, it must come. It is only a question of time. At present the difference between you and us is a question of speed, there is no other question. We say that your proposals do not go far enough. But I say, my Lord, whenever that day does come, it can only be a federation of India, and in a country so vast, with such a population as we have, I firmly believe it will be necessary to have a revising chamber. Now what will happen, my Lord, if my suggestions are accepted. Shortly put, in the case of the reserved subjects, you will have complete administrative control, and with regard to affirmative legislation, you can run through any measure, whereas transferred subjects will come under the vote of the Legislature. Remember you have the Council of State. if there is a difference of opinion between the two Houses, you have at once 'Joint Session'. My Lord, I have carefully worked out the figures and have taken a little trouble to think over the problem. What will be the position? Will the position be so rash. so irresponsible, if you leave certain departments to the vote of the Legislature? Centainly not, because to begin with you have out of the 100 Members in the Assembly 67 elected and you have 21 elected in the State Council. In the Joint Sessions there will be a majority of 26 elected Members, and without meaning any offence to anybody, even among the elected Members sometimes, my Lord, there are differences of opinion. and out of those 26 I deduct 14, some of them representing special interests, the European Members I do not count. Therefore, in the Joint Sessions you will have a majority really of 12 elected Members. If those 12 Members, my Lord, cannot be worn over by the Government of India with regard to the departments which do not touch the primary functions of the Government, namely, peace, tranquillity and safety of the country and reserved subjects such as Army, Navy, Foreign Policy and ruling princes, and if the vote decides against the Government in matters other than reserved subjects then I sav. my Lord, that it should be so, and the will of the Legislature should prevail over the Executive in those matters at least."

His Excellency the President: "The Hon'ble Member has exceeded his time limit."

The Hon'ble Mr. M.A. Jinnah: "My Lord, I have nothing more to say except this, that for the sake of the glorious day which will form the brightest chapter in the history of Great Britain and India, namely, the day when the responsible government is established in this country, might you not view the question at present in a generous and large spirit, and might we not hope that, notwithstanding your expression of opinion, you will still be prepared to consider the suggestions and modifications that we propose which will give satisfaction to the people and make the experiment a real success."

### Chapter 36

# THE EFFECT OF PRESS LEGISLATION IN INDIA

On September 19, 1918, Mr. G. S. Khaparde moved the resolution in the Legislative Council that a Committee consisting of equal number of official and non-official Indians should be appointed to enquire into and report on the effect produced on the press in India by the Legislation relating to it and by the Defence of India (Consolidation) Rules, 1915. Secondly, the Committee was to report about the moral and material conditions of the press in India. The Hon. Mr. M.A. Jinnah, speaking on the resolution, related the circumstances under which Press Act of 1910 was passed and also referred to its administration subsequently.

The Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah: "Sir, when the Press Act was passed in 1910, I happened to be a Member of this Council. At that time the position, Sir, was this,—I think the Hon'ble the Home Member will bear me out—that we had got already sufficient provisions in our ordinary codes and our ordinary laws to deal adequately with most of the offences which he described in his speech, but that could only be done by means of judicial proceedings.

It was then suggested in 1910 that we had so many instances of papers which I will characterise as erring papers, papers which spread sedition and disaffection, and were the cause more or less of political crimes that those papers could not well and adequately be dealt with by the weapons which already existed in the armoury of the law. Therefore, the Government came before this Council and put forward this case, that the Council must give power to the Executive to deal with such offences, because it was urged that the consequences of adopting judicial proceedings were sometimes worse in their results although it could secure a conviction against the culprit. It was in view of

these facts, and particularly because at that time the province of Bengal was not very peaceful, that the Government in 1910 came before this Council and asked for these powers. Sir, if you will refer to the proceedings of 1910, you will find that almost every non-official Member, feeling as he did that the Press Act was striking a blow at the liberty of the press which we all prize, still came to the conclusion that, having regard to the circumstances, he could not refuse them, and you will find that almost all non-official Members supported the Act, with the exception of one or two. That was in 1910.

Sir. this Act has the defect of all measures which do not come under the purview of judicial supervision, because it is a measure which has got to be administered by the Executive This measure has remained on the statute-book for seven years. and I venture to say, that notwithstanding the extreme instances the Hon'ble the Home Member was pleased to cite, there are cases where this Act has been maladministered and has been oppressively worked. It is no use citing instances of any extreme character. We know all that, and we regret it. It was because of these extreme cases that the Government was in a position to come before this Council and ask for these extraordinary powers which you have got at present. We regret them and we unwillingly gave you that power. But the question today is this-how has that power been exercised, and how is this Act to be administered? I do not want to go into details. I could give some instances that have come to my knowledge, and I have no hesitation in saving that the Act has been administered in a most arbitrary manner, and you cannot prevent it, you cannot avoid it, because you must remember that we are all human, and when such arbitrary powers are given to the Heads of Departments and to Executive Officers, it must be remembered that they are human, they have got likes and dislikes, and they have their prejudices. And remember this, that there is no appeal, it is final. Now what we want is this—seven years have passed since this Act became law, and we feel that it is time that a proper inquiry was held, and if you hold the inquiry, Sir, I venture to say that the Government themselves in all fairness will be satisfied that this act should be modified.

I do not wish for a single moment that any culprit who is guilty of sedition, who is guilty of causing disaffection, who is guilty of causing race-hatred, should escape, but at the same time, I say protect the innocent, protect those journalists who are doing their duty and who are serving both the public and the Government by criticising the Government freely, independently, honestly—which is an education for any Government. I know that officials are sensitive to criticism, and we have a very typical example of my Hon'ble friend Colonel Auplin. He is mortally afraid of criticism going to Burma. Well, I hope that Colonel Auplin will bear in mind some of the remarks that the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri made with regard to that. You are not going to make the people of Burma happy by keeping them ignorant. It may be easier to govern them that way, but it is not a model form of Government, and even Burma might make some advance.

"Sir, I therefore, entirely support the first part of the Resolution".

### Chapter 37

#### SEDITION COMMITTEE REPORT

On September 23, 1918, Mr. G. S. Khaparde moved the resolution in the Legislative Council that the consideration and disposal of the report of the Sedition Committee of 1918 (Rowlatt Committee Report) be kept in abeyance, and that a thorough and searching inquiry be undertaken by a mixed Committee of an equal number of official and non-official Indians into the working of the Criminal Investigation Department, including the Central Intelligence Department. Speaking on the resolution, the Hon. Mr. M.A. Jinnah remarked.

The Hon'ble Mr. M.A. Jinnah: "My Lord, the Resolution as it is worded embarrasses one's position very much. I take it that the most important question today, is the question of the Rowlatt Committee Report. Now, the Resolution seeks this, that the Report or the consideration and disposal of it be kept in abevance. I really cannot understand with the utmost possible respect for the mover that his object is in asking this Council to vote that the Report should be kept in abevance. The second part of this Resolution is, that a Committee should be appointed consisting of official and non-official Members to search into the Working of the Criminal Investigation Department, including the Central Intelligence Department. My Lord, I fail to see what connection there is between our dealing with the Report of the Rowlatt Committee and the working of the Criminal Investigation Department or the Central Intelligence Department. Possibly there may be some connection so far as certain information or evidence might have been placed before the Rowlatt Committee by it. But the important question, as I understand wit, is about the Rowlatt Committee Report. Now, the Rowlatt Committee, as you will find from the terms of reference to that Committee, was appointed to investigate and Report (1) on the nature and extent of criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movements in India, (2) to examine and consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with such conspiracies and to advise as to such legislation as would enable Government to deal effectively with them.

I take it, my Lord, that the sole purpose of appointing the Rowlatt Committee, was not to discover that there were criminal conspiracies in the land; they are there and they have existed. But I take it that the real object of appointing that Committee, was to determine how to deal with this kind of offences when we return to normal times: for the extraordinary remedies and powers which are now placed in the hands of Government by what may be termed war legislation will only last during the period of the war and no more, and their main purpose was to suggest what measures, legislative, should be adopted with a view to deal with these conspiracies. The Government had the evidence before them, they had all the papers before them, and they knew perfectly well that this kind of offences were being committed every day. The object was to find out what methods and measures could be adopted to deal with those offences. Now, therefore, I do not attach much importance to that part of the Rowlatt Committee Report, which does not more than put in readable form the narratives of various conspiracies that have existed, the various crimes that have been committed. But we are concerned more with the part which recommends the measures that we should adopt.

Now, my Lord, it was said by the Hon'ble the Home Member that these are not political matters, but crimes. With the utmost respect I beg to differ from him. These are political matters and very much so. You must remember that, in India before 1906, there was no such thing as criminal conspiracies of revolutionary character. I believe that the first bomb that was thrown in India was after 1906, not before that. Therefore, my Lord, the question that we have to consider is this. What has happened to India, why was there all of a sudden in 1906 up to 1918 you have these vast developments of this anarchical movement? What is the cause of it? It is no use for those who represent the Punjab to come forward and make a defence of their policy; it is no use coming and saying that these dangers

existed and that they have dealt with these dangers in a most magnificent manner. But I would urge upon this Council and the Government to find out what is the cause of it. Surely it cannot be that all of a sudden these men became regular criminals. The cause is this, my Lord, that there is discontent; there is dissatisfaction, there is unrest.

Might I say, my Lord, that it is partly, if not wholly, due to your policy. What has been your policy? You might consider a little. The Hon'ble Sir Verney Lovett says that you recognise that unless the people of this country will co-operate with Government, unless they will help, there will be no other method so effective—I hope I am correctly reproducing the effect of his speech but just as you ask us, the people of India, to cooperate with you, we ask you to consult us—and mind you that nobody is more anxious than we are to prevent these crimes. But you cannot ask us to help you to prevent crime when you lay down the policy without consulting us. If you want us to co-operate with you, then associate us with you and give us a certain amount of control, responsibility in the policies which you are laying down for the Government of this country. My Lord, that is an aspect which no speaker has put before the Council. The whole question has been dealt with on the footing, as if some criminal tribes had sprung up in our midst and were a source of danger which it was the duty and business of everybody, without considering any further or anything more in connection with it, to lay down laws, and the moment you enact laws on the statute-book, you think you have solved the problem. I say, my Lord, that no amount of laying down of laws on the statute-book will solve this problem. You will have also to change your policy, and considerably, before you can remove the causes.

Well, my Lord, with some of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee I may agree, but there are others which I am quite sure no civilized Government will accept, no civilized Government will ever dream of putting those recommendations in the form of laws, and I refer particularly to the preventive measures which the Rowlatt Committee has recommended. I will only give some instances, although I quite see that today that question is not before us. The Rowlatt Committee while they made their recommendations, have particularly based them on,

and invited our attention to, what they call important documents attached to their report as an Appendix. I feel that it would be very difficult for anyone to deal with these recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee which are based on materials, which are not published, which are not before us, and to which the Rowlatt Committee attach the greatest importance and invite our attention most earnestly. Those papers, those documents, those materials are not before us because the Government decline to publish them. Therefore, I confess, my Lord, that it is not possible for me to criticise their recommendations without having access to the materials which are the foundations of their recommendations. But, my Lord, can you imagine measures of this kind being enacted which they put forward as preventive measures, and I will only read this:

The first group of powers should be of the following nature:

- (i) To demand security with or without assurance from anybody;
- (ii) to restrict residence or require notification of change of residence;
- (iii) to require abstention from certain acts such as engaging in journalism, distributing leaflets, or attending meetings;
- (iv) to require that the person should periodically report to the police.

I have no doubt in that case my Hon'ble friend Mr. Sastri will not be followed or shadowed by any officer of the police to which he so much objects. He will be relieved of the persecution that he described here, for then he may have to go and report himself to the police.

#### The second group:

- (i) To arrest;
- (ii) to search under warrant;
- (iii) to confine in penal custody.

Now, my Lord, I say that on the face of it, these are measures which not only will not put an end to the crimes that you want to see ended, but will lead to further crimes, and no civilized country, I make bold to say in this council, can tolerate

much less sanction measures of this character which are called preventive measures. But at the same time, I wish to make my position clear. Whether the Government ultimately realises the point of view which I have put forward today or not, one thing is certain, that these crimes must be dealt with, whatever our differences may be as to the policy which the Government pursues in this country. I myself think that it will be much better to adopt judicial procedure instead of having the laws which exist at the present moment and instead of continuing them, which give full powers to the Executive. In other words, to make this clear, instead of giving the power to the Executive, I would rather suggest that power was given to the judiciary, I would rather even suggest that these offences should be tried in a summary way, by judicial tribunal, because in my opinion, it is lesser evil than the Executive.

This is not the time to go into these matters. When the Government decide to bring any Bill or proposal I have no doubt this Council will have to deal with those measures. And then will be the time for us to think of it and give our verdict. Therefore, I regret I cannot support the Resolution because it says that this Report should be kept in abeyance. I cannot see what useful purpose can be served by keeping this Report in abeyance. If the Government choose to take action on the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee, let them do so. Let them put before us a definite measure, and we shall deal with it.

I will say one word more, and I have done. I cannot agree with my Hon'ble friend Mr. Banerjea. I really, my Lord, cannot see what the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee have got to do with Reforms. If anybody chooses to use the Report against us, you cannot prevent it.

The Hon'ble Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea: "May I rise to a point of order to correct a mistake my friend has committed. I did not say in my speech that the Reform proposals have anything to do with the Rowlatt Committee, but what I did submit was, that Lord Sydenham and others are trying to make capital out of this Report as against the Reform proposals."

The Hon'ble Mr. M.A. Jinnah: Then, my Lord, I hope that they will miserably fail in their attempt. I trust, therefore, that my friend Mr. Khaparde will not press his Resolution in the form in which he has put it.

#### ROWLATT BILL

In the 3rd week of March 1919, Rowlatt Bill [Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill] was passed. On March 28, the Hon'ble Mr. M.A. Jinnah wrote a letter to the Viceroy in which he tendered his resignation from the Imperial Legislative Council as a protest against the passing of the Rowlatt Bill.

Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

March 28, 1919

Your Excellency,

"The Passing of the Rowlatt Bill by the Government of India, and the assent given to it by your Excellency as Governor-General against the will of the people, has severely shaken the trust reposed by them in British justice. Further, it has clearly demonstrated the constitution of the Imperial Legislative Council which is a legislature but in name—a machine propelled by a foreign Executive. Neither the unanimous opinion of the non-official Indian members nor the entire public opinion and feeling outside has met with the least respect.

The Government of India and Your Excellency, however, have thought it fit to place on the statute-book a measure admittedly obnoxious and decidedly coercive at a time of peace, thereby substituting the executive for the judicial.

Besides, by passing this Bill, Your Excellency's Government have actively negatived every argument they advanced but a year ago when they appealed to India for help at the War Conference and have ruthlessly trampled upon the principles for which Great Britain avowedly fought the war.

The fundamental principles of justice have been uprooted

and the constitutional rights of the people have been violated at a time when there is no real danger to the State by an overfretful and incompetent bureaucracy which is neither responsible to the people nor in touch with real public opinion and their sole plea is that the powers when they are assumed will not be abused.

I, therefore, as a protest against the passing of the Bill and the manner in which it was passed tender my resignation as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council for I feel that under the prevailing conditions I can be of no use to my people in the Council nor consistently with one's self-respect is co-operation possible with the Government that shows such utter disregard for the opinion of the representatives of the people in the Council Chamber, and for the feelings and sentiments of the people outside.

In my opinion, a Government that passes or sanctions such a law in times of peace forfeits its claim to be called a civilised Government and I still hope that the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, will advice His Majesty to signify his disallowance to this Black Act.

Yours truly, M.A. Jinnah

### Chapter 39

#### SELF-GOVERNING DOMINION STATUS TO INDIA

On February 5, 1924, Diwan Bahadur T. Rangachariar moved the Resolution in the Legislative Assembly that necessary steps should be taken at an early date for revising the Government of India Act 1919 as to secure for India full self-governing dominion status within the British Empire and provincial autonomy in the provinces. He argued that the machinery provided under the Act was absolutely defective and the demand of revising the Act was being voiced from every quarter of the country. Sir Malcolm Hailey, Home Member, argued that the political conditions (i.e. interests of the various communities) of the country did not permit any immediate measure to be taken in this connection. However, he suggested that an official enquiry could be conducted to investigate and examine the working of the Act. Then followed the amendment of Pandit Motilal Nehru on February 8, that steps should be taken to revise the Government of India Act for the object of establishing full responsible Government and to summon for that purpose a representative Round Table Conference to recommend, with due regard to the protection of different minorities, a scheme of a constitution for India and to submit the same before the British Parliament to be embodied in a statute after its approval by a newly elected Indian Legislature. Dr. Gour suggested in his amendment that a Convention should be called for that purpose (i.e. to revise the Act). Supporting the amendment of Mr. Nehru and dealing with the suggestions made by Sir Malcolm Hailey and Dr. Gour. Mr. M.A. Jinnah spoke.

In the first instance I should like to try and make the real issue before this House as clear as possible. After hearing the speech of the Honourable the Mover and the Home Member, I cannot share the opinion of those who say that the answer of the Government is disappointing, and my reasons are these. Under Section 41 of the Government of India Act, 1919, it is

laid down that a Commission shall be appointed at the end of ten years but it does not preclude, therefore, those who are in authority to institute an inquiry and appoint a Committee or a Commission earlier than ten years. Further when Mr. Majumdar's Resolution was moved in this Assembly, two years ago, a formula was accepted unanimously by the Assembly itself. That formula expressly admitted that a Commission might be called earlier than ten years. I take it that, when the collective wisdom of that Assembly expressed that opinion, it must have expressed the opinion to reduce that period at least by two or three years, it cannot be a month or a week. Therefore, at any rate, the last Assembly, as it was constituted, expressed its opinion to that effect. Well, if you take 3 years, it will bring us to 1926. We are now in 1924 and today the Government have conceded, and I attach great importance to it, subject to the further remarks which I shall make later on that they recognise the necessity of an immediate step being taken to examine, reconsider and revise the Government of India Act, 1919. I hope. I understand the Home Member correctly. But he says that he will make a departmental inquiry.

That is to say, if I understand the Home Member correctly and I stand corrected, he concedes the necessity of a step being taken forthwith, or at an early date. He says that the character of that step will be this, that they will make a departmental inquiry. That is to say, the Government of India will consult Local Governments or such persons as they may be advised, and they will formulate a scheme which they think proper. That scheme will then be submitted to the Secretary of State. After the despatches have gone backwards and forwards. the scheme will be placed before this Legislature and then it will be submitted to Parliament. Now, Sir, I recognise the first step, but I must say I cannot agree in this matter with the character of the procedure which was defined by the Home Member. Sir, just imagine: a scheme is to be formulated by a departmental inquiry which will, exhypothesis, be framed in the secret conclave and the secret chambers of the Executive; the Government of India will take those decisions of formulating the proposals; after those proposals are formulated, they will go again to the Secretary of State for India. They will again be considered and examined behind closed doors at the India Office; and, when definite proposals have been formulated and serious decisions have been arrived at, you will then present that scheme to this Legislature—with what chance of its being modified at that stage? I say it is an entirely wrong procedure to adopt. That is the fundamental difference between the Home Members and ourselves.

Now. Sir, I will not deal with the Resolution of Mr. Rangachariar because I am in entire agreement with the amendment that is moved by Pandit Motilal Nehru. Now let us see what that amendment says. That amendment, first of all, asks the Government that they should take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible government in India and for that purpose, etc. Well, I shall not go into the constitutional gymnastics which the Home Member performed, by his fine distinction between dominion status and full responsible government. I fail to understand exactly what is the distinction it all depends upon how you define full responsible government. But, as I say, we are not concerned at the present with those highly technical constitutional questions; it is quite sufficient for my purpose, and I shall point out for the moment to the Home Member, as he was good enough to auote from the opinions of some of the public men, that he quoted me only partially, and he forgot that the answer quoted by him was given to a particular question; but I am sure that if he has read my evidence he will, I think, have found that every question as to what we mean by responsible government is answered by me and was the very first question that was put, and this is what I happened to say. I hope the House will excuse me for quoting from my own answer to the question but I do so because the Home Member has quoted only part of it. This is what I said. The question was as follows:

"Do you accept the proposition that it is desirable to bring about the progressive realisation of responsible government in India, and if so, how do you define the expression 'responsible government', and do you generally accept the proposition contained in the Preamble—(the answer I gave was as follows)—the proposition that it is desirable to bring about the progressive realisation of responsible government in India is sound."

That is my answer. Then I go further and say as follows:

"But a substantial step must be taken at once. We would define the expression 'responsible government', as far as we can define it, that the will of the Legislature which is responsible to the electorates, must prevail over the Executive, subject to veto."

Now, I ask the Honourable the Home Member what difference is there, perhaps he might claim to be a great constitutionalist and would enlighten us what difference is there between full dominion status and the definition given by me of true responsible government? Therefore, Sir, it is irrelevant and beside the point really for our present purpose to go into those matters. What do we suggest in our amendment?

This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to take steps to have the Government of India Act revised with a view to establish full responsible government in India and for the said purpose, etc.

Here, Sir, I pause for a single moment. The Honourable Member with his usual ability has tried to run away from the issue. First of all, he set up a bogey of the immediate grant of full dominion status. That is the first bogey he set up. It is not there, excuse me. I shall explain, and I am surprised that the Honourable Member has not been able to understand it. Remember, says he, we have the question of Hindus and Mohammedans not united. Remember we have got large commercial interests. European interests. Remember that your army now consists of the fighting classes. Remember that, and further remember that your own public men, when they gave evidence, before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, and the Indian National Congress never asked for such a thing as that. Remember the position of ruling princes. Sir, I can only tell the Home Member that all that energy was wasted for nothing. If he will carefully read that amendment, he will see that it is not a demand for immediate full responsible government. But it wants you to take immediate steps-I will repeat that immediate steps are required. I recognise freely, frankly, that the Home Member's speech does convey to the House that they will take steps. Now, we come to the steps. What steps? I have

described the steps which the Hon'ble the Home Member proposes to take. What steps do we suggest? The steps that we suggest are these, and I say, Sir, that these are the finest steps that Government could possibly be advised to take. If your purpose is high, as the Home Member said, if your purpose is really to look to and think of the welfare of India, if you really want the best of India to go with you, this is the best possible method for you to adopt, because after all you want confidence, support and co-operation from the best of India. We say to you that the finest method that you can adopt for that purpose is to summon a round table conference of representative men to frame a scheme in consultation with you, not without you. What objection have you to that? Why is it wrong? Why do you want to sit behind closed doors, in the secret chambers of the Executive? Why do you want to carry on your despatches backwards and forwards behind our back? Why do you want to take this decision and formulate these proposals and then come to us with all sorts of excuses and say that now this is very difficult to deal with.

Sir, the proposal of yours is putting the cart before the horse. We want you to take the people with you. We want you to start in a manner which will carry the support of the people with you. What objection can you have to a round table conference of representative men for this purpose? Further, we give you a far greater security and far more real sanction and approval of the scheme that this round table conference may formulate. And what is that? Sir, the round table conference will consist of representative men. No doubt these people will carry the greatest influence with the people. On the other hand, we shall have the Government and we may have experts who are entitled to speak on constitutional matters. But, Sir, even when you have that we give you a far more convincing proof so as to make you feel that we have once for all settled this question in such a manner that it will carry the support, the confidence and the co-operation of the people; and for that purpose we suggest that, when a scheme is framed by this round table conference, dissolve this Assembly, the Central Legislature. Let that scheme go out the country and let us vacate these seats. Of course, you will draw your pay just the same. It doesn't matter to you. But we shall have to spend more money in electioneering. We shall have to spend some thousands of rupees by going from place to place, begging each voter if he will vote for us or not. Sir. we shall be more out of pocket and shall undergo the trouble and inconvenience of which you have no idea and no experience. We shall then have to convince the electorates, which you have created under the Government of India Act. And, if we come back with that mandate of electorates, who are the real masters after all and we want them to be real masters because without them no scheme is worth the paper on which it is written—then we shall say that we are in a position to give our sanction which shall be lasting, which will give you all the support you require; Any Government that is formed will not be a Government run as it is today by a minority and supported by a section of the statute which gives it the power to certify in the place of the majority. That is what we want. Now, what objection can you have to that? What is wrong about it? Sir, the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey, the Home Member, quoted a passage from my evidence, although it was in answer to a particular question, but I take complete responsibility of it. It was as follows:

'We have no other method to suggest. Dyarchy fits in more with the order of things as they exist at present in India and it can be justified on the ground that it is for a transitional period.'

The Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey did not tell the House that the crux of my evidence before the Joint Committee was this: that at the present moment I am inclined to think that dyarchy is the best possible system that you can introduce. But Sir, my proposal was that there should be dyarchy in the Central Government also. It was on that footing that this answer was given. Further, the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey must remember this that was my opinion in 1919. The Honourable Member then was a Commissioner in a district. Since then he has become the Home Member and has been designated Governor of a Province. A great deal of water has run down the Thames since then. We were in 1919 considering a question or rather a constitution of far-reaching importance, dealing with a vast population of a country like India.

Is an opinion given at that time to be an opinion to last for all time? We have realised, Sir, and I have very little doubt about it in my mind, that dyarchy has failed, and I believe, I not the only one who thinks so. I believe even those men who faithfully and loyally worked the Reforms, men who were wedded to these Reforms, say so. Take the case of Mr. Chintamani. What does he say? He was one of the stalwarts among the supporters of these Reforms. Therefore, Sir, it is no use merely getting hold of a few words and quoting them. I thought the Honourable the Home Member would have something better to advance than to pick up a sentence here and a sentence there, and so you said this in 1918, or in 1919. Sir, I do not wish to waste the time of this House, but I do submit this and I say to the House that the simple issue before the House to night is this: What is going to be the character of the step? That is the simple issue. We have heard the Honourable the Home Member.

I absolutely and entirely oppose the character of the step that he has described, and I therefore ask the House to vote in favour of the character of the step that we suggest. Until something better is suggested. I am not satisfied with the step which is suggested by the Home Member. I hope I have not exceeded my time, but I wish to say this with regard to Dr. Gour. I speak with very great respect, and I say this. I really fail to see how his amendment is going to prevent the Government from doing what he said or attributed the Government might do. He suggested a convention? What will be the qualification of those who will be the members of that convention? Who will decide these questions? I cannot really understand how that is going to prevent the Government, if they wish to procrastinate or delay the matter from doing so. But I am not one of those who will, in season and out of season, attribute motives to Government. I accept the word of the Home Member when he says that they want to take steps. I accept that word and I am ready to take it that is an honourable assurance that we accept and it will be done without delay. I accept that and I am not going to start by saying 'you will delay and you will frustrate.' We will see, but I submit to this House that I really fail to understand Dr. Gour. Instead of saying 'round table conference,' he says 'convention'. 'Convention' has got some constitutional meaning. I understand. Otherwise. I do not see any difference between convention and round table conference, but there is a constitutional difference, and I say it does not improve matters at all. On the contrary, it makes the position of Government far more difficult to call a convention, and it is likely to bring about far greater delay than a round table conference. Therefore, I strongly oppose his amendment.

"With these words, Sir, I may say I am very glad that the tone and the attitude of the Home Member, speaking on behalf of the Government, has been very conciliatory. We appreciate that, we fully appreciate that, but I do press the Honourable the Home Member to accept our method of starting with that step."

### Chapter 40

## THE NATIONALIST PARTY IN REGARD TO THE DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

In the 1923 elections, the Swarajists, a section of the Congress, entered the Councils with the object of wrecking the constitution from within the Legislature. Mr. M.A. Jinnah was elected as an Independent member. The situation in 1924 was that the Independents held the balance and their support was to give majority to the Swarajists or the Government. The Swarajists and the Independents formed a Nationalist Party. The Nationalist Party rejected four demands for grant because the Resolution for the grant of full self-governing Dominion Status passed by the Assembly was not given due consideration. After this Pandit Motilal Nehru on behalf of the Nationalist Party stated in the House on March 11, 1924 that the Nationalist Party was following the policy of the total remission of demands not due to any wrecking policy attributed to the Swarajists but in order to establish a principle. Endorsing the statement of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. M.A. Jinnah stated.

Sir, as a member of the Nationalist Party, I entirely endorse what Pandit Motilal Nehru has said. I want to make it clear further that the Nationalist Party here in this House do not stand for any wrecking programme. I wish to make it further clear, especially with reference to what fell from my Honourable friend, Mr. Chatterji yesterday said that the Nationalist party is a party which is formed to work in this Assembly and nothing more; and in this Assembly we stand to pursue a policy and a programme of a constitutional character. We shall pursue that policy and that programme until the last stages of the constitutional struggle are exhausted. There is no idea in the mind of the Nationalist Party that we want revolution. There is no idea in the mind of the Nationalist Party that

we are going to carry on the campaign of non-payment of taxes. Sir, it is perfectly legitimate for us, having regard to the ruling that you gave, that we could use the general discussion in what we wanted to make clear, namely, that we condemn the Government of India, we condemn the Secretary of State for India. Why? Because you have not satisfied us, in regard to the resolution that we passed here by an overwhelming majority of 76, a resolution which was a demand for reforms; and we wanted. therefore, to put in the clearest possible manner our protest, our condemnation, our disapproval of the way in which you have met us. We also recognise that there are difficulties, but we feel that you have failed, entirely failed, so far to satisfy us. Therefore, Sir, I do not think it fair for the Government to allege or attribute anything else to us except what is stated by me. nor do I wish that any wrong impression should be created abroad. As to what the Nationalist Party stands for I have stated, and there can be no room for misunderstanding.

### Chapter 41

## SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE

Khilafat and Non-Co-operation movements united the Hindus and the Muslims but this union did not prove very lasting. Very soon this spirit of unity was lost into the communal riots which broke out all over the country. The leaders of both the communities convened Unity Conferences with the object of affecting unity. An All-Parties Conference held in November, 1924, appointed a Committee to consider the communal problem. The Committee met in January 24, 1925 at Delhi under the presidentship of Mr. Gandhi to explore the avenues of communal and political harmony and to formulate a scheme for Swaraj. This Committee further appointed a sub-Committee.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah, addressing the meeting of the sub-Committee said that the dispute between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, particularly with regard to their representation in the various legislatures and other elective bodies and with regard to their share in the services, was a question which had been a terrible monster in the way of the country's progress. It was not for the Hindus nor Mohammedans alone to ask what they wanted and it was upto everyone to try and find out a solution of the question. Without removing this terrible obstacle they could not make any progress in any direction. "We have come in a spirit of meeting you as friends, and as responsible men who occupy eminent and representative positions in their respective communities, let us put our heads together." Pandit Malaviya had said yesterday that communal representation was an evil standing in the way of nationalism and as the Hindus had accepted it in the Lucknow Pact, they would stand by it. But if the Mohammedans wanted a change they must explain what

they wanted. The Lucknow Pact, said Mr. Jinnah, was arrived at in a scheme formulated as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete self-Government. For the purpose of establishing that first step by a constitution which they framed and was accepted by the Congress, they wanted an adjustment of the representation of all communities. As a party to the Lucknow Pact, Mr. Jinnah declared that it was never intended to be permanent. But the important and fundamental principle of protecting minorities, wherever they were, was accepted. That was the principle which was reiterated in the proposition of Pandit Motilal Nehru in the Assembly asking immediate steps towards establishing responsible Government.

Proceeding, Mr. M.A. Jinnah explained how the details of the Lucknow Pact were settled. Mohammedans were in a majority in the Punjab and Bengal, they being at that time fifty-six per cent in Bengal and fifty-four per cent in the Punjab. On account of the general backward of the Mohammedans, it was argued that if the Mohammedans were given their share on the population basis, it would be putting premium on ignorance and incompetence and it was suggested that Mohammedans in both these provinces should submit to joint or mixed electorates. But the Mohammedans pleaded that in such an electorate their voting strength would become almost nil and they would never get ten or fifteen per cent of the seats, and here, Mr. M.A. Jinnah pointed out that despite the advance that had been made by both the communities, there was still the fact that in polling booths. feelings and sentiments largely played and voters exercised their powers by giving votes to their own co-religionists. When it was pointed out that premium should not be placed on incompetence, it was agreed that the Punjab Mohammedans should get fifty per cent and the Bengal Mohammedans forty per cent. When the Reform Bill was in Parliament, the Government of India in despatch made a formidable indictment against the decision at Lucknow in respect of Bengal which only got forty for a fifty-six per cent population. But the Hindus and the Mohammedans admirably stood by the terms of the Pact and the Joint Parliamentary Committee agreed to the Pact. The trouble then came from the Puniab and Bengal.

The Congress appointed a Committee with Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr. Ansari and a Sikh gentleman to revise the Pact and while this Committee was in the middle of its labours, Mr. C.R. Das struck a Pact in Bengal. But the Bengal Pact was turned down at Cocanada. It was, therefore, correct to say that the Lucknow Pact was intended to be a permanent thing.

Now this conference was contemplating the establishment of Swara; and there was every justification on the part of Hindus as well as Mohammedans to get the Pact revised. There were both among the Hindus and Musalmans a few nationalists who wanted that separate representation should be done away with while a few might desire an Utopia. Facts must be faced. The large bulk of both the Communities had no real confidence in each other. Mohammedans in the Punjab and Bengal felt that they should be restored to their majority. The Lucknow Pact was calculated to protect minorities by two methods. One was greater representation than the number warranted: that was why Bombay Mohammedans with 28 per cent population got 23 per cent, U.P. Mohammedans got 30 per cent, for 14 per cent population, C.P. and Madras Mohammedans got 15 per cent for 7 per cent. This was recognised in the reforms scheme. The other principle of protecting a minority was a provision that no resolution concerning a community should be proceeded with if three-fourth of the members of that community in the Legislature were opposed to it. This provision, however, remained a dead letter.

Mr. Jinnah, concluding, said on behalf of the Muslims that they claimed that the Bengal and Punjab Mohammedans should not be reduced to a minority and that in the other provinces the two principles of safeguarding minorities should be accepted as in the Lucknow Pact. The question of representation on the services could be taken up separately.

#### Chapter 42

## DEMAND FOR THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND THE REFORMS

On March 14, 1925, when the Assembly met for the last sitting on the voting of the demands for grants, Pt. Motilal Nehru moved for the omission of the whole demand for the Executive Council. It was a motion of censure on the Government of India. He remarked that whatever might be the reactions of the Swarajists, the Nationalists and the Independent against the actions of the Government, it was an admitted fact that all were thoroughly dissatisfied with the administration. Speaking in favour of this motion, Mr. M.A. Jinnah severely criticised the policy of the Government.

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: "After the excitement, Sir, over this unfortunate question of Kohat, I wish to take the House back to something different. Sir. if we were to discuss the various actions on the part of the Government in the various departments, if we were to write a history of their wrongs and if we were to write a story of our grievances, it might take us months and months. This is not the place for that purpose, but, Sir, I wish to point out to this House to start with that here we are entering our protest against and our condemnation of the constitution in the first instance; in the second place, we are condemning the policy of the Government of India generally. It may be that this vote is going to be recorded on the Executive Council grant. This is purely a question of procedure and nothing else. Therefore, we on the floor of this House today, for the purpose of this debate, must make out a case against the Government of India. It does not matter what are the component parts, whether it is the Governor-General who has some power, whether the Executive Council has got some other powers or the Secretary of State or the three combined together, or on the top of it whether you put the Parliament of Great Britain or not. We are concerned with the Government of India as such and, Sir, I shall confine myself to the major heads of the policy of the Government of India which deserve censure.

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Now, Sir, to take first of all our protest against the present constitution, it was said-I think it was Colonel Crawford, who sometimes even tries to understand constitutional question. I think he said after the prompting which came from the commercial magnate of Bengal and after that prompting he said-it introduces a convention of certification. I think I took him down correctly. Now. Sir, let us examine this position. Under the Parliamentary procedure what will happen? If you are going to move a vote of censure on a policy of the Government, you discuss the policy of the Government generally and if that vote is recorded against the Government, what follows? The Government goes, it is defeated. Sir, is this Government going to be defeated by our vote? (Honourable Members: "Never, never".) After we have carried this motion, which I have no doubt this House will carry, the very next moment Honourable Members will be sitting there and continuing in their office as Ministers of the Crown. Then, what is the substitute that you can find under this anomalous, extraordinary constitution, for which there is no parallel in the history of the world? My friend, Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal, in his happy way tried to describe this constitution and the House, I think, I enjoyed the description because it was true. Now, Sir, what is the nearest thing that we can get to? The nearest thing that we can record not only before the people of this country but before the world that this Government stand defeated is to compel the Viceroy to certify. Otherwise there is an alternative procedure, a cut of Rs. 100. My friend will say that is all right, why not follow that? Because that will not necessarily. I feel, constitute a clear and unequivocal defeat of the Government. It leaves a doubt and we do not in this case propose to leave any room for doubt. You will find, Sir, that this is not the only country which resorts to a procedure of that kind. Now, Sir let us see whether we have a real case of protest against this constitution. And for that purpose, Sir, I see that my Honourable friend the Home Member agrees with me because he says 'Yes'. Now, Sir, you will find that in Australia as far back as 8th April, 1851:

'The Legislative Council of New South Wales, under the leadership of Mr. W. C. Wentworth, adopted a report of its Select Committee which protested against the new Constitution Act on the grounds that it did not place the control of all revenue and taxation entirely in the hands of the Colonial Legislature, that all officers of trust and emoluments should be filled by the Governor and Executive Council unfettered by instructions from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and that plenary powers of legislation should be conferred on Colonial Legislature. It concluded by solemnly protesting against these wrongs and declaring and insisting on these our undoubted rights. We leave the redress of the one and the assertion of the other to the people whom we represent and the Legislature which shall follow us.'

Sir, I may remind the gallant Colonel (Colonel Crawford) that we are not taking an unusual or an unheard of course. Now, Sir, let us get to our protest. Colonel Crawford represents the European community and he talked about his interests. He was very pleased that a recent convention was established at the Raisina Western Hostel, namely, the dinner. Then he said that we may establish a few more conventions of that character and he thought we might happily go on as we were going on. Why? Because there is the commercial interest at stake. There is a civil service. They have got a right to express their opinion. Therefore, he wants stability and the continuance of this constitution. And for how long? When will that commercial European community cease to have its interest in this country? When will it disappear in order to give us a further constitution? Does Colonel Crawford guarantee that? Sir, I am really surprised that an argument of this kind, which is futile and puerile, should be advanced by a responsible representative in this Assembly. Sir, everybody knows in this House-and I do not wish to enter into ancient history—what the issue is. The issue is this. Is this constitution to be revised now at once, or are we to wait until 1929? Is not that the issue? Now, why should it not be revised at once? Are we absolutely committed to 1929? Can any Honourable Member say that to me? No. The predecessors of my friend the Honourable the Home Member. Sir William Vincent and Sir Malcolm Hailey, themselves agreed to a formula

which was adopted by this very Assembly in 1921 admitting that the examination and the revision of the constitution should be undertaken before 1929.

Now, Sir, why should it not be undertaken at once? We were told that really we must examine the working of this Reform Act of 1919, we must thoroughly go into this matter as to what are the defects and difficulties that have come to light in the working of the Government of India Act of 1919. My friend Pt. Motilal Nehru said that we all know it was a foregone conclusion, we did not want any further information. Well, Sir, it may be that he was right. I can tell him that it was my own opinion also, and I had said it more than once publicly. Other people have said so, that it was not possible to work this constitution with any real fruitful results, and real advantage, but said the Government, the Government must proceed systematically, the Government must proceed on certain definite principles and certain lines. Then what happened? We came last year with a definite demand that this constitution must be revised. I am not concerned, Sir, at the present moment with what should be the agency through which this constitution should be revised. But what was the answer? The answer was, as we all know, the terms of reference and a statement on behalf of His Majesty's Government made in the House here by Sir Malcolm Hailey representing the Government of India. What did he say? He said if our inquiry shows that advance is not possible within the structure and policy of this Act, then the question whether the constitution should be amended or not is a separate issue upon which the Government are not at present committed. Now. Sir, it was therefore, part and parcel of the terms of reference to this Committee. This Committee had to answer whether our inquiry showed that the constitution should be amended or not, and we were bound to give an answer to that question.

That answer is given by the minority. The majority feel that they are not called upon to go into those questions having regard to the terms of reference. Now I ask this House, are the Government justified in delaying any further in giving us, on the floor of this House, their declaration that they are prepared to revise this constitution? I see the Home Member sitting there silently, not moving a single muscle of his body.

An Hon'ble Member: "He is not rude enough to interrupt?"

Mr. M.A. Jinnah: 'No. I did not want him to interrupt. I wanted him to move a little, but he is adamant. Not only that, but we asked him to give us a day to enable us to place our humble views before him and present him with our verdict on the Muddiman Report in this House. No, says the Honourable the Home Member, we have taken no decision on the policy and we have not formulated any proposals. We cannot yet discuss the report—the debate will be infructuous and useless. And vet he was driven to this position when he was asked, then what is the use of His Excellency the Viceroy going to London? Why is it that he is called there to confer with the Secretary of State for India, Lord Birkenhead? He had to admit it and undoubtedly this will be one of the outstanding questions. Now, Sir, I do think this. Of course I know what the Honourable Member will say. He will say, 'How can we take up this question when we have not made up our minds as to what we should say'. But I really have a grievance. It seems the Treasury Bench, Sir. when it suits them, treat this House as if it was a full-fledged Parliament, but when it does not suit them, they say, 'Oh no, the responsibility is ours, you are merely here to influence the Government'. Now I would really ask the Treasury Bench once for all please make up your mind whether you will treat us as if we were a full-fledged Parliament. Mind you, I should not be flattered by that, because I know we are not a full-fledged Parliament and it is no use assuming that something you are not. But do tell this Assembly what it is really, at any rate, let us have it quite clear. Of course really this Assembly is an advisory body (Mr. D.V. Belvi: "It is a debating club.") It is a little more than that. Now, Sir, I say, therefore, it was really due to this Assembly, and remember the promise was given to us, that this report will be placed before this Assembly and this Assembly will be given the opportunity to discuss and express its opinion on the report. I, therefore, submit that it was due to this Assembly that the Government ought to have said 'Before we even proceed with any serious discussion of this report, before even we come to any provisional conclusions, we would like to have the assistance of your verdict as to this Reforms Inquiry Committee's Report.' I say that is a serious grievance we have.

Now, Sir, the next question that we want to place before this House is this. In the course of this one year, we have worked and we naturally at this time, although the Finance Member comes before us with this Budget full of figures and the total amount of expenditure and the revenue he is going to recover and how he is going to spend it and so on, we, on this side of the House besides examining his figures and his Budget have also got to do something else, and that is to prepare our annual balance sheet. Our annual balance sheet and stock-taking is this. that we have to see what during the whole year has been the policy of the Government, apart from finance, on all important questions. Well, Sir, I have already talked about the constitutional position and what we feel about it. I really feel this and I do assure you, Sir, and the Treasury Bench, that you will be making the greatest possible mistake if you do not decide upon amending and revising this constitution at once. I am not committing myself as to the agency but I do ask the Government to declare their policy and decision and the sooner they declare it the better for the peace and good government of this country. Declare it without hesitation that you are prepared to revise the constitution at once.

Now, Sir, the next important thing, a most vital thing, to which I attach no less importance than to the question of constitutional advance, is the military policy of the Government of India. I do not wish to take up the time of the House on this question as we have had two debates recently this session. Unfortunately, Sir, owing to other items being discussed this year, I am deprived of the opportunity of raising a debate on the military policy on the notice which I had already given to discuss the grant of the Army Department. But I again repeat what I said on that debate on the motion of the Honourable Mr. Venkatapatiraju, which asked the Government to take steps to establish an Indian Sandhurst. Sir, I regret the tone and the language and the announcement which was made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief during the course of the general discussion on the budget.

But I did not mind the tone so much, I did not mind the language so much, I looked to the substance and the substance was more disappointing and objectionable than anything else. I dare say that Lord Rowlinson means well, I dare say he has made some efforts and I recognise that he has made certain efforts, but there again the issue, as I conceive it, is not

that you have tried to create eight units, the issue is not that you are trying to send ten boys to England to qualify for King's Commissions, the issue is not that you have got a college at Dehra Dun and you will probably put up some other institution for training boys. That is not the real issue and you know it. It is no use saving, as the Commander-in-Chief said, that we are not a nation, that we are not a homogeneous people, that there are great difficulties and that you are trying to weld India together and it will take a long time before India is fit for her defence. Now, Sir, that is not an answer really to my proposal. If there were no difficulties, if India did not require welding together, if India was not ill-organised, I venture to say that the Commander-in-Chief would not be standing there at all and talking to us as he did the other day. On the contrary, I would have been standing there and ordering the Commander-in-Chief to obey my orders. What is the good of putting forward this argument? Of course India has difficulties. Of course India requires welding, otherwise I do ask my Honourable friends on the Treasury Bench, do you think that three hundred thousand men of your race could rule this country for a moment even with all your machine guns? Therefore, what is the good of meeting a straightforward and reasonable proposal with this kind of argument? What is my proposal? What did I say? I shall repeat it. I recognise the difficulties but I say, do you mean in spite of these difficulties really to help India? Do you want to show your honest intentions? Give us an opportunity to examine this question thoroughly.

Did you consult us when you started the Indianisation of eight units? You now say that Indian officers do not care to serve in those units and that they prefer others where they have got British officers. Did you consult us? No. Did you consult us when you decided upon sending ten boys? No. Did you consult us when you laid down your method of securing those ten boys? You have laid down a method which I assure you will never give you the right kind of boys. Did you get any responsible men in this country and say to them 'Come along, we are determined, we are anxious to see that Indians are enabled to take up the defence of their own country within a reasonable time; we will sit with you; let us examine the whole situation thoroughly?' You have appointed so many committees on trifling

matters, on petty matters. Have you appointed a single committee composed of men, as I suggested in my proposal a few days ago—your Commander-in-Chief, your military experts, your politicians, your Civil Service and Sir Campbell Rhodes? Why not? Of course for he has a stake here and we must remove his nervousness. The Honourable the Home Member moved an amendment in the course of the last debate.

I was not allowed an opportunity to speak; somehow I was not fortunate enough to catch your eye, though I merely wanted to explain why that amendment was not acceptable; and really that amendment was not acceptable to us because as I say, the crux of the entire military policy of the Government of India is this. First of all, determine what is the number of men that you are prepared to recruit every year from amongst the Indian people. You cannot fix that number unless you make a thorough inquiry. When you fix that number, then the question arises, how are you going to provide the requisite facilities for their training and education? You may have to start an Indian Sandhurst, or you may not have to start one.

Well, all that is really putting the cart before the horse. The first and foremost question, to my mind, is this. Have a committee with terms of reference to find out what is the total number of men that you are prepared to recruit every year from amongst the people of India to rapidly Indianise the army and whether the requisite number would be available or forthcoming. The other question as to machinery or methods to secure requisite facilities for their training and education will have to be considered in the light of the answer to the main question.

Then, Sir, I come to the next point. Again I say that I do not wish to go into minute details. The next question is with reference to your educational policy. Sir, a well-known American came to India some years ago, a man called Mr. Bryant—I think he contested the Presidentship of the United States of America—and a very able Englishman, for whom I have the greatest respect, was trying in my presence to persuade Mr. Bryant to uphold British rule in India and told him: 'What can we do here? What reforms can we give to the people? Look at the state of these people in this country, hardly 5 or 6 per cent of the population can read and write.'

So Mr. Bryant turned round and asked him the question.

'How long have you been in this country? Who is responsible for the fact that only 5 or 6 per cent of the population can read or write?' Well, Sir, this happened 15 or 20 years ago. But what is the condition today? Since then we have had reformed Governments, the Act of 1909-10 and the present constitution. What have you done? I say it is the greatest stigma on the Government of any country in the world to show that after your 150 yrs. of rule, as is the case in this country, you have not given knowledge and light, nay even the three R's to more than 6 or 7 per cent of the population of this country. Is that going to be your policy? Is that the way you are going to advance India constitutionally and make her fit for self-government and for self-defence?

Then, Sir, I come to your commercial policy. Sir, I must confess at once that I am not in a position to speak with any authority on this question. But there again vital differences exist as to the policy of the Government of India. There is the question of currency, there is the question of exchange and the excise duty and protection of home industries. There are very vital differences on these questions. My Hon'ble friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas on this side, Sir, is our Finance Member, he is our Financial Adviser. (A Voice: "Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.") Well, I am not at present prepared to accept him as such, but he might in course of time rise to that position. Now, Sir, these questions of currency and exchange are really matters on which some of my friends on this side can speak with greater authority than I can do.

And last, but not the least, is the policy of the Government of India which I shall characterise for want of any better name as the repressive policy. Now, Sir, we have had debates on the Ordinance. We have had debates on Mr. Patel's Bill to repeal certain regulations and I do not want to weary this House and repeat anything more. I only say this that Ordinance has done an enormous amount of harm and if you wish to justify that policy of yours and if you really think that and want to convince the people that your real object was to maintain law and order but at the same time you are prepared to come forward to advance India—mind you, before it is too late—come forward and say so to the people and do it without delay. Actions are the only and real proof and test of your intentions and policy.

Remember that the action of these young men who have taken to bombs is due, it seems to me, Sir, to a question of degree of patience. I have a certain amount of patience. Perhaps my friend across there, Pandit Motilal Nehru, has a smaller degree of patience than I have.

(Pandit Motilal Nehru: "I have no patience. I am very impatient.") Pandit Motilal says that he has got no patience. Well, Sir, I do not agree with him. I am going to express my opinion. The man who throws the bomb has got still less patience than Pandit Motilal Nehru—I think he will admit that (Pandit Motilal Nehru: "If it can be less".) Quite. Now, Sir, it has not reached the limit yet when you have got to the bomb thrower, because it may go further than that even. I want the Government to appreciate that. And I hope that you will not only reverse your policy cut you will satisfy the people of this country and justify your pledges and promises which you have repeatedly given and not exasperate the people of India to resort to something which will be disastrous both for you and for the people of this country.

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